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G. Washington

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AMERICA,

OF

AMERICA,

BEING A POPULAR BOOK OF

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

EMBRACING THE LIVES OF THE REPRESENTATIVE

GREAT MEN OF THE NATION.

BY JAMES D. McCABE.

AUTHOR OF "THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES."

ILLUSTRATED.



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PREFACE

THE close of the First Century of our National existence has naturally directed the attention of the American people to an examination of the progress of our country during this period. We look back, with pride, over the record of what has been accomplished, and each event of our history acquires new interest and importance in the light which the experience of one hundred years sheds upon it. We behold our country grown from a narrow, thinly-peopled strip of territory along the Atlantic sea-board, to a mighty Republic, stretching from the frozen regions of the North to the sunny waters of the Mexican Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, its wildernesses converted into thriving towns and smiling farms, and its handful of widely-scattered people increased to a powerful nation, strong at home and feared abroad. We see the rapid and steady improvement of the Republic in civilization and material prosperity. In the place of the few struggling towns of a century ago, we behold magnificent cities connected by a network of railways and telegraphs; our navigable rivers and lakes are plowed by noble steamers; and the sails of our commerce whiten every sea. The weak, dependent, and scarcely united Colonies have become a powerful, compact confederacy of States, peopled by an intelligent, educated and energetic race, who have made it a land where God is honored, where all men are endowed with equal rights before the law, and where the humblest citizen may attain the highest honors and dignities within the gift of the State; a land in which education and refinement are more general, and the average comfort of the individual greater than in any country upon the globe. It is both right and needful, therefore, that we should give our earnest attention to the consideration of these remarkable achievements of our country, in order that we may learn

from them the lessons they impart and the warnings they hold out to the future.

But this wonderful story of progress is not all that should engage our attention at this period of national rejoicing. It is fitting that we should remember the great men of our history, to whose labors we owe all that we now enjoy, and that we should know the story of their lives and the means by which they accomplished the task allotted to them. America has no prouder record than that of the lives of her great men—none from which her children may draw greater inspiration, or learn more useful lessons. Not one of them owed his success to fortune or social position, but all were eminently self-made men; and their lives are full of hope and encouragement to those who would emulate their glorious examples.

The writer of these pages has thought the present a proper time to offer to his countrymen this collection of brief biographies of the great men whose deeds illustrate the First Century of American Independence. There never was a time when such a work was more needed; there never was a time when our people needed, as they do now, to be taught that enduring success in public life can be attained only by honesty, disinterested patriotism, and fitness for the task assumed, and that he only is the truest lover and best servant of his country who is willing to sink all considerations of self in his desire to promote the welfare of his fellow-citizens. Such was the spirit that animated the men whose lives are recorded in these pages. They were often mistaken as to the means to be employed, or the course to be pursued, but never as to the end to be attained. They were willing to spend life and fortune in the effort to benefit their country, and faithfully and patiently sought to qualify themselves for the great work to which they were called. They have their reward in the grateful love and honor with which their country cherishes their memory, and their lives are lessons which each American should take deeply to heart.

Of course, in the preparation of a work like this, it was not possible to include *all* the great men of America. It therefore seemed best to the writer to select only those who may be considered the representative men of the various periods of our history. In the selection of

subjects, choice was made only of those who were natives of the country ; the only exception to this rule being the case of Alexander Hamilton, who, being a native of the West Indies, may be properly regarded as an American in the sense in which that term is used in this work. Choice was made also of the dead alone, inasmuch as, their work being finished, a juster and more complete estimate may be formed of their character than in the case of living men. It is believed that a sufficient number of biographies is herein presented to the reader to accomplish the object of this work, and to familiarize him with the representative men of each distinctive period of our history ; and that the candid reader will admit the claim that each one whose name is herein mentioned, truly merits the title of "great."

" The fame that a man wins himself is best ;
That he may call his own : honors put on him
Make him no more a man than his clothes do,
Which are as soon ta'en off ; for in the warmth
The heat comes from the body, not the weeds ;
So man's true fame must strike from his own deeds."

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Birth and Parentage—The Rev. Charles Clay—Henry Clay's First School—Becomes a Drug Clerk—Enters the Office of the Court of Chancery—Secretary of Chancellor Wythe—Admitted to the Bar—Emigrates to Kentucky—Rapid Success—Favors Emancipation—Defeats Aaron Burr—Elected to the U. S. Senate—In the Kentucky Legislature—His First Duel—Returns to the Senate—Elected to the House of Representatives—Speaker of the House—His Share in the Second War with England—Peace Commissioner—Returns to Congress—Becomes the Advocate of the National Bank—The Compensation Bill—Henry Clay and the Hunter—The Champion of the "American System"—Secures the Success of the Missouri Compromise—Retires from Congress—Candidate for the Presidency—Secures the Election of J. Q. Adams—Is Made Secretary of State—Charges of "Bargain and Corruption"—Duel with Randolph—Hostility of President Jackson to Henry Clay—Clay Takes up the Challenge—Returns to the Senate—Negotiates the Tariff Compromise of 1833—Moral Heroism of Henry Clay—Predicts the Panic of 1837—Denounces President Tyler's Vetoes—Opposes the Annexation of Texas—Defeated for the Presidency in 1844—Opposes the Mexican War—Death of Henry Clay, Jr.—Mr. Clay Joins the Church—Urges Emancipation upon the Kentucky Convention—Failure of His Health—Returns to the Senate—His Course in the Compromise of 1850—A Patriot's Last Service—Declares Himself for the Union—His Last Speech—Death.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

516

A New England Father—Childhood of Daniel Webster—His Early Schools—Intended for a Schoolmaster—His Father Concludes to Send him to College—Preparation for College—A Student at Andover—Brother Ezekiel—A Devoted Family—Ezekiel goes to College—Daniel Webster as a School Master—Studies Law—Enters Mr. Gore's Office in Boston—A Narrow Escape—Admitted to the Bar—Death of Judge Webster—Daniel Webster Removes to Portsmouth—His Remarkable Success—Marries—Elected to Congress—Takes a Leading Position in the House—His First Speech—Judge Marshall's Opinion of It—Career in Congress—Retires from Congress—Mr. Webster Removes to Boston—His Success as a Lawyer—The Dartmouth College Case—The Great Steamboat Monopoly Destroyed—Mr. Webster's Reputation as a Constitutional Lawyer—Wins Fame and Prosperity—His National Orations—Returns to Congress—Supports John Q. Adams—Elected to the U. S. Senate—Advocates the Protective Policy—Mr. Foote's Resolution—Great Debate in the Senate between Webster and Hayne—Triumph of Mr. Webster—Oppose the Compromise of 1833—Opposes the Sub Treasury Scheme—Appointed Secretary of State in Mr. Tyler's Cabinet—Settles the Disputes with England—Withdraws from the Cabinet—Returns to the Senate—Opposes the Mexican War—Advocates the Com-

promise Measures of 1850—Fails to Receive the Whig Nomination for the Presidency—Personal Appearance—Characteristic Anecdotes—Last Years and Death—His Funeral.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

541

The Calhoun Family—Settlement in South Carolina—Patrick Calhoun—Birth of John C. Calhoun—Childhood and Early Life—Enters Dr. Waddell's Academy—At Yale College—Studies Law—Returns to South Carolina—His First Public Appearance—Admitted to the Bar—Elected to the Legislature—Elected to Congress—His Marriage—Mr. Calhoun in the House of Representatives—His Success—Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs—Supports the War with Great Britain—Opposes the National Bank Scheme in 1814—Fortunate Prediction—Supports the Bank and Tariff of 1816—Reports a General Plan for Internal Improvements—It is Vetoed by the President—Enters the Cabinet of President Monroe—His Course as Secretary of War—Favors the Missouri Compromise—Elected Vice President of the United States—Re-elected on the Ticket with General Jackson—Becomes the Advocate of Free Trade—Proposes Nullification—The South Carolina Exposition—Inconsistency of his Position—Quarrel Between Calhoun and Jackson—Resigns the Vice Presidency and Returns to the Senate—The Nullification Troubles—Calhoun Supports Mr. Clay's Compromise—Miss Martineau's Opinion of Mr. Calhoun—He Acts with the Whig Party in Opposition to the Administration—Wishes to Exclude Anti-Slavery Publications from the Mails—Supports the Sub-Treasury—Denounced by the Whigs—Alone in the Senate—His Defiance of his Enemies—Defends Tyler's Vetoes—Appointed Secretary of State—Secures the Annexation of Texas—Opposes the Mexican War—Failure of his Health—Last Appearance in the Senate—His Death—Tribute to his Memory by Daniel Webster.

STEPHEN DECATUR.

562

The First Commodore Decatur—Birth of Stephen Decatur—Enters the Navy—Rapid Promotion—Services in the Mediterranean—Loss of the Philadelphia—The Plan to Burn Her—Decatur Entrusted with the Attempt—Departure of the Expedition—The Intrepid—Burning of the Philadelphia—Brilliant Success of the Enterprise—Attack on the Tripolitan Gunboats—Heroism of Decatur—He makes Two Prizes—Promoted to a Captaincy—Returns to America—The War of 1812-15—Appointed to Command the Frigate United States—Captures the Macedonian—Blockaded in New London—Appointed to the President—Sails from New York—Capture of the President—Humbles the Barbary Powers—Decisive Conduct—Duel with Commodore Barron—Death of Decatur.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

575

Ancestry—Birth and Childhood—Studies Law—Becomes a Volunteer—Admitted to the Bar—Visits South Carolina—Obtains a Commission in the Army—Captain of Artillery—Court-martialed—Suspended—Appointed Aide-de-camp to General Hampton—Promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant-colonel—Battle of Queenstown—A Prisoner of War—Exchanged—Colonel and Adjutant-General—Capture of Fort George—Brigadier-General—Disciplines the Army—Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane—Scott Wounded—A Major-General—Visits Europe—Military Institutes and Tactics—The Black Hawk War—Ordered to Charleston During the Nullification Troubles—The Creek War—Scott Persecuted by President Jackson—His Acquittal—Settles the Troubles on the Canada Border—Commanding General of the Army—The Mexican War—The Expedition to Vera Cruz—Reduction of Vera Cruz—Battle of Cerro Gordo—The Halt at Puebla—Difficulty with Mr. Trist—Advance upon Mexico—Battles of Contreras and Churubusco—Capture of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec—Capture of the City of Mexico—Scott Relieved of his Command—A Political Persecution—Return of Scott to the United States—His Reception at New York—Made Lieutenant-General—Nominated for the Presidency—Secession of the Southern States—Scott Adheres to the Union—His Plan for Defeating Secession—Resigns the Command of the Army—Last Years and Death.

HORACE GREELEY.

596

Birth and Early Life—A Poor Boy's Childhood—Early Education—Becomes a Printer—Experience as a Journeyman—Arrival in New York—Obtains Work—Sets up in Business for Himself—*The New Yorker*—Edits *The Jeffersonian*—Publishes *The Log Cabin*—Its Remarkable Success—Founds *The New York Tribune*—Early Struggles and Success of the Paper—Forms a Partnership with Thomas McElrath—Aspirations of Mr. Greeley as a Journalist—Elected to Congress—Literary Labors—His Visits to Europe—*The Tribune* Becomes an Independent Journal—Its Great Influence—The Chicago Convention—Horace Greeley Secures the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln—His Support of the War—Favors Kind Measures Towards the South at the Close of the War—Becomes Surety for Jeff. Davis—Personal Traits—Opposes Grant's Administration—The Liberal Republican Movement—Greeley Nominated for the Presidency—Death of His Wife—He Becomes Insane—His Death.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD.

608

Birth—Education—Studies Law—Admitted to the Bar—Removes to Auburn—Marriage—Rapid Success—Engages in Politics—Opposes the Albany

Regency—He is Elected to the State Senate—Visits Europe—Joins the Whig Party—Elected Governor of New York—Refuses to Surrender Negro Sailors to Virginia and Georgia—The Case of Alexander McLeod—Firmness of Governor Seward—Resumes His Practice of Law—Great Success—Generous Defense of an Insane Negro—Elected to the United States Senate—Opposition to Slavery—His “Higher Law Doctrine”—His Position in the Senate—Supports Fremont and Dayton for the Presidency—Opposes the Efforts to Force Slavery upon Kansas—Services in the Senate—Proclaims the “Irrepressible Conflict”—Visits Europe—Defeated in the Chicago Convention—Supports Mr. Lincoln—Appointed Secretary of State—His Services in the Cabinet—Accident to Mr. Seward—Attempt to Assassinate Him—His Recovery—Sustains the “Policy” of President Johnson—Retires from Public Life—Travels Around the World—Death of Mr. Seward.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.

620

Ancestry—Birth—Death of His Father—Goes to Ohio—Enters the Family of Bishop Chase—Earns His Living—Success at School—Returns to New Hampshire—Graduates at Dartmouth College—Goes to Washington—His School—Studies Law—Admitted to the Bar—Removes to Cincinnati—The “Statutes of Ohio”—Professional Success—Anti-Slavery Sentiments—Courageous Defense of James G. Birney—Defense of Fugitive Slaves—Organizes the Anti-Slavery Party of Ohio—Delegate to the Liberal Convention—Intentions with Respect to Slavery—Acts with the Ohio Democracy—Elected to the United States Senate—Opposes the Compromise Measures of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—Services in the Senate—Breaks with the Ohio Democracy—Elected Governor of Ohio—Course as Governor—Re-elected to the U. S. Senate—Supports Mr. Lincoln—His Speech in the Peace Congress—Appointed Secretary of the Treasury—Successful Negotiation of Loans—Mr. Chase’s Great Services as Finance Minister—Resigns His Secretaryship—Appointed Chief Justice—His Career as Chief Justice—Last Years—Death.

CHARLES SUMNER.

636

Birth—Education—A Brilliant Young Manhood—Literary Labors—Enviably Reputation of Mr. Sumner—Admitted to the Bar—Lecturer to the Law School—Opinion of Judge Story—Visits Europe—Flattering Reception Abroad—Returns Home and Resumes His Practice—Vesey’s Reports—Public Addresses—Becomes a Leader of the Anti-Slavery Party—Elected to the U. S. Senate—His Course in the Senate—Opposes the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—Denounces the Effort to Force Slavery upon Kansas—Attack on Mr. Sumner by Preston S. Brooks—He is Injured for Life—Goes Abroad—Recovers His Health—Returns to the Senate—Sustains

Mr. Lincoln in His War Measures—Appointed Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations—Opposes Grant's St. Domingo Scheme—Removed from His Chairmanship of the Foreign Committee—Speech on the Alabama Claims—Opposes the Administration of President Grant—His Health Gives Way—His Resolution Against Continuing the Memories of the Civil War—Censured by the Massachusetts Legislature—His Vindication—Failure of His Health—Last Sickness and Death.

GEORGE HENRY THOMAS.

645

Birth—Educated at West Point—Enters the Army—Promoted for Services in the Mexican War—A Professor at West Point—The Secession Troubles—Thomas Adheres to the Union—Brigadier-General—Ordered to Kentucky—Battle of Mill Spring—Major-General of Volunteers—Declines the Command of the Army of the Ohio—Conduct at Stone River—Battle of Chickamauga—Splendid Fighting of Thomas's Corps—The Second Day's Battle—Thomas Forced Back—Takes up a New Position—Saves the Army by His Firmness—Brigadier-General in the Regular Army—Commands the Army of the Cumberland—The Battle of Mission Ridge—The Campaign under Sherman—The Capture of Atlanta—Hood Advances into Alabama—Thomas sent to Nashville—Hood begins His March into Tennessee—Battle of Franklin—Siege of Nashville—Defeat of Hood's Army—Thomas made a Major-General in the Regular Army of the United States—Close of the War—Last Years and Death.

DAVID GLASGOE FARRAGUT.

659

Parentage—Birth—Enters the Navy—His First Cruise—With Commodore Porter in the Essex—Farragut's First Battle—Cruise of the Essex in the Pacific—Capture of the Essex—Farragut Wounded—A Young Hero—His Career After the War—A Captain—The Civil War—Farragut Adheres to the Union—Leaves the South—The Expedition Against New Orleans—Farragut in Command—Bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip—Passage of the Forts—Defeat of the Confederate Fleet—Capture of New Orleans—Attack on Vicksburg—Running the Batteries of Port Hudson—Farragut made Rear-Admiral—Expedition Against Mobile—Battle of Mobile Bay—The Admiral in the Shrouds—Obtains Leave of Absence—Reception at New York—Made Vice-Admiral—Close of the War—Made Admiral—European Cruise—Death.

ROBERT E. LEE.

672

Parentage—"Light-Horse Harry"—Birth—Educated at West Point—Marriage—Promotion—Mexican War—Chief Engineer to Scott—Gallantry

at Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Churubusco—"Lee is the Greatest Military Genius in America"—Superintendent of West Point—Fights the Indians in Texas—Captures John Brown at Harper's Ferry—Breaking Out of the Civil War—Lee Goes with his Native State—Is Appointed a General in the Confederate Army—West Virginia Campaign—Becomes Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia—Attacks McClellan on the Chickahominy—The "Seven Days' Battles"—Cold Harbor—Malvern Hill—Moves to the Rappahannock, and Defeats Pope at Second Bull Run—Invades Maryland—Battle of South Mountain—Capture of Harper's Ferry—Battle of Antietam—Fredericksburg—Chancellorsville—Invasion of Pennsylvania—Repulsed at Gettysburg, and Retreats to the Rapidan—Grant Takes Command of the Army of the Potomac—"The Wilderness"—Spottsylvania Court House—Siege of Petersburg—Evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond—Surrender at Appomattox—Lee Counsels Submission—Accepts the Presidency of Washington College at Lexington, Va.—Testifies before Reconstruction Committee—His Last Hours and Death.

THOMAS J. JACKSON.

688

Parentage—Birth—Death of his Parents—Applies for a Vacancy at West Point and Succeeds—Graduates, and Enters the Mexican War—Promotion for Gallant Conduct—Impaired Health—Becomes a Professor in Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington—Joins Presbyterian Church—Marriage—Remarkable Memory—Opening of the Civil War—Offers his Services to the Governor of Virginia—Harper's Ferry—Martinsburg—Falling Waters—Bull Run—"There is Jackson Standing Like a Stone Wall"—In the Valley—Defeats Milroy and Banks—Defeats Shields at Port Republic—Cold Harbor, White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill—Second Bull Run—Harper's Ferry—Antietam—Fredericksburg—Prayer During the Battle—Chancellorsville—Jackson's Flank Movement—Fired Upon by his Own Troops and Severely Wounded—Amputation of his Arm—Attacked with Pneumonia—Last Hours and Death.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

704

Parentage—Thomas Lincoln—Birth of Abraham Lincoln—Childhood—Removal to Indiana—Death of his Mother—Abe Goes to School—Learns to Read—Becomes a Flat-boat Hand—Voyage to New Orleans—Removal to Illinois—Lincoln Becomes a Storekeeper—"Honest Abe"—The Black Hawk War—Elected to the Legislature—Studies Law—Admitted to the Bar—His First Five Hundred Dollars—What he Did with It—Engages in Politics—Elected to Congress—Career in Congress—Marriage—Domestic Life—Joins the Republican Party—Declines the U. S. Senatorship—Great Debate with Judge Douglas—Lincoln is Nominated for the

Presidency—Interview with the Committee—Elected President—Secession of the Southern States—Letter to Mr. Stephens—Journey to Washington—Inauguration—The Civil War—Mr. Lincoln's Course as President—The Emancipation Proclamation—Speech at the Dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery—Offers Pardon to the Southern People—Reëlection to the Presidency—The Second Inauguration—A Striking Scene—Close of the War—Assassination of President Lincoln—His Death—The Funeral Journey—Burial.





A POPULAR BOOK
OF
AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE Washington family is of ancient English descent, and appears, during the century immediately following the Norman Conquest, in possession of "landed estates and manorial privileges" in the County of Durham, estates and privileges which were held at that time only by those who had come over from Normandy with William the Conqueror, or by their descendants. When William divided among his followers the lands north of the Humber, which he had ravaged with fire and sword in punishment of the last effort of the Northumbrians to maintain their freedom, he erected the Diocese of Durham into a Palatinate, and placed over it a learned Norman noble as Bishop and Count Palatine, thus giving him temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over the province. The bishop lived in a state of splendor which rivalled that of the King, to whom alone he owed allegiance. He kept a brilliant court, and was more a warrior than a priest, having for his vassals the landed gentry of the diocese, who were bound by their feudal oaths to rally to his side whenever he displayed the great banner of St. Cuthbert, the patron saint of the diocese.

Among the knights holding estates in the Palatinate by feudal tenure, was William de Hertburn, the ancestor of the

Washingtons, a Norman by descent, who took his surname of De Hertburn from the village of that name, which he held of the bishop in knight's fee, it being the custom of that day for Norman families of rank to take their names from their estates. We find from an entry in the "Bolden Book," a record of the lands of the diocese, made in 1183, that William de Hertburn had, some time previous to this, exchanged his village of De Hertburn for the manor and village of Wessyngton, also in the diocese of Durham, which he also held of the Bishop in feudal tenure. With this change of estate, the family also changed its name, and thenceforward took that of De Wessyngton. The family continued to hold an honorable and prominent position in the Palatinate, being noted among other things for its martial tendencies, to which the almost constantly hostile condition of affairs on the Scotch border gave ample opportunity for indulgence. It also won credit in the wars of the barons; and among the knights who took part under the royal standard in the disastrous battle of Lewes was "William Weshington of Weshington." At a tournament held at Dunstable in 1334, in the reign of Edward III., among the "noble knights" engaged, we find the name of "Sir Stephen de Wessyngton," who also bore himself gallantly in the battle of Nevil's Cross, near Durham, in which King David of Scotland was made prisoner. "Sir William de Weschington," who succeeded to the estate in 1367, was the last of the male line. At his death the estate passed out of the family by the marriage of his only daughter and heir, Dionisia, with Sir William Temple, of Studley. By the year 1400, the manor was in the hands of the Blaykeston family.

Though no longer in possession of the old estate, the family name was well maintained by John de Wessyngton, the prior of the Benedictine convent of Durham, who stoutly upheld against the bishop and the secular clergy the claims of his order, one of which was that the prior of Durham should enjoy all the liberties, rights, and honors of a mitred abbot, and should take rank next to the bishop. The prior carried his cause to a triumphant issue, and won for himself one of the most noted names in Durham.

In the course of time the family became scattered in various

parts of England, and their name underwent several changes, dropping the title of *de*, and varying from Wessyngton to Wassington, Wasshington, and finally to Washington.

At the head of one of these branches was John Washington, of Warton, in Lancashire. His son Lawrence Washington, of Gray's Inn, was for some years Mayor of Northampton, and upon the dissolution of the monasteries was given by Henry VIII. the Manor of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, together with other confiscated lands that had formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Andrews. This manor remained in the family until 1620. One of the descendants of Lawrence Washington was Sir William Washington, of Packington, in the County of Kent, who married a sister of the Duke of Buckingham, the ill-starred favorite of Charles I. The Washingtons fought loyally for the King in the Civil War; one of them, Lieut. Col. James Washington, was killed under the royal standard at the siege of Pontefract Castle; and another, Sir Henry, the son and heir of Sir William Washington, already mentioned, served with great credit under Prince Rupert, and by his efforts brought the storming of Bristol, in 1643, to a triumphant issue. Being placed in command of Worcester, in 1646, he held it against the Parliamentary army until ordered by the King to surrender. His gallant defense soon won him honorable terms from the besiegers. In 1655, a general insurrection was attempted by the partisans of the Stuarts. It failed, and left them at the mercy of Cromwell. Many of the Royalists fled to America, and found congenial homes in the "loyal colony" of Virginia. Among these were John and Andrew Washington, uncles of the gallant Sir Henry, and great-grandsons of the grantee of Sulgrave. They reached Virginia in 1657, and purchasing lands in the "Northern Neck," between the Potomac and Rapahannock rivers, established their home in that fertile and delightful region. John became an extensive planter, and marrying Miss Anne Pope, of the same county, built him a residence near the junction of Bridges Creek with the Potomac river. He took a prominent part in the affairs of the colony, and was a magistrate and a member of the House of Burgesses. In 1675, war having broken out with the Indians on the borders of Virginia and Maryland, Colonel John Washington crossed

the Potomac at the head of a body of Virginia troops, to help the people of Maryland against the savages.

The family continued to hold the estate on Bridges Creek, and there was born in 1694 Augustine Washington, the grandson of Col. John Washington. He was a man of strong, earnest character, noble qualities, and engaging disposition. "One who knew him personally has described him as a man of uncommon height, noble appearance, manly proportions and extraordinary muscular powers. * * * Yet this gigantic might of muscle never tempted him to take any part in the frequent combats which occurred in Virginia in his day, except to stay savage violence by separating combatants. And such was his character for magnanimity, justice, and moral worth, that he commanded wherever he appeared, and in whatever he engaged, universal and unhesitating deference."

Augustine Washington was twice married. On the 20th of April, 1715, he married Jane, the daughter of Caleb Butler, Esq., of Westmoreland, by whom he had four children. But two of these, Lawrence and Augustine, lived to manhood. Their mother died on the 24th of November, 1728. On the 6th of March, 1730, Mr. Washington was married to his second wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel Ball, a young and beautiful girl, "the belle of the Northern Neck." She bore him four sons, George, Samuel, John Augustine and Charles, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mildred, the latter of whom died in infancy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the eldest son by the second marriage, was born at the family homestead on Bridges Creek, on the 22d of February, 1732. Scarcely a vestige of the house remains to-day. A ruined chimney, a few decayed fruit trees, and a stone inscribed with an appropriate legend, mark the spot, which has long since relapsed into its native solitude.

When George was about seven years old, his father removed from the old homestead on Bridges Creek to an estate in Stafford county, opposite the town of Fredericksburg. The location was delightful, lying in the midst of a region noted for its fertility and healthfulness, and abounding in the loveliest scenery. The house stood on a rising ground, overlooking the river and surrounding country for a long distance, with the land sloping

from it to the Rappahannock. Here the subject of this memoir passed his boyhood.

Although a man of means, Augustine Washington was not able to give to all of his sons the advantages of education enjoyed by Lawrence, the eldest. In accordance with the custom of the day, he sent Lawrence to England at the age of fifteen, to complete his education. The young man returned home at the age of twenty-two or three, regarded by all, and regarding himself, as the future head of the family. Inheriting a share of the old martial spirit of the family, Lawrence obtained a captain's commission in a regiment raised in the colonies for service against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and sailed with it for that region in 1740. He served in the joint expedition commanded by Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, and won the friendship and confidence of both of these officers. He was present at the gallant but unsuccessful attack upon Carthage, and returned home in the autumn of 1742, after the close of the expedition. In the summer of 1743 he married Anne, the eldest daughter of Colonel William Fairfax, of Fairfax County.

In the meantime the education of George was of the simplest character, and was conducted at a country school. He was quick to learn, and rapidly acquired all the knowledge it was in the power of his instructor to impart. The letters of his brother Lawrence inflamed his imagination with descriptions of the stirring scenes through which the latter was passing, and evidently gave to his boyish sports the martial character which distinguished them. "He made soldiers of his schoolmates; they had their mimic parades, reviews, and sham fights; a boy named William Bustle was sometimes his competitor, but George was commander-in-chief of Hobby's school."

On the 12th of April, 1743, Augustine Washington died, leaving a large estate to be divided among his children. To Lawrence, the eldest, he left the estate on the banks of the Potomac, with other property; to Augustine, the second son, the old family homestead in Westmoreland. The children by the second marriage were liberally provided for, and to George was left the house and farm on the Rappahannock where his boyhood was passed. He was to have possession of it upon

coming of age. The marriage of Lawrence to Miss Fairfax took place after his father's death, and the young couple established their home upon the estate to which Lawrence succeeded, and which he named Mount Vernon, in honor of his friend the admiral.

George remained with his widowed mother, who addressed herself bravely to the task of rearing her children and fitting them for the duties of life. Though deprived of the care of his father at such an early age, it was the good fortune of George Washington to possess in his mother a guide well qualified to fill the place of both parents to her fatherless children. She was a woman of rare good sense, of great decision of character, and one whose life was shaped by the most earnest Christian principle. Her tenderness and sweet womanly qualities won her the devoted love of her children, and her firmness enforced their obedience. From her George inherited a quick and ardent temper, and from her he learned the lessons of self-control which enabled him to govern it. He was also happy in the warm affection of his brother Lawrence, who directed his studies. Soon after his father's death George was sent to reside with his brother Augustine at the old family homestead on Bridges Creek, while he attended an academy in the neighborhood, kept by a Mr. Williams. It was the object of his family to fit him for the ordinary business of life, and his education was plain and practical.

As a boy, Washington was noted for his truthfulness, his courage and his generosity. He was both liked and respected by his schoolmates, and such was their confidence in his fairness and good judgment that he was usually chosen the arbiter of their boyish disputes. He joined heartily in their sports, and was noted for his skill in athletic exercises. He was a fearless rider and a good hunter, and by his fondness for manly sports developed in his naturally vigorous system a remarkable degree of strength. He was cheerful and genial in disposition, though reserved and grave in manner. He early acquired habits of scrupulous industry and order. "Before he was thirteen years of age," says Irving, "he had copied into a volume forms for all kinds of mercantile and legal papers; bills of exchange, notes of hand, deeds, bonds and the like. This early

self-tuition gave him throughout life a lawyer's skill in drafting documents, and a merchant's exactness in keeping accounts; so that all the concerns of his various estates; his dealings with his domestic stewards and foreign agents; his accounts with government, and all his financial transactions, are to this day to be seen posted up in books, in his own handwriting, monuments of his method and unwearied accuracy."

At the age of fourteen it was decided that he should enter the navy, and his brother Lawrence readily obtained for him a midshipman's warrant. The ship he was to join lay in the Potomac, and his trunk was sent on board; but at the last moment his mother, dreading the effect of a seaman's life upon a boy so young, appealed to him by his affection for her, to remain with her. Washington was sorely disappointed, but he yielded cheerfully to his mother's wish.

The marriage of his brother Lawrence gave to the young man a second home at Mount Vernon, where he passed a large part of his time. There he was brought into constant and familiar intercourse with the most refined and cultivated society of Virginia, an association which had a happy influence upon the formation of his character. There also he formed the acquaintance of Lord Fairfax, the grandson of Lord Culpepper, and the inheritor of Culpepper's vast estates in Virginia, which comprised about one-seventh of the area of the State of Virginia, as it existed prior to the separation of the western counties in 1861. Lord Fairfax conceived a warm friendship for the young man, and took a deep interest in his future welfare. Upon leaving school Washington had chosen the profession of a surveyor as his future avocation, and Lord Fairfax soon gave him his first employment. His lordship had come to Virginia to reside upon his estates, and he found them unsurveyed, and in many cases occupied by persons who had settled on them without permission from him or any of his predecessors. He determined to arrange his affairs on a more systematic footing, and therefore employed Washington to survey his lands and lay them off with regularity. It was an arduous and responsible task, and Washington, who was just entering his seventeenth year, seemed scarcely old enough for it; but "Lord Thomas" had satisfied himself of his young friend's capacity for

the undertaking, and the result justified the opinion he had formed. The work was done with care and accuracy, and the measurements of the young surveyor were so exact that they are still relied upon with implicit confidence in the region in which they were made. So satisfactory was his work that he was appointed, doubtless through the influence of Lord Fairfax, public surveyor, in which capacity he continued three years. He was constantly engaged in the duties of his office, which, owing to the limited number of public surveyors and the great quantity of land to be surveyed, proved extremely profitable.

His life as a surveyor was in many respects a hard one, but he enjoyed it. It gave new vigor to his naturally robust constitution, developed his splendid figure, so that while yet a youth he acquired the appearance and habits of mature manhood. He also learned forest life in all its various phases, and by his constant intercourse with the hunters and Indians gained an intimate knowledge of the character and habits of these wild men, which in after years was of infinite value to him.

Though the heir to a considerable estate, Washington supported himself during this period by his earnings as a surveyor. As yet he had derived no benefit from his landed property, into the possession of which he was not to enter until he had attained his majority. His habits of life were simple and economical, and he indulged in no riotous or expensive pleasures.

During his surveying expeditions, Washington was a frequent visitor at Greenway Court, the seat of Lord Fairfax, situated in the Valley of Virginia, near Winchester. In addition to the other attractions of the place, there was a well-selected library, of which the young man regularly availed himself. His reading was of a solid and useful character; "Addison's Spectator," and the "History of England," were among his favorite works. There was also a strong bond of union between "Lord Thomas" and his young friend in their ardent love for the chase, and much of Washington's leisure time was passed in following the hounds in the company of the master of Greenway Court. Lord Fairfax was a man of fine education and scholarly tastes, and had mingled with the most

brilliant men of Europe. His conversation, was, therefore, full of interest and instruction to Washington.

While Washington was employed in his surveys, the rival claims of England and France to the Valley of the Ohio had brought those powers to the verge of a war for its possession. The French trusted to their superior promptness in seizing the region in dispute, and prepared to occupy it with a chain of forts extending from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Ohio. English traders in the meantime crossed the mountains and established themselves in the Ohio Valley, and Christopher Gist, an intrepid trader, explored the entire region by order of the Colonial Government of Virginia, and returned with such flattering reports of it that the Governor and Council were convinced that the country was worth fighting for. An association was chartered in 1749 by the name of the "Ohio Company," for the purpose of colonizing the lands west of the mountains, and the Governor of Virginia was ordered by the King to assign to this company a tract of five hundred thousand acres of land, lying between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers and along the Ohio.

In order to supply the traders who had established themselves beyond the mountains with the articles needed for their traffic with the Indians, the Ohio Company built a trading post at Wills' Creek, within the limits of Maryland, on the site of the present city of Cumberland. Here one of the easiest of the passes through the Alleghanies begins. By means of it the traders could readily transport their goods west of the mountains, and return with the furs their wares had purchased from the savages. The post at Wills' Creek became a base from which operations were pushed steadily into the Ohio Valley.

The French were fully aware of the purposes of the English, and viewed them with alarm, as the successful occupation of the Ohio Valley by the latter would cut off the communication established by the French between Canada and the Mississippi, a communication essential to the integrity of their possessions in America. They, therefore, strengthened their hold upon the lakes, and prepared to occupy the Ohio Valley with a line of forts. Three of these were at once erected—one at Presque

Isle, now Erie, in Pennsylvania; another on French Creek, on the site of the present town of Waterford; and a third on the site of the present town of Franklin, at the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany.

The government of Virginia had kept a vigilant eye upon the measures of the French; and in 1751, before the erection of the forts alluded to above, in order to prepare for any emergency to which the hostility of the French and Indians, the latter of whom were being incited against the English by the French, might give rise, divided the Colony into military districts. Each district was placed in charge of an adjutant and inspector, with the rank of major, whose duty it was to keep the militia in readiness for instant service. Washington's boyish fondness for military sports had not left him, but had grown with his growth. As he advanced towards manhood, his brother Lawrence, Adjutant Muse, of Westmoreland, and Jacob Vanbraam, a fencing master, and others, had given him numerous lessons in the art of war and in the use of the sword. He was now nineteen years old, and though so young, was regarded by his acquaintance as one of the best informed persons upon military matters in the Colony. At their earnest desire he was commissioned a major in the Colonial forces, and given the command of one of the military districts. He exerted himself with such zeal and success to prepare the militia for service, that when the province was divided into four military districts by Governor Dinwiddie in 1752, Major Washington was placed in command of the northern district. "The counties comprehended in this division he promptly and statedly traversed, and he soon effected the thorough discipline of their militia for warlike purposes."

While holding this appointment Washington accompanied his brother Lawrence on a voyage to the West Indies, the delicate health of the latter rendering such a change necessary to him. They passed the winter of 1757 at Barbadoes, where they were the constant recipients of the hospitalities of the principal inhabitants and the officers of the garrison. George was seized with a severe attack of small-pox soon after his arrival, but recovered after an illness of about three weeks. Early in 1752, he was sent home by Lawrence to bring Mrs. Wash-

ington out to Barbadoes. Before this could be done, however, Lawrence, despairing of recovery, returned to Virginia to die. He expired at Mount Vernon on the 26th of July, 1752, at the early age of thirty-four. By the terms of his will Mount Vernon and his other property were, in case his infant daughter should die without issue, to be held by his widow during her lifetime, and at her death to pass to his brother George. The management of all the affairs of Lawrence was entrusted by his widow to George, and this sacred duty was discharged with characteristic skill and faithfulness. In the course of a few years the death of his infant niece placed him in possession of his brother's estate.

In the meantime, the rapid advancement of the French to the eastward alarmed the English Government, which instructed the Governor of Virginia to address a remonstrance to the French authorities, and warn them of the consequences which must result from their intrusion into the territory of Great Britain. To do this it was necessary for the Governor to despatch his communication to the nearest French post by the hands of some messenger of sufficient resolution to overcome the natural dangers of the undertaking, and of intelligence enough to collect information respecting the strength and designs of the French. Washington was recommended to the Governor as the person best qualified for this difficult mission, and although he was not yet twenty-two years old, the Governor decided to entrust him with it.

Governor Dinwiddie gave to his young envoy a letter addressed to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio, in which he demanded of him his reasons for invading the territory of England while Great Britain and France were at peace with each other. Washington was instructed to observe carefully the numbers and positions of the French, the strength of their forts, the nature of their communications with Canada and with their various posts, and to endeavor to ascertain the real designs of the French in occupying the Ohio Valley, the probability of their being vigorously supported from Canada, and the extent to which their efforts to array the Indian tribes against the English had been carried. "Ye're a braw lad," said the Governor, as he delivered his instructions to the young

major, "and gin ye play your cards weel, my boy, ye shall hae nae cause to rue your bargain."

Washington received his instructions on the 30th of October, 1753, and on the same day set out for Winchester, then a frontier post, from which he proceeded to Wills' Creek, where he was to cross the mountains. Having secured the services of Christopher Gist as guide, and of two interpreters and four others, Washington left Wills' Creek about the middle of November. They crossed the mountains and journeyed through an unbroken country in which the Indian trails were the only paths, across rugged ravines, over steep hills, and across streams swollen with recent heavy rains, until in nine days they reached the point where the Alleghany and Monongahela unite and form the Ohio. Washington carefully examined the place, and was greatly impressed with the advantages offered for the location of a fort by the point of land at the junction of the two rivers. The judgment expressed by him at the time was subsequently confirmed by the choice of the spot by the French for one of their most important posts—Fort Duquesne.

In accordance with his instructions, Washington proceeded to Logstown, where he was to meet the Delaware chiefs in council, to acquaint them with the nature of his mission, and to ascertain their disposition towards the English. He reached this place on the 24th of November, but found Tanacharisson, or the Half King, as he was more commonly called, absent on a hunting expedition. Runners were despatched for him, and also to summon the neighboring chiefs to the council. While awaiting their arrival, Washington met several deserters from the French posts on the lower Ohio, who had just come in, and from them learned the number, location, and strength of the French posts between Quebec and New Orleans, by way of the Wabash and the Maumee. They informed him of the intention of the French to occupy the Ohio from its head to its mouth with a similar chain of forts. The Half King upon his arrival confirmed the report of the deserters. He had heard that the French were coming with a strong force to drive the English out of the land.

On the 26th a "grand talk" was had with the chiefs in council by Washington, who informed them of the nature of his

mission, and that he was ordered by the Governor of Virginia to ask their advice and assistance, and some of their young men to accompany him as a protection on the way against the "French Indians," who had taken up the hatchet. The chiefs answered him through the Half King, that what he had said was true; they were brothers, and would guard him on his way to the nearest French post. They wished neither the English nor the French to settle in their country; but as the French were the first intruders, they were willing to aid the English in their efforts to expel them. They agreed to break off friendly relations with the French; but Washington, who knew the Indian character well, was not altogether satisfied with their promises.

He was detained several days at Logstown by the chiefs, and did not leave that place until the 30th of November. He was attended by the Half King and three other Indians, and on the 4th of December reached the French fort at Venango. Captain Joncaire, the officer in command of this fort, was without authority to receive the letter borne by Washington, and referred him to the Chevalier St. Pierre, the commandant of the next post. In the meantime he treated the English with courtesy, and invited Washington to sup with him. When the wine was passed around the French officers drank deeply, and soon lost their discretion. The sober and vigilant Washington noted their words with great care, and recorded them in his diary. "They told me," he writes, "that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and, by G—d, they would do it; for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs." The French officers then informed Washington of their strength south of the lakes, and the number and location of their posts between Montreal and Venango.

The French exerted every stratagem to detach the Indians from Washington's party, and they met with enough success to justify his distrust of his savage allies. The latter had come to deliver up the French speech-belts, or, in other words, to break off friendly relations with the French. They wavered and failed to fulfil their promise, "but the Half King clung

to Washington as a brother, and delivered up his speech-belt, as he had promised."

The party left Venango on the 7th of December, and reached Fort Le Bœuf, the next post, situated on French Creek, on the 11th, having made the journey through snow, rain, mire and swamp. The fort was a strong work, defended by cannon; and near by Washington saw a number of canoes and boats, and materials for building others—sure indications that an expedition down the river was soon to be attempted. St. Pierre, "an ancient and silver-haired chevalier of the military order of St. Louis," the commander of the fort, was an officer of experience and integrity, and was greatly beloved as well as feared by the savage tribes of the neighboring country. He received the young envoy with stately courtesy, but refused to discuss questions of right with him. "I am here," he said, "by the orders of my general, to which I shall conform with exactness and resolution."

The envoy was detained four days at the fort, and in the meantime occupied himself in taking notes of the plan and dimensions of the fort and its means of defense, and in acquainting himself with the designs of the French, which were unmistakably hostile to the English in the Ohio Valley. On the 14th, St. Pierre delivered to Washington a sealed reply to the letter of the Governor of Virginia, and on the 16th the party set out on its return. They descended French Creek in canoes, at considerable risk, as the stream was full of floating ice, which constantly threatened to crush their frail vessels. Venango was not reached until the 22d. There it was found that the horses were so feeble that it was doubtful whether they would be able to make the journey home. One of the Indians fell ill, and the others resolved to remain with him at Venango. The English accordingly set out for home without them, Washington carrying with him the assurance of the Half King that nothing should shake his friendship for the English, or make him the ally of the French. The party made slow progress. "I put myself in an Indian walking dress," says Washington, "and continued with them three days, until I found there was no possibility of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold in-

creased very fast, and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow continually freezing ; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back to make report of proceedings to his honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot."

Taking Gist as his only companion, and directing their way by the compass, Washington set out on foot, on the 26th, by the nearest way across the country, for the head of the Ohio. The next day an Indian who had joined them at "Murdering Town," and had undertaken to guide them through the woods, suddenly wheeled upon Washington and fired at him at a distance of but fifteen steps. He missed his aim, and was at once secured. Gist was anxious to kill the savage on the spot, but Washington would not allow this, and they kept the fellow until dark and then released him. Fearful that the Indian would set others on their trail, they waited until he was fairly out of sight, and then set off and traveled all night and all the next day, directing their course by the compass.

At dark on the 28th they reached the banks of the Alleghany, which they had expected to find frozen over. It was full of floating ice, and they passed an anxious night on its banks. The next morning they set to work with one poor hatchet to construct a raft, their only means of reaching the opposite bank. They completed their raft about sunset, and launched it upon the stream. It was caught in the floating ice, and in the effort to free it Washington was hurled into the water and nearly drowned. Unable to reach the opposite shore, they made for an island in mid-stream, and passed the night there. The cold was intense, and Gist had all his fingers and all his toes frozen. The next morning the river was frozen over sufficiently hard to bear their weight. They at once crossed to the opposite bank, resumed their journey, and by nightfall were in comfortable quarters at the house of Frazier, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela. Continuing his journey from this point, Washington reached Williamsburg on the 16th of January, and reported to the Governor the result of his mission.

"The prudence, sagacity, resolution, firmness, and self-devotion manifested by him throughout ; his admirable tact and

self-possession in treating with fickle savages and crafty white men; the soldier's eye with which he had noticed the commanding and defensible points of the country, and everything that would bear upon military operations; and the hardihood with which he had acquitted himself during a wintry tramp through the wilderness, through constant storms of rain and snow—often sleeping on the ground without a tent in the open air, and in danger from treacherous foes—all pointed him out, not merely to the Governor, but to the public at large, as one eminently fitted, notwithstanding his youth, for important trusts involving civil as well as military duties. It is an expedition that may be considered the foundation of his fortunes. From that moment he was the rising hope of Virginia.”*

The French commander on the Ohio returned a courteous but evasive answer to Governor Dinwiddie's communication, and referred him for a definite settlement of the matter to the Marquis Duquesne, the Governor of Canada. It was clear from the tone of his letter that he meant to hold on to the territory he had occupied, and the Governor of Virginia was satisfied from Major Washington's report of his observations that St. Pierre was only waiting for the opening of navigation to extend the line of French posts down the Ohio. The authorities of Virginia resolved to anticipate him, and in the early spring of 1754 the Ohio Company sent a force of forty men to build a fort at the head of the Ohio, on the site to which Washington had called their attention. In order to arouse the nation to a sense of the danger which threatened it from the French movements, Washington's journal was printed and widely circulated throughout the Colonies and England. It was generally read, and won universal favor for its heroic young author.

Measures were promptly taken in Virginia for the protection of the frontiers. A regiment of troops was ordered to be raised, and it was the general wish that Major Washington should be appointed to the command. He declined the commission tendered him, alleging his youth and inexperience; but accepted the post of lieutenant-colonel. The command of the regiment was conferred upon Colonel Joshua Fry. Washington was

**Irons.*

ordered to repair to the west and take charge of the defense of the frontiers. He took the field promptly, and in April, 1754, reached Wills' Creek with three companies of his regiment. The rest of the command was to follow under Colonel Fry.

Almost at the moment of his arrival at the fort at Wills' Creek, came the news that the party sent to build the fort at the head of the Ohio had been surrounded by a French force of one thousand men, with artillery, and compelled to surrender, upon condition of being allowed to retire east of the mountains. Immediately upon the withdrawal of the English, the French forces had occupied the unfinished work, completed it upon a more formidable scale, and named it Fort Duquesne. This was an act of war, and was attended with more important consequences than either party at the time supposed would be the case. It began the final struggle by which the power of France in America was broken. The war which ensued is known in European history as the Seven Years' War; in our own as the French and Indian War. It began on the banks of the Ohio, and for nearly two years was confined to the New World.

Colonel Fry having fallen sick at Winchester, the direction of affairs on the frontier was left exclusively in the hands of the young Lieutenant-Colonel, who at once resolved to push forward, and upon reaching the junction of Red Stone Creek with the Monongahela, the site of the present town of Brownsville, to build a fort there, and hold it until he could be reinforced from Virginia. He took with him about 160 men, and set out from Wills' Creek on the 29th of April. His force was poorly provided with clothing and tents, and was deficient in military supplies of all kinds. The country to be traversed was a wild, unbroken region, without roads or bridges, and through it artillery and wagons were to be transported. The little band moved slowly and with difficulty, and Washington pushed on in advance with a small detachment, intending to secure the position on the Monongahela, and await the arrival of the main body.

On the 20th of May he reached the Youghiogheny, and there received a message from his ally the Half King, telling him that the French were in heavy force at Fort Duquesne. This report was confirmed at the Little Meadows by the trad-

ers, and by another message from the Half King on the 25th of May, warning Washington that a force of French and Indians had left Fort Duquesne on a secret expedition. Washington was confident that this expedition was directed against him, and advanced to the Great Meadows, and took position there. On the morning of the 27th Gist arrived at the camp, and reported that he had seen the trail of the French within five miles of the Great Meadows. In the evening of the same day a runner came in from the Half King, with a message that the French were close at hand. Taking with him forty men, Washington set off for the Half King's camp, and by a difficult night march through a tangled forest, in the midst of a driving rain, reached it about daylight. The runners of the Half King reported the French encamped in a deep glen not far distant, and it was decided to attack them at once. The Half King and his warriors placed themselves under Washington's orders, and the march was resumed towards the French camp. The French were surprised, and an action of about a quarter of an hour ensued. The enemy lost ten men killed, among whom was their commander Jumonville, and twenty-one prisoners.

Washington was very anxious to follow up the advantage he had gained, and had already appealed to the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania for assistance, but no aid reached him. Unable to advance in the face of the rapidly increasing forces of the French, he threw up a stockade fort at the Great Meadows, which he named Fort Necessity, from the fact that his troops were almost in a starving condition. Somewhat later there arrived at Fort Necessity an independent company of South Carolina volunteers under Captain Mackay. Washington, by the death of Colonel Fry a short time before, had succeeded to the command of the regiment. He held his commission, however, from the Governor of Virginia, while that of Captain Mackay had been granted him by the King; the latter therefore refused to obey the orders of Washington, whom he regarded as a mere provincial officer, or to consider himself under his command. In order to put an end to the annoyance, Washington left Mackay and his company to guard Fort Necessity, while with his own regiment he advanced on the 11th of June towards Redstone Creek. Upon reaching Gist's trading-

post, about thirteen miles from Fort Necessity, he received intelligence that the French at Fort Duquesne had been heavily reinforced, and that a large force would be at once despatched against him. He therefore resolved to retreat at once to Fort Necessity, and as there was a deficiency of horses, set the example to his officers by relinquishing his own horse to aid in transporting the baggage. The South Carolina company had been ordered up from Fort Necessity, and had joined the main force, but refused to take any part in the labors of the retreat, fancying that their being "King's soldiers" exempted them from this duty. Upon reaching Great Meadows the Virginia troops, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and indignant at the conduct of the South Carolinians, refused to proceed any further; and Washington, who had intended to retreat to a point nearer Wills' Creek, was obliged to halt at Fort Necessity, which he at once set to work to strengthen.

His retreat to the Great Meadows was a timely and prudent move. A force of over five hundred well-equipped French troops and several hundred Indians had been despatched against Washington from Fort Duquesne, under command of Captain de Villiers. Failing to find him at Gist's plantation, De Villiers pushed on to the Great Meadows, encouraged by the report of a deserter that the English were starving. On the 3d of July the French and Indians suddenly appeared before Fort Necessity, and occupied the hills surrounding it. The attacking party were able to shelter themselves behind trees, and could command the fort from their safe position, while the English were greatly exposed, and it became evident to the most inexperienced that the fort was untenable. Nevertheless, the work was held for nine hours under a heavy fire, and amid the discomforts of a severe rain-storm. At length, De Villiers, the French commander, fearing that his ammunition would be exhausted, proposed a parley and offered terms to Washington. The English had lost thirty killed, the French but three. The terms of capitulation proposed by De Villiers were interpreted to Washington, who did not understand French, by Jacob Vanbraam, Washington's old fencing-master, who was serving as a captain in his regiment, and who was "a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue." In consequence of this

imperfect interpretation, Washington and his officers "were betrayed into a pledge which they would never have consented to give, and an act of moral suicide which they could never have deliberately committed. They understood from Vanbraam's interpretation that no fort was to be built beyond the mountains *on lands belonging to the King of France*; but the terms of the articles are, neither in this place nor beyond the mountains?" The capitulation was signed, and the Virginians were allowed to march out of the fort with the honors of war, retaining their arms and all their stores, but leaving their artillery. This they did on the morning of July 4th, 1754. The march across the mountains was rendered painful by the lack of provisions, but the troops at length reached the post at Wills' Creek, which was now called Fort Cumberland. Although the expedition had been unsuccessful, the conduct of Washington had been marked by so much prudence and good judgment that he received the thanks of the General Assembly of Virginia.

Governor Dinwiddie had already thrown many obstacles in the way of the defence of the colony, and he now refused to reward the provincial officers with the promotions they had so well earned. In order to avoid this, he dissolved the Virginia regiment, and reorganized it into independent companies, no officer of which was to have a rank higher than that of captain. It was also ordered that officers holding commissions from the King should take precedence of those holding commissions from the colonial government. Washington, feeling that he could not remain in the service with self-respect upon these conditions, resigned his commission, and retired to Mount Vernon. Soon afterwards Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, having been appointed by the King commander-in-chief of the forces of the Southern colonies, proposed to Washington, through a friend, to return to the army with the rank of Colonel, but with the actual authority of a captain. Washington declined the offer with characteristic dignity. "If you think me," he wrote, "capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must maintain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me more empty than the commission itself."

While Washington was in retirement at Mount Vernon, vigorous measures were put in force for the prosecution of the war. Great Britain decided to send a royal army to the assistance of the Colonies, but was anxious that they should bear the brunt of the struggle themselves. General Edward Braddock, who was regarded as one of the most accomplished officers in the royal service, was sent over to take command of the troops in America. He reached Alexandria, Virginia, in February, 1755, and was soon followed by two regiments of infantry of five hundred men each, the largest force of regulars Great Britain had ever assembled in America. A conference of the Governors of the various Colonies with the new commander-in-chief was held at Alexandria, and a plan of campaign was decided upon. Four expeditions were to be despatched against the French. The first, under Braddock in person, was to advance upon Fort Duquesne; the second was to be sent against Fort Niagara, under Governor Shirley of Massachusetts; the third was to attack Crown Point; and the fourth was to expel the French from Nova Scotia. As we can relate here only the events of the first expedition, we may say that Shirley's expedition proved a failure; Johnson never reached Crown Point; the fourth expedition succeeded in expelling the French settlers from Nova Scotia, and stained its triumph with inexcusable cruelties to those unhappy people.

General Braddock was thoroughly proficient in the *theory* of his profession, but his experience in the field was limited to a single campaign. He possessed the confidence of his superiors in England, and his faith in himself was boundless. He believed his regulars capable of accomplishing any task assigned them, and was imbued with a most sovereign contempt for the provincial troops that were to form a part of his command.

The preparations for the campaign were made at Alexandria, but a few miles from Mount Vernon. The river was alive with ships of war and transports, and the thunder of cannon often echoed through the peaceful groves of that quiet home. Washington was deeply interested in these preparations, and often rode into Alexandria to witness the manœuvres of the troops. He was eager to join the expedition as a volunteer, and his desire was reported to General Braddock, who upon

being informed of his personal merits and his former services in the country soon to be the scene of war, offered him the position of volunteer Aide-de-camp on his staff. Washington at once accepted the place. It brought him no compensation or command, and required him to defray his expenses out of his own private purse. In order to accept it he was also obliged to leave his private affairs "to take care of themselves" during his absence, as he had no one in whom he had confidence to manage them for him.

Had General Braddock been a more reasonable man, the presence of Colonel Washington in his military family might have been of the greatest service to him; for the experience of the young colonel in a field in which the General had never served would have made him an invaluable counsellor. Braddock was in a strange country, and was charged with the conduct of a campaign in which the ordinary rules of warfare as practiced in Europe could not be adhered to. He knew nothing of the difficulties of marching his army through a tangled wilderness and over a mountain range of the first magnitude, without roads and bridges; nothing of the peculiar mode of warfare against which he would have to contend. Unfortunately for him, he was not aware of his ignorance, and would neither ask nor listen to information or advice upon the subject. Washington did venture to offer suggestions based upon his knowledge of the necessities of the campaign, but his advice was coldly received, and he soon ceased to proffer it.

The army assembled at Wills' Creek, and, encumbered with a heavy train, moved slowly across the mountains, cutting a road as it advanced. It was June before it set out, and such little progress was made from day to day that Braddock, greatly disheartened, privately asked Washington to advise him what to do. As it was known that the garrison of Fort Duquesne was small, Washington urged him to detach a light corps from the main body, unencumbered with baggage or tents, and make a dash at the fort before reinforcements could arrive from Canada. Braddock accordingly detached a division of twelve hundred men and ten pieces of cannon, with a train of pack-horses to carry the baggage, and pushed on in advance with them, leaving Colonel Dunbar to bring up the

main division as rapidly as possible. He refused, however, to employ a band of trained scouts, who offered their services to him, and who would have been invaluable in such a march. He moved so slowly with his advanced division that it was the 8th of July before it reached the east bank of the Monongahela, about fifteen miles above Fort Duquesne. Washington, who had been ill for some days, and had been left behind at Dunbar's camp, rejoined Braddock on the same day, though far from well.

Early on the morning of the 9th of July the march was resumed. By noon the troops were but ten miles distant from Fort Duquesne. Washington was well convinced that the French and Indians were aware of the movements of the army, and would seek to attack it before it could reach the fort. He therefore urged Braddock to throw in advance the Virginia Rangers, three hundred strong, as they were experienced Indian fighters. Braddock angrily rebuked his Aid, and to make the rebuke more pointed, ordered the Virginia troops and other provincials to take position in the rear of the regulars. The latter made a gallant show as they marched along with their gay uniforms, their burnished arms and flying colors, and their drums beating a lively march. Washington could not repress his admiration at the brilliant sight, nor his anxiety for the result.

His forebodings were not without cause. The French had been informed by their scouts of the approach of the English army, and early on the morning of the 9th a force of about two hundred and thirty French and Canadians and six hundred and thirty-seven Indians, under De Beaujeu, set out to harass the English on their march. They concealed themselves along the sides of a ravine, through which the route of the latter lay; and about two o'clock in the afternoon, as the head of the English column entered this defile, a heavy fire was opened upon it by the force in ambush. The assailants, concealed among the trees, were almost invisible to the English, who were fully exposed to their fire, as they occupied a broad ravine, covered with low shrubs, immediately below the eminence held by the French.

The regulars were quickly thrown into confusion by the

heavy fire and the fierce yells of the Indians, and their losses were so severe and sudden that they became panic-stricken. The advance of the English was driven back, and it crowded upon the second division in disorder. A reinforcement of eight hundred men under Colonel Burton arrived at this moment, but only to add to the confusion. The French now pushed their lines forward and increased the disorder of the English, who had by this time lost nearly all their officers. Braddock now came up, and gallantly exerted himself to restore order, but "the King's regulars and disciplined troops" were so utterly demoralized that not one of his commands was obeyed.

The only semblance of resistance maintained by the English was by the Virginia Rangers, whom Braddock had insulted at the beginning of the day's march. Immediately upon the commencement of the battle they had adopted the tactics of the Indians, and had thrown themselves behind trees, from which shelter they were rapidly picking off the savages. Washington entreated Braddock to allow the regulars to follow the example of the Virginians; but the latter refused, and stubbornly endeavored to form them in platoons under the fatal fire that was being poured upon them by their hidden assailants. Thus through his obstinacy many useful lives were thrown away. The officers did not share the panic of their men, but behaved with the greatest gallantry. They were the especial marks of the Indian sharp-shooters, and many of them were killed or wounded. Two of Braddock's aids were seriously hurt, and their duties devolved upon Washington in addition to his own. He passed repeatedly over the field, carrying the orders of the commander and encouraging the men. When sent to bring up the artillery, he found it surrounded by Indians, its commander, Sir Peter Halket, killed, and the men standing helpless from fear. Springing from his horse, he appealed to the men to save the guns, pointed a field-piece and discharged it at the enemy, and called on the men to rally. He could accomplish nothing either by his words or example; the men deserted the guns and fled. In a letter to his brother, Washington wrote, "I had four bullets through my coat, two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was levelling my companions on every side around me."

Braddock had five horses shot under him, and at length received a mortal wound. His fall saved the army from destruction. He was conveyed to the rear, and the order was given to fall back. The "regulars fled like sheep before the hounds;" the French and Indians pressed forward in pursuit, and all would have been lost had not the Virginia Rangers thrown themselves in the rear and covered the flight of the regulars with a determination that checked the pursuers. The artillery, wagons, and all the camp train were abandoned, and the savages, stopping to plunder these, allowed the fugitives to reach a point of safety.

Having seen the wounded general as comfortable as circumstances would permit, Washington rode all that night and the next day, though still suffering from the effects of his illness, to Dunbar's camp, to procure wagons for the wounded and soldiers to guard them. With these he hurried back to the fugitives.

Braddock was borne in a litter as far as the Great Meadows. He seemed heart-broken by his reverse, and rarely spoke. It is said that he thanked Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Rangers for his care of him since his fall, and apologized to Washington for the manner in which he had received his advice. He had no wish to live, and died at Fort Necessity on the night of the 13th of July. He was buried the next morning before day-break, as secretly as possible, for fear the savages might find and violate his grave. The chaplain having been wounded, Washington read over the lonely grave the burial service of the English Church.

Dunbar, who succeeded Braddock in the command of the expedition, at once broke up his camp, destroyed his stores and retreated beyond the mountains. Disregarding the entreaties of the colonists not to leave the frontiers exposed to the savages, he continued his retreat to Philadelphia, and went into winter quarters there.

The effect of these reverses upon the people of America was most marked. When they understood that Braddock's splendid force of disciplined regulars had been routed by a mere handful of French and Indians, their respect for the invincibility of British troops was destroyed; and their confidence in their

own prowess was greatly increased by the proud reflection that the only thing that had been done to save the army of Braddock from total destruction had been accomplished by the provincials.

Washington's conduct was a subject of praise in all the colonies, and brought his name conspicuously before the whole people of America. In a sermon preached a few months after the battle, the Rev. Samuel Davies, a learned clergyman, spoke of him as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." Washington himself attributed his wonderful escape from even a wound to the overruling providence of God. The Indians opposed to him regarded it in the same light. About fifteen years after the battle, while examining some lands near the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, Washington was visited by an old Indian chief. The chief told him he was present at the battle of the Monongahela, among the Indian allies of the French; "that he singled him out and repeatedly fired his rifle at him; that he had also ordered his young warriors to make him their only mark; but that on finding all their bullets turned aside by some invisible and inscrutable interposition, he was convinced that the hero at whom he had so often and so truly aimed must be, for some wise purpose, specially protected by the Great Spirit. He now came, therefore, to testify his veneration."

The retreat of Dunbar left the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania at the mercy of the savages, who maintained a desultory but destructive warfare along the entire border. In Virginia a force was raised for the defense of the frontier, and Colonel Washington was appointed commander-in-chief "of all the forces raised or to be raised for the defense of the colony." He was given so few men, however, that his undertaking was a hopeless one. The laws for the government of the militia were inefficient, and there was no means of compelling them to serve against their will. Through the efforts of Washington the General Assembly of Virginia was induced to enact more stringent measures for this purpose. The question of precedence was also revived and occasioned him great annoyance.

A Captain Dagworthy of Maryland, who had held a king's commission and had commuted it for half pay, had raised a company of Maryland volunteers, and was stationed at Fort Cumberland. Regarding himself as a "King's officer," he refused to obey the orders of Washington, who, though commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, was a provincial officer. To settle this vexed question Washington, in February, 1756, accompanied by two of his officers, made a journey on horseback to Boston, five hundred miles distant, to consult Major-General Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock in command of the royal forces in America. The question was settled in Washington's favor as regarded Dagworthy, but the former was not able to have himself and his officers put upon the regular establishment with commissions from the King, as he had hoped. Washington remained ten days in Boston, and was the recipient of the cordial hospitality of some of the leading citizens of the place, for his reputation had preceded him, and he was well and favorably known in the metropolis of New England. Returning through New York he spent a short time there with Beverly Robinson, an old friend and schoolmate, who had married and settled in that city. Tradition has it that he became deeply enamored of Miss Mary Philipse, the beautiful sister of his friend's wife; that he addressed her and was refused. This was not his first love affair; and he did not take his rejection very deeply to heart, as we shall see.

Returning to Winchester, Washington resumed his command, but was unable with the means at hand to save the valley of the Shenandoah from the savages, who ravaged it with merciless fury. The more protected regions were also kept in a state of constant uneasiness and alarm. Governor Dinwiddie was repeatedly appealed to by the young commander to furnish more men, but refused to do so, alleging the necessity of retaining a strong force in the eastern counties to keep the negro slaves in subjection. The Virginia newspapers in their discussions of the troubles on the frontier endeavored to throw the responsibility upon the army, and especially upon its commander. Washington's indignation was aroused by this unjust censure, and he was prevented from throwing up his commission in disgust only by the earnest entreaties of his friends in the colonial

government. He urged upon the Governor and Council the establishment of a fort at Winchester, the central point of a wide district of country, as a place of deposit for the arms and supplies for the militia of the border, and a refuge for the women and children in the event of a savage inroad upon their homes. It was also to be the headquarters of the commander-in-chief. He at length had the satisfaction of receiving in the summer of 1756 orders to begin the construction of this fortress. It received the name of Fort Loudon, in honor of the Earl of Loudon, the new commander of the royal forces in America.

Governor Dinwiddie had been anxious to appoint Colonel Innes, a favorite of his own, to the command of the colonial forces, but had been obliged to yield to the popular wish, and confer that post upon Colonel Washington. He avenged himself by giving the latter all the annoyance he could, and thwarting his measures as far as possible. "So much am I kept in the dark," wrote Washington, "that I do not know whether to prepare for the offensive or defensive." At another time he said: "The orders I receive are full of ambiguity. I am left like a wanderer in the wilderness, to proceed at hazard. I am answerable for consequences, and blamed without the privilege of defense." The Governor also misrepresented the measures of Washington to the Earl of Loudon, and in order to place matters in their true light, Washington obtained leave to repair to Philadelphia to hold a consultation with the commander-in-chief. He was well received by Lord Loudon, and his visit had the happy effect of removing the wrong impressions under which the Earl had been placed by the Governor. His lordship frequently consulted him on points of frontier service during his stay in Philadelphia, and his advice was generally adopted.

After a brief visit to Philadelphia Washington returned to Winchester, and spent the year 1757 in the arduous task of defending the frontier. He was thus engaged while Earl of Loudon made his unfortunate attempt upon Louisburg. In January, 1758, Governor Dinwiddie was recalled to England, to the great advantage of the public service in Virginia.

The year 1758 witnessed other changes of great importance. William Pitt came into power in England at the head of the new ministry, and at once infused fresh vigor into the meas-

ures of the government. He appreciated and sympathized with the Americans more perfectly than any of his predecessors in office, and exerted himself to encourage and develop their patriotism by a generous and systematic assistance of their efforts. He caused the government of Great Britain to assume the expenses of the war, and while the colonies were each required to furnish troops, he "stipulated that the colonial troops raised for this purpose should be supplied with arms, ammunition, tents and provisions, in the same manner as the regular troops, and at the King's expense; so that the only charge to the colonies would be that of levying, clothing, and paying the men. The Governors were also authorized to issue commissions to provincial officials, from colonels downwards, and these officials were to hold rank in the united army according to their commissions." Lord Loudon was recalled, and three expeditions were organized under as many separate officers. The first of these was dispatched against Louisburg under General Amherst, assisted by General James Wolfe, and captured that fortress after a siege of twenty days. The second, under General Abercrombie, was sent to capture Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. Lord George Howe, who was greatly beloved by the army and people, was the second in command in this expedition. Unhappily he was killed in a skirmish near the foot of Lake George, and Abercrombie ruined his army by a disastrous and ill-advised attack upon the works at Ticonderogo. He abandoned the enterprise, which he was incompetent to conduct, and returned to the head of Lake George. A detachment of provincials from his army, under Colonel Bradstreet, of New York, marched to Oswego, and crossing Lake Ontario in open boats, captured Fort Frontenac at the head of that Lake, and destroyed it, together with its stores. This capture was of the highest importance, and led to the abandonment of the French forts on the Ohio, which drew their supplies from it.

The third expedition was destined for the capture of Fort Duquesne, and was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Forbes, a veteran officer of the English army. To this expedition the Virginia troops under Washington were attached. They numbered less than nineteen hundred men, and were

without arms, tents, field equipage and the other necessities of a military force. They had been brought into the field by the extraordinary exertions of Washington, who endeavored, without success, to supply their wants. While Forbes was assembling the bulk of his troops in Pennsylvania, Colonel Washington was ordered by Sir John St. Clair, the quarter-master general of the forces, to repair to Williamsburg and lay the state of his command before the Governor and Council. He at once set out from Winchester on horseback, accompanied by his servant Bishop, who had been bequeathed to him by General Braddock. Little did he imagine what the journey would bring forth.

At the crossing of the Pamunkey River, a branch of the York, he met a Mr. Chamberlayne, a planter residing in the neighborhood, who insisted that he should accompany him home, and dine with him. He would take no excuse, and Washington, though pleading the importance of reaching Williamsburg that night, was fain to accept the hospitality of the warm-hearted planter.

Among the guests at the planter's mansion was a young widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, daughter of Mr. John Dandridge, a prominent citizen of the colony. Her husband, John Parke Custis, had been dead about three years, and had left her with two young children and a large fortune. She was in the flush of her youth, and was handsome in person, engaging in manner, and lovely in character. Washington, always susceptible to female beauty, fell in love with her at once. In the charm of her society he forgot his impatience to reach Williamsburg, and when Bishop, faithful to his orders, brought the horses to the door, he was left to wait, and to speculate upon the cause of his master's unusual delay. Finally the horses were sent back to the stable, and Washington yielded a ready consent to Mr. Chamberlayne's invitation to pass the night under his roof. The next morning he was in the saddle again, and on the road to Williamsburg. The White House, the residence of Mrs. Custis, was not far distant from the capital, and Washington improved his opportunities so well, that when his brief visit was ended, he set out on his return to Winchester, carrying with him the promise of the blooming young widow to become

his wife at the close of the campaign against Fort Duquesne. Soon after his arrival at his post, he was ordered to repair with his command to Fort Cumberland. He reached that post on the 2d of July, and proceeded to open a road between the fort and Raystown, Pennsylvania, thirty miles distant, where Forbes was assembling his forces.

As his troops were but poorly supplied with regimental clothing, Washington caused them to be equipped in the light hunting dress of the Indians. "Convenience, rather than show, should be consulted," he declared. This measure received the warm approval of Colonel Bouquet, who commanded Forbes' advanced forces. "Their dress," wrote the veteran, "should be one pattern for this expedition."

As it was his intention to retire from the army at the close of the campaign, Washington proposed himself to the electors of Frederick county as their representative in the House of Burgesses. He was elected by a large majority over several competitors, during his absence with the troops in the field.

The force assembled under General Forbes for the reduction of Fort Duquesne numbered seven thousand men. Washington urged upon Forbes the advantages of adopting the old road by the Monongahela cut by Braddock's army, but the General decided to construct a new road farther to the north. While this road was being constructed, Colonel Bouquet, with the advanced guard, crossed Laurel Hill and established a post at Loyal Hanna. The new road progressed very slowly, only forty-five miles being constructed in six weeks. Bouquet had with him a force of about 2,000 men, chiefly Highlanders and Virginians. Learning from his scouts that Fort Duquesne was held by a garrison of only eight hundred men, of whom three hundred were Indians, Bouquet, without orders from General Forbes, resolved to attempt the capture of the fort by a sudden blow. He detached a force of eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians, under Major Grant, to reconnoitre Fort Duquesne. The French were fully informed of Grant's movements, but allowed him to approach unmolested, intending to disarm his vigilance, and then attack him. Grant affected the usual contempt for the provincial troops, and upon arriving before the fort, placed Major Lewis with the Virginians to

guard the baggage, and sent his regulars forward to reconnoitre the fort, and make a sketch of it. He was greatly encouraged by the fact that the French allowed him to approach without firing a shot at him, and in his self-complacency marched right into an ambush which the enemy had prepared for him. The French commander had posted the Indians along the sides of a defile by which the English were advancing, and at a given signal the garrison made a sudden sally from the fort against the Highlanders, while the Indians opened a heavy fire upon them from their place of concealment. The regulars were quickly thrown into confusion, and their officers were found incapable of conducting such an encounter. Attracted by the firing, Major Lewis, with a company of Virginians, hastened to the scene of the encounter, and engaging the enemy hand to hand, enabled the regulars to save themselves from a general massacre. The detachment was routed with heavy loss, and both Grant and Lewis were taken prisoners. The fugitives retreated to the point where the baggage had been left. It was guarded by Captain Bullit, whom Lewis had left there with one company of Virginians. By the gallant and skillful resistance of this little force, the French and Indians were checked, and finally driven back in confusion. The English then continued their retreat with all speed to Loyal Hanna. Again the provincials had saved the regulars from total destruction. General Forbes had the magnanimity to acknowledge and compliment the services of the Virginians, and Captain Bullit was promoted to the rank of Major.

General Forbes was greatly disheartened by Grant's disaster. A council of war was called to deliberate upon the future operations of the army, and decided, much to Washington's disgust, that, as it was now November, and they were still fifty miles from Fort Duquesne, with an unbroken country between them and the Ohio, nothing more could be accomplished until the spring. The enterprise was on the point of being abandoned when fortunately three prisoners were brought in, from whom Washington drew the information that the garrison of Fort Duquesne was reduced to a very small force, that the Indians had deserted the French, and that the expected reinforcements and supplies from Canada had not arrived. He was confident from

the reports of the deserters that a well executed effort would result in the capture of the fort.

This information decided General Forbes to continue the expedition. A force of twenty-five hundred picked troops was placed under Washington's command, and he was ordered to push forward as rapidly as possible, and prepare the road for the advance of the main army. Washington was ably seconded by the energetic Armstrong of Pennsylvania, and the march was pressed with such vigor that in ten days the army arrived in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne. The French now saw that the fall of the fort was inevitable. They had but five hundred men for its defense, and Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac had cut them off from the reinforcements and supplies they had expected from Canada. They abandoned Fort Duquesne on the night of the 24th of November, and embarking in flat boats floated down the Ohio to join their countrymen in the valley of the Mississippi. On the 25th the English army arrived before the fort, and finding it deserted and in ruins, occupied it. In accordance with the unanimous wish of the army, General Forbes changed the name of the place to Fort Pitt. The splendid city of Pittsburgh now marks the site.

Washington's services throughout this campaign were acknowledged with pride in all the colonies, but the British Government took no notice of them. Not even Pitt, with all his appreciation of America, thought it worth while to offer him any promotion or reward. At the close of the campaign he resigned his commission, and retired to civil life. He took no part in, but was an interested observer of the events of the campaign of 1759, which witnessed the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, and the final expulsion of the French from Canada, and the triumphant close of the war.

Shortly after his withdrawal from the army, the marriage of Washington to Mrs. Custis was celebrated at the White House, the home of the bride, on the 6th of January, 1759. It was witnessed by a goodly company of relatives and friends, and the festivities were conducted with genuine old Virginian hospitality.

During the three months following his marriage, Washington resided at the White House, and during this time took

his seat in the House of Burgesses as the representative of Frederick county. The house had determined to mark the occasion of his entrance into that body by a signal testimonial of its appreciation of his services. After he had taken the oath of office, and had repaired to his seat, Mr. Robinson, the speaker, in an eloquent address, returned him the thanks of the Colony of Virginia, for the distinguished services he had rendered his country in the field. At the close of the speaker's remarks, Washington rose to reply, but was so abashed that he could not utter a word. Seeing his modest confusion, the speaker gracefully came to his relief. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," he said, smiling, "Your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

At the close of the session of the House, Washington returned with his bride to his own home at Mount Vernon. There he hoped to pass the remainder of his days in peace. In a letter to a friend, soon after his return to Mount Vernon, he wrote: "I am now, I believe, fixed in this seat, with an agreeable partner for life, and I hope to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced in the rude and bustling world." He was sincere in his assertion. Rural life was always the most fascinating to him, and he indulged no ambitious dreams of worldly greatness. Nothing but the strongest sense of public duty could tempt him to leave his beloved home.

It was indeed a charming home. It was situated on a commanding height which rose from the shore of the broad Potomac, long stretches of which could be seen in both directions, up and down, from the grounds and verandah. The grounds were well laid out, and the mansion, though simple, was comfortable and tasteful; the estate was large and was divided into several farms, each of which had its own laborers and overseer, and was devoted to a particular kind of culture. The river abounded in fish of the choicest kinds, and the estate had several valuable fisheries reserved to it. To the management of this property Washington gave his especial and unremitting care, and his account books, which are models of their kind, show that he was a most systematic manager. His marriage had added about one hundred thousand dollars to his already large fortune, and he was enabled to live in a style of elegant

and dignified comfort most congenial to his tastes. He also assumed the guardianship of the children of his wife by her first marriage, and the administration of their property, a trust which it is needless to say he executed with the most scrupulous fidelity. He was a man of sincere and unaffected piety, and was a member of the "established" or Episcopal Church. He was a vestryman of two parishes, Fairfax and Truro. The parish church of Fairfax was at Alexandria, ten miles from Mount Vernon; that of Truro at Pohick, seven miles distant. The Pohick church was rebuilt on a plan designed by him, and almost entirely at his expense. He was a regular attendant at one or the other of these churches every Sunday when the weather and the roads permitted. "His demeanor was reverential and devout. Mrs. Washington knelt during prayers; he always stood, as was the custom at that time. Both were communicants."

"The products of his estate," says Irving, "also became so noted for the faithfulness, as to the quality and quantity with which they were put up, that it is said any barrel of flour that bore the brand of George Washington, Mount Vernon, was exempted from the customary inspection in the West India ports."

"He was an early riser," continues the same writer; "often before day-break in the winter when the nights were long. On such occasions he lit his own fire, and wrote or read by candle-light. He breakfasted at seven in summer, at eight in winter. Two small cups of tea and three or four cakes of Indian meal (called hoe-cakes), formed his frugal repast. Immediately after breakfast he mounted his horse and visited those parts of the estate where any work was going on, seeing to everything with his own eyes, and often aiding with his own hand. Dinner was served at two o'clock. He ate heartily, but was no epicure, or critical about his food. His beverage was small beer or cider, and two glasses of old Madeira. He took tea, of which he was very fond, early in the evening, and retired for the night about nine o'clock. If confined to the house by bad weather, he took that occasion to arrange his papers, post up his accounts, or write letters; passing part of the time in reading and occasionally reading aloud to the family.

"He treated his negroes with kindness; attended to their comforts; was particularly careful of them in sickness; but never tolerated idleness, and exacted a faithful performance of all their allotted tasks. He had a quick eye at calculating each man's capabilities. An entry in his diary gives a curious instance of this. Four of his negroes, employed as carpenters, were hewing and shaping timber. It appeared to him, in noticing the amount of work accomplished between two succeeding mornings, that they had loitered at their labor. Sitting down quietly, he timed their operations; how long it took them to get their cross-cut saw and other implements ready; how long to clear away the branches from the trunk of a fallen tree; how long to hew and saw it; what time was expended in considering and consulting; and after all, how much work was effected during the time he looked on. From this he made his computation how much they could execute in the course of a day, working entirely at their ease.

"At another time we find him working for a part of two days with Peter, his smith, to make a plough on a new invention of his own. This, after two or three failures, he accomplished. Then, with less than his usual judgment, he put his two chariot horses to the plough, and ran a great risk of spoiling them, in giving his new invention a trial over ground thickly swarded. Anon, during a thunder-storm, a frightened negro alarms the house with word that the mill is giving way, upon which there is a general turnout of all the forces, with Washington at their head, wheeling and shoveling gravel, during a pelting rain, to check the rushing water"¹

At Mount Vernon Washington had also abundant opportunity to indulge his love of the chase; and his diary abounds in entries of stirring fox-hunts with the Fairfaxes and other friends. In the height of the season he would be out with the hounds two or three times a week. On such occasions there would be a hunting dinner at Mount Vernon, or at the residence of some other member of the party, "at which convivial repasts Washington is said to have enjoyed himself with unwonted hilarity."

His marriage was unblessed with children, but he lavished

¹ Irving's *Life of Washington*. Vol. I., pp. 289-290.

a father's affection and care upon those of his wife, earnestly striving to rear them so as to fit them for the stations they would be called upon to fill in after years, should they live. The hopes he had formed for them were not destined to be fulfilled. The daughter, Miss Custis, was of a fragile constitution, and, after a long period of failing health, died at Mount Vernon on the 19th of June, 1773, in the seventeenth year of her age. Washington was deeply afflicted, and for a time his usual fortitude seemed to have deserted him.

Sixteen years of peaceful, though busy life, were passed at Mount Vernon. Though devoted to his rural pursuits, Washington was not permitted to remain in strict privacy. During this period he served as judge of the county court and member of the House of Burgesses, discharging every public duty with characteristic exactness and promptness. In 1770 he made a journey to the Ohio, in company with his friend and physician, Dr. Craik, for the purpose of locating the lands granted to the Virginian troops for their services in the French war. Proceeding to Fort Pitt, around which a trading village of twenty log houses, the germ of the future city, had sprung up, the voyagers embarked in a canoe, and descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, their only companions being two Indians, who managed the boat. The journey was not without danger, for the Indians of the Ohio Valley were restless and discontented, and some of them had taken up the hatchet. Washington was enabled to select some excellent lands on behalf of the soldiers' grant, and to these affixed his mark to prevent their appropriation by other parties. This accomplished, he returned home as he had come, by way of Fort Pitt.

The peacefulness of Washington's life at Mount Vernon was at length disturbed by the growing troubles between the colonies and the mother country. He took a deep interest in them, and while he was sincerely anxious for a settlement which should leave the ties that bound the Colonies to England unbroken, he was from the first convinced that the only safety of the Colonies lay in asserting their rights with firmness.

In this brief memoir we have neither the time nor the space to relate the causes which produced the separation between the

Colonies and Great Britain. We can only mention them incidentally as they occur in the course of the narrative.

Great Britain never regarded her American Colonies with either motherly kindness or wisdom. Jealous of their growing commercial and manufacturing wealth, she sought in numerous ways to cripple their industry. Among other measures designed for this purpose, it was proposed by the British Government to levy a direct tax by parliament upon the Colonies, and to apply the proceeds of this tax to the payment of a standing army which it was proposed to quarter upon them. An Act for this purpose, generally called the Stamp Act, was passed by the Commons on the 22d of March, 1765, by a majority of nine to one, and on the 1st of April by the House of Lords with scarcely a dissenting voice. The King at once signed the bill. The Act required that every written or printed paper used in trade, in order to be valid, should have affixed to it a stamp of a denomination to be determined by the character of the paper, and that no stamp should be for a less sum than one shilling. The Colonies had earnestly protested against this measure while it was being discussed in Parliament, but the only notice which the Government took of these protests was to send over a body of troops for the purpose of enforcing obedience to the Stamp Act, and the ministers were authorized by Parliament to compel the Colonies to find "quarters, fuel, cider or rum, candles and other necessaries for these troops."

These measures were denounced in all the Colonies. On the 29th of May, Patrick Henry introduced into the House of Burgesses of Virginia, of which Washington was a member, his famous resolutions declaring that the right and power to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of Virginia rested in the General Assembly of that Colony alone, and with no other body, or person, and that whoever maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy to the colony. The resolutions were adopted by a decisive majority. The General Court of Massachusetts authorized the courts of that province to proceed to transact their business without the use of stamps. In the other Colonies the opposition was strong, and associations called "Sons of Liberty" were formed all over the country, consisting of men who pledged themselves to oppose the Stamp Act,

and defend the rights of the Colonies when assailed. The determination not to use the stamps was general, and when the 1st of November, 1765, the day on which the hated law was to go into operation, arrived, it was found that all the officials appointed to distribute the stamps had resigned their places. The bells in all the Colonies were tolled, and the flags lowered in mourning for the death of liberty in America. The merchants pledged themselves to import no more English goods, and the people agreed to discontinue the use of all articles of English manufacture, until the law was repealed.

In June, 1765, the Legislature of Massachusetts issued a call for a General Congress of delegates from all the colonies to meet in New York on the first Tuesday in October, to consider the state of affairs. Nine of the colonies were represented in this body, which met at the appointed time. The Congress drew up a declaration of rights for the colonies, a memorial to Parliament and a petition to the King, in which, after asserting their loyalty to the Crown and laws of England, they insisted upon their right to be taxed only by their own representatives. These documents were submitted to and approved by the provincial legislatures, and were laid before the British Government in the name of the United Colonies.

These measures brought up the subject in Parliament, and the friends of America urgently demanded a repeal of the Act. Pitt and Burke advocated the appeal with matchless eloquence. Parliament was at length brought to its senses, and on the 18th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed. The repeal was celebrated with great rejoicings in both America and England, the latter country having become alarmed by the decrease of its trade with colonies.

The British government, however, did not relinquish its determination to tax America, and on the 29th of June, 1767, the King signed an Act of Parliament imposing duties on glass, tea, paper, and some other articles imported into the Colonies. The Americans met this new aggression with a revival of their societies for discontinuing the importation of English goods. Massachusetts led this opposition, and in Boston the custom-house officials were mobbed for demanding duties on the cargo of a schooner owned by John Hancock.

The officers sought refuge from the mob in the fort in the harbor, and in September, 1768, the Royal Government ordered General Gage to occupy "the insolent town of Boston" with a strong military force. This measure but increased the disaffection of the Bostonians, and on the 5th of March a collision occurred between the citizens and the troops, in which three of the former were killed and five wounded. This "massacre," as it was called, produced intense excitement and indignation in all the Colonies.

The feeling of the Americans was so unmistakable that Parliament resolved to remove the obnoxious duties. The King, however, expressly ordered that at least one nominal duty should be retained, as he did not mean to surrender his right to tax the Colonies. In accordance with this command, Parliament retained a duty of three per cent. on tea, but removed all the other duties. The Americans, however, objected to the principle of taxation without representation, and not to the amount of the tax, and resolved to discontinue the use of tea until the duty should be repealed. Meetings for this purpose were held in the principal sea-ports of the country. In the meantime several ships loaded with tea were despatched from British ports to America. When the news of their sailing reached this country, meetings were held in the principal cities, and it was resolved that the tea should not be landed. Three ships loaded with tea reached Boston soon after. It was determined to send them back to England without permitting them to discharge their cargoes. Their owners, in compliance with the public demand, consented to order them back to England, if Governor Hutchinson would allow them to leave the harbor. The Governor refused to grant them the necessary passports, and on the night of the 18th of December a band of citizens, disguised as Indians, seized the ships, emptied the tea into the harbor and then quietly dispersed without harming the vessels. This bold act greatly incensed the British Government, and Parliament adopted severe measures for the punishment of the Colonies. The harbor of Boston was closed to all commerce; the seat of government was to be removed to Salem; soldiers were to be quartered upon the people of all the Colonies; and it was enacted that all officers who should be indicted

for enforcing the measures of Parliament should be sent to England for trial.

The excitement in the Colonies over these acts was tremendous. Boston was everywhere regarded as the victim of British tyranny, and was in constant receipt of assurances of sympathy and of aid in money and provisions from all the Colonies. Even in London the sum of £30,000 was subscribed for the relief of the "insolent city." The excitement continued to increase throughout the country, and the breach between America and England widened daily. At the instance of the General Court of Massachusetts and the General Assembly of Virginia, it was agreed by the various provincial Assemblies that a General Congress of delegates from all the Colonies should be held in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774.

Though he was a deeply interested observer of these events, Washington did not at first take an active part in them. Two things held him back—his native modesty and his love of retirement. As the contest deepened, however, he found it impossible to remain an idle spectator of it, and his sense of public duty led him to take his place among the foremost champions of his country's rights. He gave his hearty support to the non-importation measures of the northern Colonies. In a letter written on the 5th of April, 1769, to his friend George Mason, of Virginia, he said: "The northern Colonies, it appears, are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be pretty generally carried into execution." The result of his correspondence with Mason was the draft by the latter of a plan of association, the members of which were to pledge themselves not to import or use any articles of British merchandise or manufacture subject to duty. Washington undertook to submit this paper to the House of Burgesses at the next session, which would commence in May.

The General Assembly of Virginia took up the cause of Massachusetts with great warmth. A petition was addressed to the King, urging him not to enforce the law of Parliament for the removal of offenders to England for trial, but to preserve to his subjects the inalienable privileges of Englishmen—the right to be tried by a jury from the vicinage, and the right to

produce witnesses on such trial. For this bold action the House of Burgesses was dissolved by Lord Botetourt, the Governor. The members met at a private house, and elected Peyton Randolph, their late speaker, moderator. Washington brought forward the articles of association prepared by Mason and himself. They were amended to suit the views of the members present, and were signed in this form by all the delegates. The articles were subsequently offered to the whole Colony, and the scheme of non-exportation became as popular, and was as faithfully observed, in Virginia as in the Northern Colonies. In 1770, Lord Botetourt died, and his successor, Lord Dunmore, a man of a very different stamp, was but ill-suited to quiet the discontents of the Virginians.

Dunmore endeavored to postpone the meeting of the General Assembly as long as possible, but was at length compelled to summon it to convene on the 1st of March, 1773. Washington was prompt in his attendance, and took a prominent part in its measures, one of the earliest of which was the appointment of a committee of eleven persons to correspond with the other Colonies concerning matters affecting the common interest. The example of Virginia was followed by Massachusetts, and soon met with general concurrence. "These corresponding committees," says Irving, "in effect, became the executive power of the patriot party, producing the happiest concert of design and action throughout the Colonies."

The news of the passage of the Boston Port bill reached Virginia through the committee of correspondence, and was announced to the House of Burgesses, by which it was received with a burst of indignation. All other business was cast aside, and the House at once adopted a protest against the action of the Royal Government. On the 24th of May, 1774, a resolution was adopted setting apart the 1st of June—the day appointed for the closing of Boston harbor—as a day of fasting and prayer. The next day the House was dissolved by Lord Dunmore. The members at once repaired to the long room of the Raleigh Tavern, and passed resolutions denouncing the Boston Port bill as a most dangerous attack upon the liberties of America; declaring that an attack upon the Colony of Massachusetts to enforce arbitrary taxation was an attack on the

liberties of all the Colonies; and ordering the committee of correspondence to communicate with all the Colonies, with a view to bringing about the meeting of a General Congress, for the purpose of devising such measures as the united interests of the Colonies might require. This call for a General Congress was issued previous to that of Massachusetts, the legislature of which Colony proposed the meeting of the Congress a little later, and before it had received the Virginia resolutions to that effect. On the 1st of June, Washington, who was still detained at Williamsburg, faithfully observed the day of fasting and prayer, both by a rigid abstinence from food and by attending the services appointed in the church.

Returning to Mount Vernon in the latter part of June, he was called upon a little later to preside at a meeting of the citizens of Fairfax county. At this meeting the recent acts of Parliament were discussed, and a committee, with Washington as its chairman, was appointed to draw up resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the people of the county, and to report the same at a general meeting to be held in the court-house on the 18th of July. The resolutions were reported in due time, and clearly expressed the sentiments of Washington and his neighbors. The arbitrary measures of Parliament were sternly condemned as violative of the rights of the Colonists, and the people of America were recommended to act in concert in all their efforts at resistance. The meeting also recommended the General Congress to address a dutiful remonstrance and petition to the King, in which his Majesty should be solemnly urged "not to reduce his faithful subjects of America to desperation, and to reflect, that *from our sovereign there can be but one appeal.*"

On the 1st of August, Washington was again in Williamsburg, to attend a convention of the members of the General Assembly. He presented the resolutions adopted by the people of Fairfax county, and "is said, by one who was present, to have spoken in support of them in a strain of uncommon eloquence, which shows how his latent ardor had been excited on the occasion, as eloquence was not in general among his attributes. It is evident, however, that he was roused to an unusual pitch of enthusiasm, for he is said to have declared that he was

ready to raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head to the relief of Boston.”¹ The Convention appointed him a delegate to represent Virginia in the General Congress. His colleagues were Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton. When the time came to set out for Philadelphia, Washington was joined at Mount Vernon by Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton, and the three made the journey from the Potomac to Philadelphia together, on horseback.

Congress assembled in Carpenter’s Hall, on Monday, 5th of September, 1774. Fifty-five delegates were present, representing every Colony save Georgia, whose royalist Governor had prevented an election. It was composed of the ablest men in America, among whom were Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edward Rutledge, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, William Livingston, John Jay, Dr. Witherspoon, Peyton Randolph, and Charles Thomson. The deliberations of the Congress were held in secret, but resulted in measures of the highest importance; this body, after considering the grievances of the Colonies, adopted a declaration setting forth their rights, as subjects of the British Crown, to a just share in the making of their own laws and in imposing their own taxes; to the right to a speedy trial by jury in the community in which the offence should have been committed; and to the right to hold public meetings, and petition for redress of grievances. A protest against the unconstitutional acts of the British Parliament was adopted, as well as a petition to the King, an appeal to the British people, and a memorial to the people of the Colonies. The Congress proposed, as a means of redress, the formation of an “American Association,” the members of which should pledge themselves not to trade with Great Britain or the West Indies, or with any persons engaged in the slave trade, and to refrain from using British goods or tea. The papers draw up by the Congress were transmitted to England. The Earl of Chatham

¹ *Irving.*

(William Pitt), was deeply impressed by them, and urged the Government to grant the just demands of the Americans, declaring that "all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty Continental nation must be vain." The English people, as a general rule, were sincerely anxious that the demands of the Americans should be complied with; and even Lord North, the Prime Minister, who had carried the obnoxious measures through Parliament, was in his heart averse to them, and upheld them merely at the express command of the King, who meant to force his American subjects into submission. Having forwarded these papers to England, the Congress, on the 26th of October, adjourned to meet on the 10th of May.

In consequence of the secrecy of the proceedings of Congress, we do not know the exact part taken in them by Washington. That it was a leading one, we are warranted in believing from the impression he made upon his fellow-members. Upon his return to Virginia, Patrick Henry was asked whom he considered the greatest man in Congress. He replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

Returning to Mount Vernon, Washington watched the course of affairs with anxious eyes. Among his visitors were two veteran soldiers, General Charles Lee and Horatio Gates; and occasionally his old friend, Dr. Craik, and Captain Hugh Mercer, who was disciplining the militia about Fredericksburg, would come to the mansion to discuss the state of affairs with him. Washington had a sincere respect for General Lee's abilities and experience, and gave great weight to his views concerning the military situation. Like most of his compatriots, Washington had not yet begun to wish for a total separation from Great Britain, but desired merely to secure substantial guarantees for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the Colonies. "I am well satisfied," he wrote to a friend about this time, "that no such thing (as independence) is desired by any thinking man in North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquillity, upon constitutional

grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented." At the same time he was convinced that his countrymen would maintain their rights even at the cost of fighting for them, and in the letter from which we have just quoted, he said: "Give me leave to add, as my opinion, that more blood will be spilt on this occasion, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America; and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country, as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of."

In March, 1775, the second Virginia Convention met at Richmond. Washington was present as a delegate from Fairfax county. Patrick Henry, in a speech of matchless eloquence, expressed the sentiment of the people. "It is useless," he declared, "to address further petitions to government, or to await the effect of those already addressed to the throne. The time for supplication is past; the time for action is at hand. We must fight, Mr. Speaker; I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!"

Washington was entirely convinced that Henry was right, and joined him heartily in carrying out the measures he proposed. He was one of a committee appointed to prepare the Colony for defense. "It is my full intention, if needful," he wrote to his brother, John Augustine, "to devote my life and fortune to the cause."

Few of the Colonial leaders now doubted the speedy commencement of hostilities, and in all the Colonies measures were taken for raising troops, arming them, and placing them in the field at a moment's warning. These preparations were especially vigorous in Massachusetts, and alarmed General Gage, who fortified Boston Neck, and prepared to seize all the arms and ammunition in the province. The Colonial authorities of Massachusetts had established small depots of arms and other supplies at Worcester and Concord. General Gage resolved to secure these, beginning with the stores at Concord. On the night of the 18th of April he sent a strong force to destroy these stores. It was his design that the movement should be secret; but he was so closely watched by the patriots that the

march of his troops was instantly discovered, and the alarm was spread through the country by messengers. The people at once flew to arms; and when the troops reached Lexington, a village half way between Boston and Concord, at sunrise on the morning of the 19th of April, they found a number of the villagers assembled on the common under arms. Major Pitcairn, the commander of the British advanced guard, ordered his men to fire upon this force. The order was obeyed, and the citizens were driven off with a loss of eight killed and several wounded—the first blood shed in the Revolution. The troops then proceeded to Concord, where they destroyed some stores. They were soon assailed by the militia, who had assembled from the surrounding country to the number of several hundred, and were obliged to retreat to Boston. The Colonists followed closely in pursuit, their numbers increasing at every step from the fresh arrivals of Minute Men from the surrounding country. A running fire was kept up upon the British troops during the whole retreat, and caused them a heavy loss in killed and wounded. Nothing but the arrival of Lord Percy with reinforcements saved the regulars from capture or total destruction. As it was, all that Lord Percy could do was to secure the hasty flight of the regulars within the lines of Boston. The total loss of the British on this occasion was 273 men killed and wounded.

The battles of Lexington and Concord—if such they can be called—put an end to the long dispute between America and Great Britain, and inaugurated the Revolution. Previous to this, no one ever heard, as Jefferson remarks, “a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain;” but now that the shock had come, there were not wanting bold spirits who declared that the war must of necessity be waged for independence. It was now necessary to act with decision. On the 22d of April the Massachusetts authorities ordered that a New England army of 30,000 men should be put in the field, and that Massachusetts should furnish 13,000 of these. Troops were raised with rapidity under this authority, and by the 1st of May an army of 20,000 men was encamped before Boston.

In the other Colonies equally important measures were begun. The fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were

seized by a force of volunteers from Vermont, led by Ethan Allen. The cannon and stores captured with them were of the greatest service to the Americans, who were sadly lacking in such supplies. In Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, the people took up arms as soon as the news from the North was received; and in North Carolina a Convention was held at Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County, which body, in May, 1775, proclaimed the independence of North Carolina, and prepared to resist the authority of Great Britain by force of arms.

When the news of the battle of Lexington reached Mount Vernon, Washington was preparing to go to Philadelphia as a delegate to the second Congress. Major Horatio Gates and Bryan Fairfax, the latter of whom had resolved to adhere to the royal cause, were his guests at the time. Fairfax sincerely deplored the outbreak, which he knew must separate him from his friends. Gates was not displeased with the turn affairs had taken, as he was a soldier by profession. Washington's feelings are well expressed in the following extract from a letter written at the time to a friend in England: "Unhappy it is to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast; and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are to be either drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! *But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?*" He at once set out for Philadelphia.

On the 10th of May, 1775, the second Colonial Congress met at Philadelphia. Among its members were Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, George Clinton, and others. The measures of this body were eminently moderate. The first step taken was to elect John Hancock President of the Congress. A petition to the King was drawn up and forwarded to him, denying any intention to separate from Great Britain, and asking only for redress of the wrongs of which the Colonies complained. A Federal Union of the Colonies was formed, and the Congress assumed and exercised the general government of the country, leaving each Colony free to manage its own affairs in its own way. Measures were taken to provide an army, to procure military supplies, and to fit out a navy. A loan of \$2,000,000

was authorized, and the faith of the "United Colonies" pledged for its payment. The troops before Boston were adopted as a Continental army, and were placed under the control of Congress.

The next step was to appoint a Commander-in-chief for the army. The post would be one of the greatest responsibility, and would require not only military skill and experience, but the exercise of the highest qualities of statesmanship. There were several aspirants to the office, but the majority of the best men in Congress were convinced that there was but one man in their body perfectly suited to it, and they instinctively turned to Washington. He did not solicit the office, nor did any clique advocate his claims. A considerable number of the delegates at first opposed his nomination, and even some of the Virginia delegation regarded it with disfavor.

At length John Adams, whose confidence in Washington's fitness above all others for the post increased as his acquaintance with him became more intimate, determined to bring the matter to a decisive issue. He was one of those broad-souled men, who looked beyond the limits of his own section, and regarded the interests of the whole country. Rising in his place in Congress one day, he called the attention of that body in earnest and forcible language to the necessity of appointing a commanding general for the army. "As I had reason," he says in his diary, "to believe that this was a point of some difficulty, I had no hesitation to declare, that I had but one gentleman in my mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us, and very well known to all of us; a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the Colonies better than any other person in the Union. Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library room. * * When the subject came under debate, several delegates opposed the appointment of Washington; not from personal objections, but because the army were all from New England, and had a general of their own, General Artemas Ward, with whom they appeared well satisfied, and under

whose command they had proved themselves able to imprison the British army in Boston, which was all that was to be expected or desired." The consideration of the subject was postponed to a future day, and in the meantime the delegates friendly to the appointment of Washington exerted themselves to remove the objections of their colleagues. They succeeded so well that when the subject was called up again on the 15th of June, Washington was chosen Commander-in-chief by the unanimous vote of Congress. The result was formally communicated to him in his seat the next day by the President of Congress. He arose and returned his thanks to Congress for the high honor conferred upon him. He had not sought it, but his sense of public duty would not permit him to decline it. "But," he added, "lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge; and that is all I desire."

The necessities of the situation required that the new Commander-in-chief should at once set out for the army, and Washington resolved to lose no time, though his promptness would prevent him from visiting home and arranging his affairs. He was chiefly concerned at the thought of the distress this would give his wife, and he wrote to her as follows: "You may believe me when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity; and I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some

good purpose. * * * I shall rely confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or danger of the campaign ; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg that you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen."

On the 20th of June the President of Congress delivered to him his commission, and the next day he set out for Cambridge to take command of the army. He was now in the prime of life, forty-three years old, stately and noble in appearance, a magnificent rider, and calm and dignified in manner. He was the very beau ideal of a commander, and along his whole route he was received with delight by the crowds which poured out to meet him at every town. On his way he was met by intelligence from Boston of the highest importance.

Alarmed by the presence of the American forces before Boston, General Gage determined to strengthen his position by seizing and fortifying Bunker Hill, in Charlestown. His plan was known to the Americans, who determined to anticipate him. A force under Colonel William Prescott was sent to seize and fortify Breed's Hill, which, though lower than, and commanded by, Bunker Hill, was much nearer Boston, and commanded the harbor more perfectly. Prescott threw up a slight fortification on the night of the 16th of June, on Breed's Hill, which was discovered on the morning of the 17th by the British. The ships of war in the harbor at once opened fire upon the unfinished work, and a force of 3,000 regulars was detailed to carry it by storm, assisted by the fire of the shipping. The American force was scarcely more than half as strong, and consisted of raw and undisciplined provincials. The British made their attack early in the afternoon, but were twice driven back by the fire of the Americans. The third assault was more successful, and, the ammunition of the patriots having given out, they were driven from their works, and forced to retreat towards Cambridge. The British retained the hill, which they subsequently fortified. The American loss was

449 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the killed was General Joseph Warren, of Boston, one of the most gifted of the patriot leaders. The British loss was 1,054, a large proportion being officers. The battle of Bunker Hill, though a defeat for the patriots, was in its effects equivalent to a victory for them, inasmuch as it demonstrated their ability to hold their ground against the regular troops of Great Britain, and inspired them with a confidence which was all-essential to their cause.

It was the news of this battle that reached Washington on his way to Cambridge. When he heard how the provincials had reserved their fire and delivered it with the coolness of veterans at the word of command, and how they had stood their ground until their ammunition was exhausted, he felt that a weight of anxiety had been lifted from his heart. "The liberties of the country are safe," he exclaimed joyfully. On the 2d of July he reached Cambridge, and was received with appropriate honors. The next day he took formal command of the army, which was drawn up for the occasion on the Common, about half a mile distant from his headquarters. A venerable elm tree, under which he took his position at the moment of assuming the command, is still standing.

Congress had appointed four major-generals and eight brigadiers. The major-generals were Charles Lee of Virginia, Artemas Ward of Massachusetts, Philip Schuyler of New York, and Israel Putnam of Connecticut. The brigadiers were Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene. At the official request of Washington, his old acquaintance, Horatio Gates, was appointed Adjutant General, with the rank of brigadier.

The first duties of the new commander were the organization and equipment of the army, and the reduction of Boston, or the expulsion of the British from that city. The first was a task of uncommon difficulty. The army consisted of fourteen thousand men, drawn suddenly from the pursuits of peace, and was without discipline, badly armed, badly clothed, and lacking in artillery and supplies of all kinds. In the organization of the army, Washington received considerable assist-

ance from Gates, whose practical knowledge of military matters made his aid invaluable. He promised himself great pleasure in the friendship of Gates, who owed his appointment to him; but the latter, now that he had a general's commission, had his own ends to serve, and regarded his commander with a mean jealousy, which was, ere long, to make itself conspicuous in his conduct. By extraordinary exertions, Washington at length succeeded in bringing his force to a tolerably effective condition, and Boston was at once closely and regularly invested. The army was arranged in three grand divisions. One, forming the right wing, was stationed on the heights of Roxbury, and was commanded by General Ward; the centre, under General Putnam, was at Cambridge; while the left wing, under General Charles Lee, held Winter and Prospect Hills. The winter was passed in the work of organizing the army. The want of ammunition prevented Washington from assuming the offensive, though he greatly desired to do so. It was necessary to observe the greatest care to prevent this state of affairs from becoming known to the British, and at the same time every effort was made to supply the deficiency. During the winter, Henry Knox, a bookseller of Boston, who had entered the military service, volunteered to transport from Ticonderoga to Boston a sufficient number of cannon for the purpose of the siege. His offer was accepted, and Washington secured his appointment as Colonel of the regiment of artillery. He proved one of the most efficient officers in the service. Towards the last of March, Knox returned, bringing with him the ammunition and cannon from Ticonderoga, which he had transported across the country between Lake Champlain and Boston in sledges. The newly-arrived guns were immediately placed in position on the lines, and put an end to the long delay which had prevailed in the American camp.

In the meantime an effort, which had received Washington's sanction, had been made to conquer Canada. It was entrusted to General Schuyler, who collected a large force on Lake Champlain. Being unable, on account of illness, to accompany the invading army, Schuyler relinquished the command of it to General Richard Montgomery, and returned to Albany. Mont-

gomery pushed forward, captured St. John's on the Sorel River, on the 3d of November, and on the 13th compelled Montreal to surrender. His force numbered but 300 men, poorly clad, and lacking almost every kind of supplies. The capture of Montreal enabled Montgomery to supply his men with woolen clothing. From Montreal he descended the St. Lawrence to join Arnold at Quebec.

While Montgomery was entering Canada from Lake Champlain, Washington had sent another expedition under Colonel Benedict Arnold to march across the country from the borders of Massachusetts to Quebec, and attempt the capture of that city. Arnold set out from the camp at Cambridge with a force of 1,100 men. His march occupied two months, and was accompanied by the most intense suffering, against which the men bore up with wonderful fortitude. On the 9th of October, Arnold, with 650 effective men, half naked and half starved reached Point Levi on the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec. Could he have crossed the river at once, the city must have fallen into his hands; but he had no boats, and in a few days Sir Guy Carleton arrived from Montreal, and began to put Quebec in a state of defense. A little later Arnold managed to convey his force across the river, and to plant it on the Heights of Abraham. The garrison declined to come out and fight him, and finding it impossible to beseige the city without artillery, he moved to a point twenty miles up the river, where he was joined by Montgomery, from whom he obtained clothing for his men.

Montgomery now assumed the command of the united forces, which numbered less than a thousand men, and on the 5th of December laid siege to Quebec. On the 31st he attempted to carry the place by assault, but was killed and his troops were repulsed. Arnold greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded in the assault. He fell back to a point about three miles from Quebec to await reinforcements. He was joined in April, 1776, by General Wooster with fresh troops. Wooster assumed the command, but was soon succeeded by General Thomas. Sir Guy Carleton having been reinforced, advanced upon Thomas, forced him back to the Sorel, and inflicted a severe defeat upon a portion of his army at Three

Rivers. Thomas died of the small pox, and the wreck of his army joined General Sullivan on the Sorel. Carleton continuing to advance, Sullivan fell back to Crown Point. Thus ended the invasion of Canada, the most disastrous enterprise undertaken by the Americans during the war.

In the meantime, the guns brought from Ticonderoga had been mounted on the American lines before Boston. The British force shut up in that city consisted of about twelve thousand regulars. General Gage, whose conduct had failed to give satisfaction at home, had been recalled to England, and had been succeeded by Sir William Howe, an experienced commander. The troops and their officers were indignant at being shut up within their lines, by a force of provincials but little superior to themselves in numbers, but Howe wisely declined to risk an attempt to compel Washington to raise the siege. Washington, on his part, resolved to force the enemy to attack him or to evacuate the city. For this purpose he determined to seize the eminence on the south of Boston known as Dorchester Heights, which commanded both the city and the harbor.

On the evening of the 2d of March, 1776, a heavy cannonade was opened upon Boston by the American batteries, which did considerable damage to the place. It was renewed the next night. At dark on the evening of the 4th of March, the Americans resumed their fire with increased vigor, and were replied to with spirit by the British batteries. Under the cover of this fire a strong column led by General Thomas seized Dorchester Heights, and threw up a series of earthworks. They were discovered by the British the next morning, and Howe, seeing the danger with which he was threatened, resolved to recover the heights. The attack was ordered for that night, but was prevented by a furious storm. When the weather became favorable again, the works had been rendered too strong to be attacked with safety. There was nothing left to General Howe, therefore, but to evacuate the city. This he did on the 17th of March, and on the same day the Americans entered Boston. On motion of John Adams, Congress unanimously voted its thanks to Washington and the army, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the deliverance of

Boston. This success was regarded as an offset to the failure of the invasion of Canada, news of which arrived about a month later.

The enemy now spread themselves along the coast. A British fleet attacked and burned Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, and another force under Lord Dunmore ravaged the coast of Virginia. A powerful fleet under Sir Peter Parker, and a land force under Sir Henry Clinton, attacked Fort Moultrie, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of forcing their way up to the city, but were repulsed with heavy loss. The Americans managed, during the year, to fit out several cruisers, which were fortunate enough to capture a number of prizes loaded with arms and military stores for the royal army.

Congress took measures for the active prosecution of the war. Supplies were drawn from the West Indies, and a regular system inaugurated for that purpose; powder mills and cannon foundries were established; thirteen frigates were ordered to be built (a few of which eventually got to sea); a Committee of War, a Committee of Finance, and a secret Committee for the management of negotiations with foreign powers, were appointed, and a better system of government for the United Colonies was inaugurated. Finally, on the 4th of July, 1776, Congress adopted a declaration on behalf of the Colonies, asserting their independence of British rule, and proclaiming that the thirteen Colonies were free and independent States. This declaration changed the entire nature of the war. Until now it had been in defense of the rights of the Americans as British subjects. Henceforth it was to be waged for national independence.

As he supposed that New York would be the next point assailed by the British, Washington transferred his army to that place immediately after the evacuation of Boston. He was correct in this supposition, for Sir William Howe, after proceeding from Boston to Halifax to land the refugees who had escaped from that city with him, sailed from the latter place for New York. He arrived within Sandy Hook on the 28th of June, and landed his forces on Staten Island. A little later he was joined by Sir Henry Clinton, who had been repulsed at

Charleston, and about the middle of July Admiral Lord Howe arrived with his fleet, bringing reinforcements, which brought the strength of the British in New York Bay to 30,000 men. A large part of these were German mercenaries, who had been hired by the King of England from the Duke of Hesse Cassel, and who were generally termed by the Americans "Hessians."

Lord Howe brought with him full powers to settle the troubles upon the basis of the submission of the Americans, and was sincerely anxious to restore peace to the country. He issued a proclamation to the people of America, offering a full and free pardon to all who would lay down their arms and accept the King's clemency; but the proclamation failed to awaken the response he had expected, though Congress gave it the widest circulation.

Lord Howe also addressed a letter to the American Commander-in-chief, styling him "George Washington, Esquire." No notice was taken of this communication by Washington, and Howe sent him another letter addressed to "George Washington, etc., etc." Washington rightly considered that the omission of his official title was an insult to his country, and refused to receive the letter. His course was warmly approved by Congress.

Washington's force was greatly inferior to that of the enemy, and there was much uncertainty as to their intentions. To be prepared at all points he was obliged to divide his forces. For the defense of Brooklyn, which commanded the city of New York, he caused a line of works to be erected on a range of hills a short distance south of Brooklyn, and established there an intrenched camp. General Greene was placed in command of this important position, but just as he had perfected his plans for its defense, was taken ill, and was obliged to relinquish the command to General Sullivan. Washington retained the remainder of his troops on Manhattan Island. He erected two forts on the island; one which he named Fort Washington, just above Kingsbridge; the other, called Fort Independence, just below it. Kingsbridge furnished the only communication between New York and the mainland, and these works were erected for its defense, as well as to prevent the enemy's ships from ascending the Hudson. A third work was erected on the

New Jersey shore, immediately opposite Fort Washington, and was called Fort Lee. Other works were built higher up the Hudson to hold the river against the enemy, and maintain the communication between the Northern and Southern States. One of these, Fort Montgomery, was located at the entrance to the Highlands, opposite the promontory of Anthony's Nose; another was built six miles higher up, and was known as Fort Constitution. It soon became evident that the enemy's first blow would be struck at the force on Long Island, and General Putnam was ordered to take command of it.

On the night of the 26th of August, the British crossed over from Staten Island to Long Island, and the next morning attacked the Americans, defeated them after a stubborn fight, with a loss of 2,000 men, and pushed their advance to the intrenched camp which they prepared to invest. Washington hastened to the scene of action as soon as informed of the attack. He arrived only in time to see his troops outflanked and surrounded by the enemy, and bayoneted by the merciless Hessians, in sight of their comrades, who were powerless to save them. As he beheld the piteous sight, he wrung his hands in agony. "My God!" he exclaimed with tears: "What brave fellows must I lose this day!" He was fearful that the enemy would follow up their advantage by an assault upon the intrenched camp, and was well pleased to see them halt, and break ground for their approaches. The 28th was wet and stormy, and both armies remained inactive. On the 29th the British began their siege operations.

It was plain to Washington that the position of the force on Long Island was one of great danger. The enemy's fleet might at any time enter the East River, and cut off all escape. He therefore determined to retreat from Long Island without delay. To withdraw a force of nine thousand men across a wide, deep river, in the face of the enemy's army and fleet, was a task which required the greatest skill and discretion. It was successfully accomplished, however, between midnight of the 29th and sunrise of the 30th. The entire force, with its artillery, wagons, cattle and stores, was by eight o'clock on the 30th safely landed in the city of New York.

Howe was greatly mortified at the escape of the American

army, which he had regarded as his certain prize, and prepared to seize the upper part of Manhattan Island and cut off Washington's retreat from New York. In anticipation of some such movement, Washington left Putnam with the rear guard to hold New York, and with his main body occupied Harlem Heights at the northern end of the island, thus securing his line of retreat to the mainland. On the 15th of September the enemy landed in strong force at Kipp's Bay, three miles above the city, and drove in the American left. Washington held them in check until Putnam could evacuate the city and join him, after which he fell back to a new line, extending across the island, about four miles below Kingsbridge. On the 16th of September the British attacked the American advanced posts, but were repulsed. This affair, though unimportant, did much to revive the spirits of the army, which had been greatly lowered by the defeat on Long Island and the subsequent retreats.

After a delay of several weeks, Howe moved his army to the mainland, by way of Long Island Sound. Leaving 3,000 men to hold Fort Washington, the American commander evacuated Manhattan Island, crossed to the mainland and occupied the line of the Bronx, near the village of White Plains. Here he was attacked on the 28th of October by General Howe, who was advancing from the direction of New Rochelle, but held his ground. That night the Americans withdrew to a strong position on the heights of North Castle, five miles distant. Howe, unwilling to follow them further, marched to Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson, and encamped.

Fearful that Howe meant to cross over to New Jersey, Washington left a portion of his army under General Charles Lee to hold the position at North Castle and watch the enemy, and detached a column under General Heath to occupy Peekskill, and another under General Putnam to hold the west side of the Hudson and defend the passes of the Highlands. With the remainder he crossed the river, and joined General Greene at Fort Lee on the 13th of November. He was anxious to withdraw the garrison from Fort Washington, but yielded to the views of General Greene and Colonel Magraw, the commander of the fort, who believed it could be held. On

the 16th a force of 5,000 Hessians carried Fort Washington by storm, and made prisoners of its defenders. Washington witnessed the capture from Fort Lee, without the ability to aid the garrison.

Fort Lee was no longer of use, and orders were given for its evacuation. Before the stores could be removed, Lord Cornwallis with 6,000 men crossed the Hudson below Dobb's Ferry, and marched across the country to seize the bridge over the Hackensack. An immediate retreat from Fort Lee was begun, and by a forced march the passage of the Hackensack was secured before the arrival of the enemy. The army then began its memorable retreat across New Jersey, closely followed by the enemy under Cornwallis. On the 8th of December, Washington reached the Delaware and crossed it at Trenton, and went into camp in Pennsylvania. He had scarcely 3,000 men with him, the enlistments of a large part of the troops having expired on the first of the month. Nothing would induce these men to remain with the army. The British reached the Delaware just after its passage by the Americans, but were unable to cross, as the latter had secured all the boats. It was decided to wait until the river should freeze, and pass it on the ice. In the meantime the Hessians were stationed at Trenton, and held the river above and below the town.

During the retreat Washington exerted himself to call in the detachments of his army. Gen. Lee was ordered to cross the Hudson and march to his assistance, and Schuyler was directed to send him the New Jersey and Pennsylvania troops in his army. Schuyler at once despatched these troops, but Lee made such an inexcusable delay in obeying his orders that he did not reach Morristown until the 8th of December. On the 12th he was captured, while lying apart from his forces. His troops then joined Washington without delay.

Disasters now came thick and fast, and the fortunes of America were at their lowest ebb. The people were disheartened, and the cause seemed hopeless. A fleet under Sir Peter Parker entered Newport Harbor, and landed a force on the island of Rhode Island. As this occupation of Newport was a constant menace to New England, no aid could be sent to Washington from that quarter. Believing that all was lost,

large numbers of the people of the Middle States began to make their peace with the British authorities. The Royalists in Philadelphia commenced to show such strength that Congress adjourned on the 12th of December to meet at Baltimore.

Washington was fully alive to the danger which threatened the cause, but he was calm and cheerful. During the retreat through New Jersey he said to Colonel Reed, "Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania will the Pennsylvanians support us?" "If the lower counties are subdued and give up, the back counties will do the same," was the disheartening reply. Washington passed his hand across his throat, and said, with a smile: "My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter. We must retire to Augusta county, in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety; and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war, and if overpowered we must cross the Alleghany Mountains." Such was the indomitable spirit which animated the great leader of the patriot cause. He had expected reverses, and they did not dismay him. He did what lay in his power to cheer and encourage the little band of heroes that remained faithful to their colors, and watched with sleepless vigilance for the opportunity to strike a telling blow at the enemy.

The opportunity soon presented itself. The Hessians lay along the Delaware from Trenton to Burlington, with their front exposed, and he resolved to attack them. A failure could not make his situation much worse than it was, while a victory would go far to revive the hopes and spirits of his countrymen. He crossed the Delaware on the night of the 25th of December, in open boats, in the midst of snow and floating ice, and the next morning inflicted a stinging defeat upon the Hessians at Trenton, taking 1,000 prisoners, 1,000 stand of arms, six cannon, and four standards. He then recrossed the Delaware and returned to his camp in Pennsylvania.

The effect of this victory was most happy. It proved to the world that the American cause was not hopeless. Congress on the 27th of December, before the arrival of the news of the victory at Trenton, formally invested Washington with dictatorial powers, wisely trusting to his wisdom and firmness to lead the country safely through its troubles. "Happy is it for this

country," wrote the committee, "that the general of their forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty or property, be in the least degree endangered thereby." The reply of Washington to this communication was characteristic, and worthy of the study of every American. "I find," he wrote, "Congress have done me the honor to intrust me with powers, in my military capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited extent. Instead of thinking myself freed from all *civil* obligations by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind that, as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties are firmly established."

He now resolved to follow up his success at Trenton, and, his force being increased to about five thousand men fit for duty, crossed the Delaware again on the 29th and 30th of December, and took post at Trenton.

The astonishment of Sir William Howe upon learning of the battle of Trenton was very great. He at once sent a column of seven thousand men under Lord Cornwallis to attack Washington. This force arrived before Trenton, on the afternoon of the 2d of January, 1777. Feeling sure that Washington could not escape him, Cornwallis deferred his attack until the next morning. During the night Washington skillfully drew off his army, marched around the left flank of the British, and on the morning of the 3d attacked and defeated a British detachment at Princeton, and marched off to a strong position at Morristown before Cornwallis, who had discovered his retreat at sunrise, could overtake him. Cornwallis fell back to New Brunswick. For six months neither party made any movement of importance; but Washington, in spite of his inferiority in force, displayed such activity in cutting off the foraging parties of the British that they were unable to draw any supplies from the country beyond their lines, and rarely ventured out of their camps. Thus was New Jersey almost redeemed from the enemy. The militia of the State recovered from their former despondency, and warmly seconded the efforts of Washington. Confidence was fairly returning to the country.

Nor was this the only effect of the brilliant victories of

Trenton and Princeton. The war had been watched with the deepest interest in Europe, especially by the Government and people of France, who were eager to cripple Great Britain by the loss of her Colonies. The news of the disaster on Long Island and the retreat from New York filled the friends of America with serious alarm, and it was generally believed in Europe that the patriot cause was lost. In the early spring of 1777, however, it became known in Europe that the American army, which it was supposed had been driven in hopeless disorder over the Delaware, had suddenly rallied, beaten a veteran force in two battles, and had recovered New Jersey from the enemy. This intelligence produced the most profound astonishment in Europe, and was received in France with genuine satisfaction. The Americans were extolled as a race of heroes, and the prudence and good generalship of Washington were spoken of with the highest praise. The French Government was encouraged to grant secret assistance to the Americans, and arms and military stores, which were greatly needed, were shipped to America.

Washington spared no pains during the winter and spring of 1777 to reorganize his army. He endeavored to persuade Congress to discontinue its policy of short enlistments, and to institute a longer term. Great efforts were also made to procure recruits, but they came in slowly.

During the fall of 1776 Sir Guy Carleton endeavored to follow up the expulsion of the Americans from Canada by an invasion of New York. His ascent of Lake Champlain was gallantly resisted by Arnold with a fleet of galleys. Gates, who had been placed in command of the forces on Lake Champlain, strengthened Fort Ticonderoga to such an extent that Carleton found it too formidable to be attacked, and abandoned his undertaking and returned to Canada. This was the condition of affairs in Schuyler's department at the close of the year.

During the year 1777, a number of foreign officers arrived in the States, to solicit employment in the American army. They came expecting to receive important commissions, as it was well known that there were but few officers in the patriot service who had had experience in regular war-

fare. Washington advised a cautious policy in employing them. He was convinced, and urged his views upon Congress, that important posts should be reserved to native-born Americans, who, if lacking in experience, had a deeper stake in the struggle than any foreigner could have. He also argued that to appoint foreigners over the native officers would create dissatisfaction in the army, and do more harm than good. Congress, therefore, resolved to employ but few foreign officers, and that the commissions of such as should be received into the service should bear date on the day of their being filled up by Washington.

When the campaign of 1777 opened, the prospects of the country had so far improved that Washington found himself at the head of an effective army of 7,000 men. Early in June Sir William Howe advanced into New Jersey, and made several efforts to draw Washington from his strong position on the hills, and bring him to a general engagement. The American commander, however, was convinced that it was the part of wisdom not to risk a general action with his inferior force, but held his army in readiness to profit by any error of his adversary. Baffled by the superior prudence and caution of Washington, Sir William Howe at length embarked his army on board of his fleet, and put to sea from New York bay. Washington was convinced that the destination of the British was Philadelphia, but it was necessary to be certain of this before making any movement in that direction with his own army. Sir Henry Clinton was at New York with a strong garrison, and Burgoyne was advancing from Lake Champlain. At length, being convinced that his belief was correct, Washington moved his army towards the Delaware. On the 31st of July, he was informed that the British fleet was off the Capes of Delaware. He at once wrote to Schuyler that the Eastern States had nothing to fear from Howe, and might bend all their efforts against Burgoyne. At the same time he moved his army to Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia. The next day he learned that the enemy's fleet had left the Delaware, and had put to sea again. This movement filled him with the gravest apprehension, and he began to fear that Howe had really sailed for New England to co-operate

with Burgoyne. He was about to return to the Hudson with his army, when he was informed that the British fleet was steering southward. He halted to await further intelligence.

During his encampment near Philadelphia, Washington repeatedly visited that city, and on one of these occasions became acquainted with the youthful Marquis de Lafayette, who had recently arrived from France to serve as a volunteer in the patriot army. Grateful for his sympathy, Congress, on the 31st of July, 1777, commissioned him a Major-general in the Continental army. Washington met the young hero at a public dinner, at the close of which he took him aside, complimented him warmly on his generous and disinterested zeal for the cause, and invited him to make headquarters his home. "I cannot promise you the luxuries of a court," he said, "but as you have become an American soldier, you will, doubtless, accommodate yourself to the fare of an American army." A warm friendship sprang up between the two, and ended only with their lives.

News came at length that the British fleet was at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. Howe had avoided the Delaware because of the obstructions and fortifications below Philadelphia, and had ascended the Chesapeake as the most convenient approach south of the Delaware. He landed his troops at the Head of Elk, now Elkton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia, and prepared to march across the country to Philadelphia. Washington advanced to the Brandywine, and took position to dispute the passage of that stream. He was attacked there by the British on the 11th of September, and was defeated with a loss of 1,000 men. He then fell back to Chester, and on the 12th recrossed the Schuylkill and took position at Germantown. Congress again conferred dictatorial powers upon Washington, and adjourned to meet at Lancaster, from which place it removed to York, beyond the Susquehanna. Washington fell back to Pott's Grove on the Schuylkill, and on the 26th of September Howe occupied Philadelphia. The city was held by a small detachment, and the bulk of his army was stationed at Germantown.

Lord Howe, after landing his brother's troops, descended the Chesapeake and sailed around to the Delaware to attack the

American works below Philadelphia. These consisted of Fort Mifflin, built on a low mud island, and Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey shore, immediately opposite. Both works were armed with heavy guns, and commanded the river perfectly. The channel was obstructed between them. Sir William Howe, upon the occupation of Philadelphia, detached a part of his force to aid in the attack upon these forts.

As soon as he was informed of the march of this detachment, Washington advanced to Germantown, and on the morning of the 4th of October attacked the British force at that place. The British were being driven back at all points, and the victory seemed complete, when the Americans were suddenly seized with an unaccountable panic, and fled from the field. The attack on the forts was made by the British fleet and land force on the 22d of October. It was repulsed. The British then threw up batteries on a small island in the Delaware, and there, aided by the fleet, opened fire on Fort Mifflin on the 10th of November. The work was held until it was in ruins, when it was abandoned on the night of the 16th. On the 18th Fort Mercer was also abandoned. The obstructions were then removed from the channel, and the British fleet ascended to Philadelphia. Howe threw up a line of strong works above Philadelphia, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and went into winter quarters behind these defences. Washington withdrew to Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles above Philadelphia, and passed the winter there.

In the meantime events of the highest importance had occurred in the Northern Department. Sir Guy Carleton was succeeded in the command of the British forces in Canada by General Burgoyne, an officer of ability and integrity. He was strongly reinforced, and soon had under his command an army of 10,000 men, splendidly equipped and plentifully supplied with artillery. Of these 2,000 were Canadians and Indians, the remainder British regulars and Hessians. Burgoyne advanced into New York by way of Lake Champlain, and sent a detachment under General St. Leger to reduce Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk. Burgoyne's object was to reach Albany, open communication with Sir Henry Clinton at New York, capture the forts in the Highlands, gain possession of the Hudson, and

cut off the South from New York and New England. To oppose him, General Schuyler had a weak army between Albany and Lake Champlain, and a strong garrison under General St. Clair in Fort Ticonderoga. Washington endeavored to reinforce Schuyler from every available quarter, and urged the Eastern States to strengthen his army by all possible means.

On the 2d of July, Burgoyne appeared before Ticonderoga, and prepared to invest the fort. He seized Mount Defiance, which commanded the American works and had been left unguarded, and threw up a battery on its summit. St. Clair, seeing that this battery would render his works untenable, sent his baggage and stores up the lake to Skenesborough, and abandoned the works and retreated. The movement was discovered by the enemy while in progress, and pursuit was made. The retreating Americans were overtaken, scattered in confusion, and Burgoyne pushed on to Fort Edward on the Upper Hudson, which he reached on the 29th of July. Schuyler took position at Stillwater, on the Hudson, near the mouth of the Mohawk, and not far from Saratoga.

The loss of Ticonderoga and the northern forts was regarded as evidence of the incapacity of Schuyler and his subordinates, and brought to a crisis the prejudice which had long and unjustly existed against the former general. His removal from his command was resolved upon. Washington declined to relieve him of his command, as his confidence in him was unshaken. Schuyler was therefore removed by Congress, and Gates was appointed his successor.

In the meantime St. Leger had advanced to the Mohawk, and had laid siege to Fort Schuyler. The fort was defended by Col. Gansevoort. Gen. Herkimer, with the New York militia, attempted to relieve it, but was mortally wounded in the attempt. Fort Schuyler was left in a critical condition, and Arnold was sent at his own request to its relief. He succeeded by means of a stratagem in inducing St. Leger to raise the siege and retreat; and this important enterprise of the British resulted in a failure.

The Indians belonging to Burgoyne's army committed many outrages on the people of the country, and roused the entire East against them. Recruits came in to Gates' army

rapidly. Early in August, Burgoyne sent a force of Hessians to Bennington, Vermont, to seize the stores collected there by the Americans, and to secure such horses as could be found on the march. This force was defeated by the Vermont and New Hampshire militia under General Starke, on the 16th. The Americans took 600 prisoners, 1,000 stand of arms, and 4 cannon.

Burgoyne's situation was now critical. The American army in his front was growing stronger every day, and was soon superior to his own in strength. The militia of New Hampshire and Massachusetts were threatening his communications with Canada. His own army was now reduced to 6,000 men. With these troops he resolved to try to force his way to Albany, and on the 13th of September he attacked Gates' army at Bemus' Heights, near Saratoga, but was repulsed. On the 17th the Massachusetts militia seized his communications with Canada, and captured three hundred boats at the outlet of Lake George, loaded with supplies for his army. After waiting three weeks in inaction, he again attacked Gates, on the 7th of October. The American army now numbered 11,000 men. The British were driven back and forced within their intrenched camp, a portion of which was captured. During the night Burgoyne retreated to a point within two miles of Saratoga. Here he was surrounded and compelled to surrender. On the 17th of October about 6,000 British troops laid down their arms. Over 5,000 muskets, 42 cannon, and a large amount of military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. It was the most important success of the war, and Gates was the hero of the hour. That commander flattered himself that the capture was due to his skill. It was really the result of Washington's carefully arranged plans, and Schuyler's extraordinary efforts to oppose a determined resistance to the invaders. Gates reaped the fruits of their labors. He imagined himself the great leader of the war, and sent his report of the surrender to Congress direct, and not through the Commander-in-chief, as his duty required; thus offering a grave insult to Washington.

The sufferings of the army at Valley Forge during the winter were very great. Many of the men were barefooted, and their marches through the snow could be traced by the blood from

their feet. They were scantily supplied with clothing, almost without food, and were utterly unable to keep the field. Congress did little or nothing to relieve the sufferings of the army. It promised the troops one month's extra pay, but made no effort to provide food or clothing for them. It authorized Washington to impress whatever supplies were needed; but he remonstrated against this arbitrary use of power, which he was sure would fail to supply the wants of the army, and would certainly anger the people of the country. Congress towards the close of the winter manifested so much hostility to the army because of its appeals for food and clothes, that Washington earnestly remonstrated against this feeling, and reminded that body that the troops were "citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens." It is not too much to say that, apart from their patriotism, the personal influence of Washington was the only power that kept the troops together during this long and trying winter. Under any other commander they would most likely have dispersed.

The patriotism of Washington was not appreciated by all parties. A number of discontented members of Congress and officers of the army were anxious that he should be removed or forced to resign, in order that their favorite, General Gates, might be promoted to the chief command of the army. One of the prime movers of the intrigue for this purpose was an Irish adventurer named Conway, who was a brigadier and Inspector-General of the army. From his connection with it the plot is known as the "Conway Cabal." The exact and entire truth concerning this conspiracy will never be known, for after its failure the actors in it were eager to disavow their connection with it. The conspirators did not dare to make an attack upon the Commander-in-chief, but undertook, by means of anonymous letters, underhanded appeals to the officers and men of the army, and comparisons between Gates' success and what they termed Washington's failure, to destroy the confidence of the troops in their leader, and to disgust him with his command, and so drive him to resign it. Generals Mifflin and Gates were very active in this conspiracy, and even Sullivan and Wayne were in favor of the scheme of making Gates Commanding General. Dr. Benjamin Rush, another conspirator,

wrote a letter, to which he did not dare to sign his name, to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, representing the army as without a head, and disparaging Washington as no general. "A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway," he added, "would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public in order to enlighten, awaken and alarm our country." Patrick Henry took no notice of the letter, save to forward it to Washington. A similar anonymous letter was sent to Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, who also sent it to Washington. Great efforts were made to win Lafayette over to the plot, but without the least success.

Washington was to a great extent aware of the plot against him, but took no public notice of it. He was deeply pained by the unjust censure to which he was subjected, but he never for a moment harbored the thought of laying down the great work he had assumed. He knew that his conduct would bear the most rigid inspection; that the capture of Burgoyne's army, which had made Gates the hero of the hour, was due to no skill on the part of that officer, but was the result of the plan of defence Washington had long before arranged with General Schuyler. In his efforts to contend with General Howe he was under many disadvantages, not the least of which was the fact that his army was encamped in a region abounding in Tories, who refused him any support, and systematically aided the British. His army was not equal to the task of driving Howe from his intrenchments before Philadelphia. Washington knew that the salvation of the country demanded his presence at the head of the army. He trusted to time for his vindication, and was chiefly anxious that the enemy should not learn of the dissensions in the councils and camp of the Americans.

In a little while the action of the conspirators became known to the public, and aroused such a storm of indignation from the officers and men of the army, from the legislatures of the States, and from the great mass of the people, that Gates and Conway and their associates cowered before it, and Congress became heartily ashamed of having given the plot any encouragement. The only effect of the conspiracy was to raise

Washington higher in the confidence and affection of his countrymen. The members of the conspiracy were ever afterwards anxious to deny their share in it, and exerted themselves to prevent the truth concerning it from becoming known.

The punishment of Gates came as soon as he was entrusted with a command which threw him upon his own resources. As for Conway, he was despised by the better part of the officers of the army, and found his position so unenviable that he addressed a note to Congress complaining that he had been badly treated, and threatening to resign his commission. Congress was by this time ashamed of having bestowed upon him such undeserved honors, and gladly interpreted his letter as an actual resignation of his rank, and at once ended the difficulty by promptly accepting his resignation. Conway was profoundly astonished, as he had expected that he would be urged by Congress to remain in the service. He hastened to explain his letter, but was not listened to. Sometime after this, he ventured to denounce the Commander-in-Chief, and was challenged to a duel by General Cadwallader, who had previously charged him with cowardice at the battle of Germantown. Conway was wounded, and believing himself near death, wrote to Washington, apologizing for his conduct towards him. "You are," he said, "in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." His wound was not mortal, as he had supposed, and he soon recovered and left the country.

The winter was passed by Washington in an effort to improve the condition of the army. It was an almost hopeless task, and at every step he found his efforts hampered and thwarted by the opposition to him in Congress. The efforts of the opposition to him, says Irving, "harassed Washington in the latter part of his campaign; contributed to the dark cloud that hung over his gloomy encampment at Valley Forge, and might have effected his downfall had he been more irascible in his temper, more at the mercy of impulse, and less firmly fixed in the affections of the people. As it was, they only tended to show wherein lay his surest strength. Jealous rivals he might have in the army, bitter enemies in Congress; but the soldiers loved

him, and the large heart of the nation always beat true to him."

During the winter Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, who had served under Frederick the Great, arrived and sought employment from Congress. He had been induced by the friends of the cause in Europe to resign his important and lucrative posts in his own army, and repair to America in order that the Continental army might enjoy the benefit of his experience and skill as a disciplinarian. He came as a volunteer, and Washington, appreciating the value of his sacrifices and the importance of his services, induced Congress to appoint him Inspector-General of the army, with the rank of Major-general. He introduced into the army the drill and discipline of the Prussian service, and made it an efficient force. Congress proposed to increase the strength of the army to 60,000 men, but was never able to bring it to more than half that number.

A great improvement was made in the work of providing provisions for the army by the appointment of Gen. Greene to the post of quartermaster general, which had been held by General Mifflin, who had paid but little attention to its duties. At the urgent solicitation of the Commander-in-chief, Greene assumed the distasteful position for one year, and discharged its difficult duties with a skill and precision which kept the army so well supplied with provisions and ammunition that it was never, during his administration, obliged to abandon a movement because of the lack of these necessities.

In April, 1778, Gen. Chas. Lee was exchanged for Gen. Prescott, and soon after returned to duty with the army.

Washington's personal cares were lightened to a great extent during the winter, by the presence of his wife. Since the siege of Boston, it had been the habit of Mrs. Washington to pass the winter at the headquarters of the army. Her presence was eagerly looked for every winter by the officers, who enjoyed the charm which it threw over the military family of the General.

In the meantime the war had assumed a new phase. The success of the Americans, and especially the capture of Burgoyne's army, had greatly encouraged their friends in Europe, and had, to a corresponding degree, discouraged the British

Government. A determined effort was made in Parliament, by the opposition, to force the Government to grant the just demands of the Americans, and was so far successful, that early in 1788 Lord North presented two bills to Parliament by which his Majesty hoped to maintain his authority in America, and conciliate his revolted subjects. The first of these renounced all intention on the part of Great Britain to levy taxes in America; the other appointed five commissioners to negotiate with the Americans for the restoration of the authority of England and the close of the war. These bills involved a direct surrender of the whole ground of the war; but they came too late.

The conciliatory disposition of Great Britain alarmed France, which had been greatly encouraged by the capture of Burgoyne's army. The French Government resolved to lose no time in concluding an alliance with the United States, and so prevent Great Britain from ever recovering her lost power in America. On the 6th of February, 1788, a treaty of friendship and commerce, and a second treaty of defensive alliance, were concluded between the United States and France. The latter instrument bound the United States to support France in case Great Britain should declare war against her. The King of France acknowledged the independence of the United States of America, and agreed to support them with his fleets and armies. No peace was to be made without the mutual consent of the contracting parties, nor until the independence of the United States should be acknowledged by Great Britain. These treaties were promptly ratified by Congress, and the news of the alliance was proclaimed to the army and people, and was everywhere received with joy. Public confidence was revived by the assurance of the assistance of one of the most powerful nations on the globe. In March, 1788, France formally communicated to England her treaties with America. This was regarded by England as equivalent to a declaration of war, and the British ambassador was at once recalled from Paris.

In June, the Commissioners appointed by Great Britain to treat with the Americans under Lord North's conciliatory bills, arrived in America, and opened negotiations. Con-

gress refused to treat upon any other ground than the recognition of the independence of the United States by Great Britain, and the withdrawal of her fleets and armies from the country. The Commissioners having no authority to treat upon any such basis, returned to England, having first endeavored, without success, to bribe several prominent Americans to desert their cause.

On the 11th of May, 1788, Sir William Howe, whose course had not pleased his government, was removed from his command, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. About the same time Clinton was informed by his government that a large French fleet was soon to sail for America, and was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York. He accordingly sent his sick and stores to New York by water, with his fleet; and with his army, 12,000 strong, evacuated Philadelphia on the 18th of June, crossed the Delaware and began his retreat across New Jersey to New York.

As soon as Washington was informed of Clinton's movement, he broke up his camp on the 24th of June, and crossed the Delaware in pursuit of the British army. The intense heat of the weather, and the heavy train with which the British were encumbered, caused them to move very slowly, and Washington soon overtook them in the open country of Monmouth county. He resolved to attack the enemy at once and bring them to a general engagement. General Charles Lee opposed this decision, and at first declined to take any command in the approaching battle.

On the 27th of June, Washington sent Lafayette with 2,000 men to occupy the hills near Monmouth Court House and confine the enemy to the plains. On the morning of the 28th, Lee, having reconsidered his determination, asked for a command, and was sent forward with two brigades to attack the enemy. Upon coming up with Lafayette, who was his junior, Lee assumed the command of the whole advanced force, and marched in the direction of the enemy, who had encamped on the previous night near Monmouth Court House, and had resumed their march early on the 28th. Clinton, learning of Lee's approach, determined to drive him back, and wheeled upon him with his whole rear division, and made a sharp attack



MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.



upon him. Lee at once fell back to higher ground. A misunderstanding of his orders caused one of his subordinates to abandon his position, and Lee's whole force fell back in some confusion. In the excitement of the movement, Lee neglected to inform Washington of his retreat, and the Commander-in-chief, who was advancing with the main body to his support, was astounded at meeting the right wing of Lee's command in a rapid and disorderly retreat. Riding up to the fugitives, he asked them why they were retreating, and was answered that they had been ordered to do so. Suspecting that the retreat had been ordered for the purpose of ruining the plan of battle, Washington hastened forward until he met General Lee, and sternly demanded of him, "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" Lee hesitated for a moment, and Washington demanded still more vehemently, "I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion."

Lee answered that the retreat was made without his orders, his troops having been thrown into confusion by contradictory intelligence, and that he did not wish to encounter the whole British army with his troops in such a condition.

"I am sorry," said Washington, "that you undertook the command, unless you meant to fight the enemy."

"I did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement," said Lee.

"Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington, sternly, "I expected my orders would have been obeyed."

This parley took but a few seconds. No time was to be lost, for the enemy were close at hand. Washington's appearance had stopped the retreat, and he at once reformed Lee's troops on a commanding eminence, and hurried the main body forward to their support. The British soon appeared in force, and endeavored to dislodge the Americans from their position. Failing in this, they attempted, but without success, to turn the American left flank. The battle lasted until nightfall, and the American army bivouacked on the field, expecting to renew the engagement the next morning; but during the night Clinton silently withdrew and continued his retreat. The weather was so warm that Washington did not deem it

safe to continue the pursuit, and the British were allowed to regain New York without further effort to check them.

A few days after the battle General Lee addressed an insulting note to Washington, and met the reply of the Commander-in-chief with a still more offensive communication, in which he demanded a court of inquiry into his conduct at Monmouth. He was tried in accordance with his wish, and the court found him guilty of disobedience of orders and of disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, and sentenced him to one year's suspension from his rank. Towards the close of his term of punishment he addressed an insulting letter to Congress, in consequence of some fancied neglect, and was dismissed from the army. A few years later he died in Philadelphia.

A few days after the battle of Monmouth, Washington marched to the Hudson, crossed that stream and took position at White Plains to be able to co-operate with the French fleet, which was daily expected, in an attack upon New York. This fleet, under Count D'Estaing, reached the mouth of the Delaware on the 8th of July. Finding the British gone, the French Admiral sailed for New York. Lord Howe withdrew his vessels within Raritan Bay, and the French Admiral found it impossible to attack him, in consequence of the greater draught of his own ships. The contemplated attack upon New York was therefore abandoned, to the great regret of Washington.

It was resolved to attack Newport and drive the British out of Rhode Island. The French fleet forced its way into Newport harbor, in spite of the fire of the British batteries, on the 8th of August; but as the American land force destined to co-operate with it had not arrived, several valuable days were lost. On the 9th Lord Howe appeared off Newport harbor with his fleet, and on the 10th D'Estaing sailed out to meet him. The two squadrons were separated by a sudden squall, and both were badly crippled. Howe made his way back to New York, and D'Estaing returned to Newport harbor. The American contingent, under General Sullivan, had arrived in the meantime, and had laid siege to Newport. D'Estaing informed Sullivan of his intention to sail at once to Boston to refit his ships. He declined to land the French troops he had brought

with him, and proceeded to Boston with his whole force. Sullivan was therefore obliged to abandon the siege and retreat to the mainland, which he did on the night of the 30th of August. The French fleet remained at Boston until November 1st, when it withdrew to the West Indies.

During the summer of 1778, the Tory and Indian allies of Great Britain ravaged the beautiful Wyoming and Cherry Valleys with fire and the knife, sparing neither age nor sex. In the fall of the same year, a British force under General Grey ravaged the southern coast of Massachusetts with great barbarity. On the 29th of December the town of Savannah, in Georgia, was captured by the enemy, who overran Georgia with great rapidity during the month of January, 1779.

The winter of 1778-79 was passed by the American army in a series of cantonments extending from the eastern end of Long Island Sound to the Delaware. This disposition enabled Washington to oppose a force to the British at every important point. He fixed his headquarters at Middlebrook, New Jersey, near the centre of his line. The winter passed away without any military event of importance.

During the winter it was proposed in Congress to undertake in concert with the French the conquest of Canada. Lafayette favored the scheme, but Washington opposed it with firmness and far-seeing wisdom. He pointed out to Congress the difficulties of the undertaking, and declared his conviction that it was not to the interest of the United States that a power different in race, language, and religion, from the people of this republic, should have a footing upon this Continent. "I do not like," he said, "to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish as much as possible to avoid giving a foreign power new claims of merit for services performed to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensable."

It was an anxious winter for Washington, and much of it was passed by him in Philadelphia, in consultation with Congress. The Canadian scheme was abandoned, but there were other matters equally threatening. Not the least of these was the effect which had been produced, even upon Congress, by the French alliance. Men appeared to regard it as conclusive of the war, and were disposed to relax their efforts to carry the

cause to a successful issue. Sectional jealousies were also causing much trouble. Congress had been deprived of its abler members, who had resigned their seats to accept appointments in their own States, or to enter the army, or were serving the country abroad. Their places had been filled with weaker men, and many dissensions mark the Congressional proceedings of this period. Washington exerted all his influence to heal these, and to impress upon his countrymen the conviction that the welfare of the common country at this critical period was a matter vastly superior to the interest of any State or States. "Our political system," he declared, "is like the mechanism of a clock; it is useless to keep the smaller wheels in order, if the greater one, the prime mover of the whole, is neglected." He was anxious that each State should compel its ablest men to attend Congress, with instructions to investigate and reform the abuses from which the country was suffering.

The currency was almost worthless, and the troops were not paid. Congress had so little specie that the cause must have gone to ruin had not Robert Morris, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania and a leading merchant of Philadelphia, borrowed large sums of money on his own credit, and loaned them to the government. This he continued to do throughout the war.

General Lincoln had been appointed to the command of the American army in the Southern States. In the early summer of 1779, he repulsed an attack on Charleston by General Prevost. In September the French fleet under D'Estaing arrived off the coast of Georgia, and an effort was made in concert with it to wrest Savannah from the British. It was unsuccessful, and after a siege of a fortnight the Americans were forced to withdraw with heavy loss. The French fleet then sailed for the West Indies, having a second time failed to render any real assistance to the Americans.

In May 1779, Sir Henry Clinton sent an expedition up the Hudson, and captured the fort at Stony Point. The works at Verplanck's Point, immediately opposite, surrendered early in June. Both were garrisoned by the British. The loss of these works was a serious blow to Washington, as they commanded the direct crossing of the Hudson, and compelled him

to establish a more tedious line of communication between the two sides of the river, through the passes of the Highlands. He resolved to attempt the recapture of the fort at Stony Point, and also to drive the British from the work at Verplanck's Point by the guns of Stony Point, and an attack of a force sent down from Peekskill. He proposed the capture of Stony Point to General Wayne, who at once agreed to undertake it. The place was carried by a brilliant assault with the bayonet on the night of the 15th of July. It was not possible to drive the enemy from Verplanck's Point, however, and Clinton, as soon as he heard of its danger, moved to its aid with a strong force. Wayne was therefore obliged to evacuate Stony Point. On the 18th of August, Major Henry Lee captured a British fort at Paulus Hook (now Jersey City), opposite New York, and brought off the garrison.

Having resolved to punish the Indians for their warfare upon the Americans in aid of the British, Washington sent a force of 5,000 men under Gen. Sullivan into the country of the Six Nations, in the Summer of 1779. Sullivan defeated the Indians and Tories in a battle near Elmira, on the 29th of August, and burned their villages, and laid waste the beautiful valley of the Genesee. The Indians and their Tory allies were obliged to emigrate to Canada to avoid starvation.

The winter of 1779-80 was passed by the bulk of the army at Morristown, New Jersey. The rest of the troops were stationed under Gen. Heath, in the Highlands, for the protection of West Point and the neighboring posts. Washington's headquarters were at Morristown. The winter was excessively cold, and the sufferings of the troops at Morristown were very great.

The most important events of the war were now transferred to the South. In December, 1779, Sir Henry Clinton, leaving a garrison in New York, under Gen. Knyphausen, sailed southward with the remainder of his force, and in April, 1780, laid siege to Charleston, which was defended by a force of 2,000 regulars and 5,000 militia under Gen. Lincoln. The siege was pressed with vigor: and the American works having been reduced by the British bombardment, Charleston surrendered on the 12th of May. Clinton followed up this success by a series

of vigorous measures, which were so successful that South Carolina was almost completely subjugated by the beginning of the summer. Early in June, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis to complete the conquest of the Carolinas. The efforts of this commander were on the whole so successful, that Congress resolved to send Gen. Gates, "the conqueror of Burgoyne," to oppose him. Gates accordingly set out for his new command with high expectations. On the 16th of August, he was badly beaten by Cornwallis, at Camden, in South Carolina, and his army was broken up in small parties, and scattered through the country. This was the most disastrous defeat experienced by the Americans during the whole war. They lost 1,800 men, including the Baron de Kalb, and all their artillery and stores. It completely demonstrated Gates's incapacity for such an important command. He retreated northward, and managed to rally about 1,000 men. Cornwallis advanced into North Carolina, but his movement was brought to an end by the defeat of one of his columns, at King's Mountain, by the militia of the surrounding country. The British army at once fell back into South Carolina, and took position between the Broad and Saluda rivers, where it remained during the winter. Gates took advantage of this retreat to advance to Charlotte.

The reverses of Gates utterly destroyed the popularity which his northern campaign had won for him. Congress resolved to remove him, and at the instance of Washington, Gen. Greene was appointed his successor. While at Charlotte, "Gates received the melancholy intelligence of the death of an only son, and, while he was yet writhing under the blow, came official dispatches informing him of his being superseded in command. A letter from Washington, we are told, accompanied them, sympathizing with him in his domestic misfortunes, adverting with peculiar delicacy to his reverses in battle, assuring him of his undiminished confidence in his zeal and capacity, and his readiness to give him the command of the left wing of his army as soon as he could make it convenient to join him. The effect of this letter was overpowering. Gates was found walking about his room in the greatest agitation, pressing the letter to his lips, breaking forth into ejaculations

of gratitude and admiration, and when he could find utterance to his thoughts, declared its tender sympathy and considerate delicacy had conveyed more consolation and delight to his heart than he had believed it possible ever to have felt again."¹

General Greene arrived at Charlotte on the 2d of December, and the next day assumed the command of the Southern army. The events of his campaign will be related in another part of this work, and we pass them by here.

As the spring opened, the sufferings of the army under Washington increased. Provisions became so scarce that the troops were driven to desperation. Two regiments of Connecticut troops declared their intention to abandon the army and march home, or seize food by force from the people of the surrounding country. It required all of Washington's influence and authority to restore order, and it was with great difficulty that provisions were procured, and the wants of the troops supplied. The danger caused by this state of affairs was so great that Congress authorized Washington to declare martial law in similar emergencies.

The news of these troubles in Washington's camp reached New York, and induced Gen. Knyphausen to undertake an expedition into New Jersey. He landed at Elizabethtown with 5,000 men, on the 6th of June, and marched towards Springfield. His advance was warmly contested by the militia of that region, but he succeeded in getting as far as the village of Connecticut Farms. Being unable to advance beyond this point, he caused the village to be sacked and burned; and Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of the minister of the village, who was absent with the army as a chaplain, was murdered by some of the British troops. The militia of the country assembled in such force, that Knyphausen was obliged to make a hasty retreat to Elizabethtown. The murder of Mrs. Caldwell aroused an intense desire for vengeance among the people of New Jersey. A few weeks later, Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned from the South, made a feint of ascending the Hudson, in the hope of drawing Washington's attention towards the Highlands, and thus enabling Knyphausen to capture Morristown, and drive the Americans from their strong position in its vicinity. Knyph-

¹*Irving's Life of Washington.* Vol. IV., p. 184.

hausen was met by a force under Gen. Greene, near Rahway, on the 23d of June, and his advance was checked. Finding it impossible to advance further, he burned the village of Springfield, and retreated to Elizabethtown.

In April 1780, Lafayette, who had spent the winter in France, returned to the United States, bringing with him the gratifying intelligence that a French fleet and a strong body of French troops might be expected during the latter part of the spring. The first division of the fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, two frigates, and two bomb vessels, with transports on board of which were 5,000 troops, reached Newport on the 10th of July. The second division might be expected at any moment. The fleet was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, the troops by the Count de Rochambeau, who was ordered by his government to place himself under the orders of General Washington, in order to avoid disputes that might arise from military etiquette. Soon after their arrival, the French ships were blockaded at Newport by a superior British fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot.

A few weeks later Washington invited the French commanders to meet him at Hartford, Connecticut, to arrange a plan for an attack upon New York. The meeting took place on the 21st of September, but as the French fleet was not strong enough to make such an attempt, the plan was abandoned. Washington therefore set out at once for his headquarters. On his return to the Highlands he was met by news of the most startling character.

In the summer of 1780, General Benedict Arnold, at his urgent request, was appointed to the important command of West Point, which included the posts from Fishkill to King's Ferry, and the corps of infantry and cavalry advanced towards the enemy on the east side of the Hudson. He had been disabled by wounds received at Quebec and Saratoga, and after the evacuation of Philadelphia by Clinton in 1788, had been placed at Washington's suggestion in command of that city. There his extravagant style of living soon involved him in debt. In the hope of raising the money to free himself, he engaged in a number of mercantile speculations, which were generally unsuccessful, and merely increased his difficulties.

His haughty manner involved him in a quarrel with the authorities of Pennsylvania, who accused him before Congress of abusing his official position and misusing the public funds. He was tried by a court martial, and was sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-chief. This disagreeable duty was performed by Washington as delicately as possible, but he did not lose confidence in Arnold. He did not know much of him except in his official capacity, and though he knew him to be an able and gallant soldier, he was ignorant of his faults of character, which were well known to the members of Congress from Connecticut, who had no confidence in him. Arnold had long been brooding over the wrongs he had received at the hands of Congress, and the sentence of the court martial and his own pecuniary difficulties had driven him to the desperate resolve of selling himself to the enemy. He sought and obtained the command of West Point with the deliberate intention of betraying it to the British. Previous to this appointment he had opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, under the assumed name of "Gustavus." It was some time before Clinton knew the true name of his correspondent, and it was not until Arnold obtained the command of West Point, the most important fortress in America, that the British general held out much inducement to him to desert. The man was not worth buying; the fortress was worth almost any price.

The correspondence was conducted on the part of Sir Henry by Major John André, of the British army, a young man of amiable character and more than ordinary accomplishments. He was an especial favorite of Sir Henry Clinton, and was beloved by the whole army in which he served. He wrote under the assumed name of John Anderson. When Arnold had entered upon his command at West Point, André offered to go up the Hudson, and have an interview with the traitor, for the purpose of arranging a plan for the betrayal of that fortress. Clinton accepted his offer, and sent him up the river as high as Haverstraw, in the sloop of war Vulture. He was set ashore on the west bank, near Haverstraw, and was met there by Arnold on the 22d of September. The meeting took place at night, and the morning dawned before the

arrangements were completed. Much against his will, André was compelled to pass the 23d in concealment within the American lines, and during the morning the bargain was completed. André was furnished with plans of the works at West Point, and the exact sum was agreed upon, which Arnold was to receive for his treason. During the 23d, the Vulture was driven down the river by the fire of an American battery, and the man who had brought André ashore was afraid to row him back to the sloop. He was obliged to return to New York by land, and at night crossed over to the east side of the Hudson, and set out, provided with a pass from General Arnold, under the assumed name of John Anderson. He changed his uniform for a citizen's dress.

As he reached the neighborhood of Tarrytown, he was stopped by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, who demanded his name and destination. Supposing them to be Tories, he did not use the pass given him by Arnold, but avowed himself a British officer traveling on important business. The young men then informed him that they were Americans, and that he was their prisoner. He was disconcerted, but endeavored to repair his mistake by producing the pass given him by Arnold, and declaring himself a Continental officer. He offered his captors his watch and purse to allow him to proceed on his way; but they refused to be bribed, and compelled him to dismount, and searched his person. They found the plans and papers given him by Arnold concealed in his boots. Paulding glanced over them, and exclaimed, "My God! He is a spy!" André was conducted by his captors to North Castle, the nearest American post, and was delivered to Colonel Jameson.

Jameson, recognizing the handwriting of Arnold, and seeing that the papers were of a dangerous nature, sent them off by express to Washington at Hartford. André was placed under guard, and Jameson wrote to Arnold, informing him of his capture and of the papers found on his person. Arnold fled down the river as soon as he received this letter, and succeeded in reaching the Vulture, which received him on board. From his place of safety he wrote to Washington, asking him to protect his wife, who he declared was innocent of any share in the plot.

Washington having failed to come to an understanding with the French commanders at Hartford, had set out on his return two days earlier than he had expected. He reached West Point, and repaired to the headquarters of Arnold, with whom he had expected to breakfast. He was in ignorance of the plot, and arrived at Arnold's quarters shortly after the flight of the traitor. Being told that Mrs. Arnold was indisposed, and that the general had gone to West Point to receive him, he partook of a hasty breakfast, and repaired to the fortress. He noticed as he crossed the river that no salute was fired, and was met at the landing by Colonel Lamb, the commander of the fort, who apologized for the neglect to pay him the proper military honors by saying that he had not been informed of the general's projected visit. Washington then inquired for Arnold, and learned that he had not been at the fort for two days. Still he did not suspect Arnold. He remained at the fort during the morning, and towards noon returned to Arnold's quarters. As he was ascending the hill from the river, he was met by Colonel Hamilton, who had been overtaken by Jameson's messenger with the papers captured with André. Hamilton had opened these and had learned their nature. Taking Washington aside, he informed him of the plot, its discovery, and the traitor's flight. Washington at once despatched Hamilton on horseback to the batteries at Verplanck's Point, with orders to intercept Arnold should he not have passed that point. It was too late, however; the traitor had passed the battery before Hamilton's arrival, and was safe on board the *Vulture*. Having failed to intercept Arnold, Washington prepared to offer a stubborn resistance in case the enemy should attempt the capture of West Point. He was filled with a painful anxiety, for he knew not whether Arnold's treason had embraced any, or how many, of the garrison. He treated Mrs. Arnold with the greatest consideration, and soon sent her to her friends in Philadelphia.

Upon learning of Arnold's safety, André wrote to Washington, confessing the whole plot. He was at once brought to trial as a spy. General Greene was the president of the court-martial, and Lafayette and Steuben were among its members. André was sentenced upon his own confession to be hanged.

Clinton made great exertions to save him, and Washington, who sincerely pitied him, would have spared his life, had his duty permitted him to do so. The circumstances of the case demanded that the law should be enforced, and André was hanged at Tappan, near the Hudson, on the 2d of October, 1780.

The plot of Arnold was discovered by the merest chance. Had it been successfully carried out, the American cause would have sustained a disaster which might have been fatal to it. "That overruling Providence, which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favor," wrote Washington to Governor Reed, of Pennsylvania, "never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid intention to surrender the post and garrison of West Point into the hands of the enemy."

The American army passed the winter of 1780-81 in cantonments east and west of the Hudson. Their sufferings were severe, and they were neglected by Congress, which was too much occupied with its dissensions to care for the wants of the soldiers. The Pennsylvania troops, who were quartered at Morristown, had an especial cause of complaint. They had enlisted "for three years, or for the war." They claimed that as they had understood "for the war," to mean that the enlistments should expire in case the war closed in less than three years, they were now entitled to their discharge, as the three years had expired. The Government, on the other hand, held that the enlistments were for the whole term of the war, no matter how long it should last, and refused to discharge the troops. The dispute was brought to an end by a mutiny of 1,300 of these troops, at Morristown, on the 1st of January, 1781. It was quelled only by a compromise. All who had served three years were allowed by Congress to retire from the army, and provision was made for the payment of the money due the troops. The disaffection spread to the other troops, and on the 20th of January, the New Jersey troops mutined at Pompton. This outbreak was put down by a detachment of troops sent by Washington from West Point. These mutinies had the good effect of awakening the country to the necessity of providing for the wants of the army, and vigorous efforts

were inaugurated for this purpose. People now began to understand that to starve the army was to ruin the cause.

In January, 1781, the British commander sent a marauding expedition to the Chesapeake and its tributaries, under the traitor Arnold. Richmond was captured, plundered, and the public buildings burned. Arnold then descended the James, and took position at Portsmouth, where he was soon relieved of his command, and succeeded by Gen. Philips.

During the early months of the year 1781, the principal interest of the war centred in the South, where Greene and Cornwallis were engaged in an active campaign. On the 20th of April, Cornwallis advanced from Wilmington, and succeeded in reaching Petersburg, Virginia, without serious opposition. He entered the latter place on the 20th of May, and was joined by the troops under General Philips, who had been plundering the country along the lower James. A force of about 4,000 men had been collected in Virginia, under Lafayette and Steuben, to oppose him, and Washington was seriously considering the propriety of reinforcing it from his own army.

While still deliberating, he was informed of the arrival of a French frigate at Newport, bringing the good news that a fleet of twenty ships of the line, under the Count de Grasse, with a considerable body of troops on board, had sailed for America, and might be expected in the course of a few weeks. Washington held a conference with the Count de Rochambeau, at Weathersfield, Conn., on the 22d of May, and it was agreed between them that the long contemplated attack on New York should be made immediately upon the arrival of the fleet of the Count de Grasse. The French army was to march from New York, and join Washington on the Hudson, and a French frigate was dispatched from Newport to the West Indies, to inform the Count de Grasse of this arrangement. The French army joined Washington on the Hudson in July, and preparations were made to attack New York.

Clinton learned the intention of the American commander by means of an intercepted letter. He ordered Cornwallis, who had crossed the James river, and was at Williamsburg, to send him a reinforcement of troops. Cornwallis prepared to

comply with this order, and for that purpose marched towards Portsmouth, followed cautiously by Lafayette. A slight engagement occurred between their forces near Westover, in which the Americans narrowly escaped a defeat. The British army crossed to the south side of the James, and a detachment was embarked, and was about to sail for New York, when a second order was received from Clinton, who had been reinforced from England, directing him to retain all his troops, and to choose some central position in Virginia, from which he could move northward if necessary, fortify it, and await the development of the American plans. Cornwallis thereupon crossed the James a third time, and took position at the towns of Yorktown and Gloucester, near the mouth of York river. He had with him an army of 8,000 effective men, and proceeded to fortify his position with strong intrenchments. His communication between Yorktown and Gloucester was secured by a number of war vessels which were anchored in the river between those points.

In the meantime, Washington continued his preparations for the attack upon New York. In the midst of them he received a letter from the Count de Grasse, informing him that he would sail for the Chesapeake, and not for Newport as he had intended. This decision of the French Admiral put an end to all hope of an early attack upon New York. That effort must be abandoned, and an attempt must be made, with the aid of the French fleet, to capture the army of Cornwallis at Yorktown. It was now the month of August, and the French fleet might be expected in the Chesapeake at any day. Orders were sent to Lafayette to prevent Cornwallis from retreating into North Carolina, and he was instructed to call on General Greene for assistance, if necessary. Washington's plan was to blockade Cornwallis in the York river, by means of the French fleet, and at the same time to besiege him with the allied armies, and force him to surrender.

In order to confirm Sir Henry Clinton in the belief that an attack upon New York was intended, the defences of that city were reconnoitred in force, and an extensive encampment was marked out in New Jersey. The troops were gotten in readiness to march, but were kept in ignorance of their destination.

On the 19th of August the movement was begun, and between the 20th and 22d the American and French armies crossed the Hudson, and on the 25th began their march across New Jersey. When the troops learned that the South was their destination, considerable dissatisfaction began to manifest itself; but their good humor was restored at Philadelphia, where they received a part of their pay in coin, and a supply of clothing, arms, and ammunition, which had just arrived from France. From Philadelphia the combined armies marched to the head of the Chesapeake. Washington and his suite accompanied by a number of French officers, proceeded overland to Mount Vernon. Washington rode on in advance, and reached his home on the evening of the 9th. The next day he was joined by his suite and the French officers. On the 12th, the party bade adieu to Mount Vernon, and rode on to Williamsburg to join Lafayette.

Sir Henry Clinton was not aware of Washington's destination, until the latter was beyond the Delaware. The first positive intimation he had of the change in the American plans, was the sailing of the French fleet from Newport on the 28th of August. Supposing that the object of De Barras, its commander, was to unite with another fleet in the Chesapeake, Clinton sent Admiral Graves to prevent the junction. Upon reaching the Capes, the British Admiral was astonished to find the fleet of the Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty ships of the line, anchored within the bay. De Grasse at once put to sea, as if to engage the enemy, but really to draw them off, and allow De Barras, who was hourly expected, to enter the Chesapeake. For five days he skirmished with the English. De Barras at length appeared, passed within the Capes, and was followed by De Grasse. Admiral Graves was not willing to attack this combined force, and returned to New York. Clinton, in the hope of drawing Washington back to the Hudson, sent an expedition under Arnold, the traitor, to ravage the shores of Long Island Sound. On the 6th of September, New London was captured and burned. The militia of Connecticut flew to arms, and Arnold was obliged to retreat. Washington wisely left New England to defend herself, and continued his movement against Cornwallis.

Cornwallis was very slow to realize his danger. He believed that he would not be called on to oppose any force but the small one under Lafayette in his front, and on the 10th of September wrote to Clinton, that he could spare him 1,200 men for the defense of New York. It was not until the French fleet had anchored within the Chesapeake, and cut off his escape by sea, that he perceived his error. He then attempted to retreat to North Carolina, as Washington had foreseen, but Lafayette, who had been reinforced by 3,000 French troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, from the fleet of De Grasse, effectually barred his way. Finding a retreat impossible, Cornwallis strengthened his fortifications, and wrote urgently to Clinton for aid.

In the meantime, the American and French armies had been transported from the head of the Chesapeake to Yorktown, in vessels provided by the Count de Grasse. The French fleet closed the mouth of the river, and the allied troops proceeded to invest the town. Sixteen thousand men were present under Washington's orders. The siege was begun on the 28th of September. Works were erected completely enclosing those of the British, and on the 9th of October the cannonade was begun. It was continued for four days, and the British outworks were greatly damaged, and several of their vessels in the river were burned by means of red hot shot thrown into them by the French vessels. On the 14th, two of the advanced redoubts of the enemy were carried by storm, one by the Americans, the other by the French. From the positions thus gained a destructive fire was maintained upon the English lines, which reduced their works to ruins, and dismounted many of their guns. On the 15th Cornwallis found his ammunition nearly exhausted. Without assistance he could not hold his position more than a few days longer.

In the extremity to which he was reduced, the British commander resolved upon a desperate movement. He determined to cross his whole force to the Gloucester side of the York, leaving his wounded and baggage behind, and to endeavor to cut his way northward to New York. On the night of the 16th of October he crossed a part of his army from Yorktown to Gloucester, but the second division was prevented from

crossing by a sudden storm, which delayed it until daylight. The movement being thus defeated, Cornwallis was obliged to bring the first division back to Yorktown. He accomplished this with difficulty, as the boats were exposed to the fire of the American batteries while crossing the river. The situation of the British army was now hopeless; its works were in no condition to withstand an assault, and nothing was left to it but a capitulation. Cornwallis submitted to Washington an offer to surrender, and the terms were soon arranged. On the 19th of October, Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army of seven thousand men to General Washington, as Commander-in-chief of the allied army, and his shipping, seamen, and naval stores to the Count de Grasse, as the representative of the King of France.

On the 19th of October, the day of the surrender of Cornwallis, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York to his assistance with a force of 35 ships and 7,000 picked troops. Off the Capes he learned of the surrender of the British army at Yorktown, and as his fleet was not strong enough to encounter that of the French, he returned to New York.

After the surrender at Yorktown, Washington urged the Count de Grasse to co-operate with General Greene in an attack upon Charleston. The French Admiral declined to do this, urging the necessity of his immediate return to the West Indies. The French troops were quartered for the winter at Williamsburg, Virginia, and the American army returned to the North and resumed its old positions on the Hudson.

The news of the capture of Cornwallis was received with enthusiasm throughout the Union. A National thanksgiving was ordered by Congress, and in all parts of the land rejoicings went up to God in gratitude for the great success which all men felt to be decisive of the war. Washington, though convinced that peace was close at hand, did not relax his vigilance. He urged upon Congress the importance of preparing for a vigorous campaign the next year, but so thoroughly was that body carried away by the prospect of peace that his recommendations were unheeded.

The news of Cornwallis' capture caused the most intense mortification in England. It was the second time an English

army had been forced to surrender to the Americans, and the efforts of Great Britain to conquer America were further off from success than ever. The English people had never regarded this attempt with favor, and they now demanded of the King and the aristocracy the cessation of the war. On the 20th of March, 1782, Lord North and his colleagues were driven from power, and a new ministry was formed under the Marquis of Rockingham. Sir Henry Clinton was recalled from New York, and was succeeded in his command by Sir Guy Carleton. A resolution to bring the war to a close having been adopted by Parliament, Carleton came with full power to open negotiations for peace. He at once began a correspondence with Washington, which resulted in an informal suspension of hostilities during the pending negotiations in Europe. In order to be prepared for a resumption of the war in case the peace negotiations were unsuccessful, Washington induced the Count de Rochambeau to move with the French army to the Hudson and form a junction with the American forces. The junction was effected in September.

During the year 1782 great discontent prevailed among the American troops, who were unpaid and neglected by Congress and by their respective State governments. Washington warned Congress of the danger of further neglect of the army, but his warning was unheeded.

While matters were in this state, Colonel Nicola, of the Pennsylvania line, at the instance of a number of officers, wrote to Washington in May, 1782, proposing the creation of a monarchy, and offering him the crown. Washington at once saw that Nicola was but the organ of a military faction, which was disposed to make the army the basis of an energetic government, and to place him at the head. "The suggestion, backed by the opportunity, might have tempted a man of meaner ambition." It drew from him an indignant rebuke to the writer of the letter. "I am much at a loss to conceive," he wrote, "what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. * * * Let me

conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself, or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature."

The discontents continued to increase, and in March, 1783, a series of anonymous addresses to the army were circulated in the camp, advising the officers and men to take their grievances into their own hands, and compel Congress to do them justice. A meeting of the officers was held on the 15th of March. Washington had previously urged the officers in private to a moderate course, and he now appeared at the meeting and appealed to them to be patient a little longer, and pledged himself to use his influence with Congress to fulfil its neglected promises. His appeal was successful, and it was resolved by the meeting to trust to the justice of Congress. Washington transmitted the resolutions of the meeting to Congress, and urged that body to make good the promises he had made in its name. Congress agreed to advance full pay to the troops for four months, and to commute the half pay of the officers into a sum equal to five years' whole pay. Thus did the wisdom of Washington rescue the country once more from grave peril.

In the spring of 1783, news arrived of the conclusion of the preliminary treaties of peace between the United States and France, and Great Britain. On the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years from the commencement of the war at Lexington, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in general orders to the army. The war was over, and independence was won.

Congress authorized the Commander-in-chief to grant furloughs to the troops, and Washington freely availed himself of this authority to enable the men to return home. This was a wise measure, as it reduced the army slowly, and returned the troops to the pursuits of peace so gradually, that the country scarcely perceived the change. At Washington's suggestion, also, the men were allowed to retain their arms as trophies of the noble service they had rendered the country in her hour of trial. On the 2d of November, the army was formally disbanded by order of Congress. Washington addressed

to it an eloquent and feeling farewell order. A small force was retained in the service, with which Washington occupied New York on the 25th of November, on which day the British evacuated that city, and sailed to their own country.

On the 4th of December, Washington set out from New York for Annapolis, where Congress was in session. At the hour of his departure, the principal officers of the army assembled at Fraunces' Tavern, near Whitehall Ferry, to take leave of him. As he entered the room, the sight of his old companions in arms for a moment overcame his firmness. Filling a glass of wine, he turned to them, and said with a voice unsteady by emotion: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He drained the glass to the bottom, and then added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

For a moment no one stirred. Then General Knox, who was nearest, stepped forward. Washington, with tears, clasped him in his arms, and in the same manner took leave of each one present. Not a word was spoken; each heart was full; and the veterans did not think their manhood shamed by the tears that moistened their bronzed cheeks. When the last embrace had been given, Washington left the room, followed by all present, and passing through a corps of light infantry, proceeded on foot to Whitehall Ferry, where a barge was waiting to convey him to the Jersey shore. He entered it, and as it put off from the shore waved a silent adieu to his old comrades, who watched the boat until it was far out in the stream.

From New York Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he stopped a few days to adjust his accounts with the Comptroller of the Treasury. They extended from the commencement of the war to the 13th of the actual month of December. "They were all in his own handwriting, and kept in the cleanest and most accurate manner, each entry being accompanied by a statement of the occasion and object of the charge. The gross amount was about fourteen thousand five

hundred pounds sterling. * * All this, it must be noted, was an account of money actually expended in the progress of the war—not for arrearages of pay; for it will be recollected Washington accepted no pay. Indeed, on the final adjustment of his accounts, he found himself a considerable loser, having frequently, in the hurry of business, neglected to credit himself with sums drawn from his private purse in moments of exigency. The schedule of his public account furnishes not the least among the many noble and impressive lessons taught by his character and example. It stands a touchstone of honesty in office, and a lasting rebuke of that lavish expenditure of the public money, too often heedlessly, if not willfully, indulged in by military commanders.”¹

From Philadelphia Washington hastened to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and on the 20th of December addressed a letter to the President of Congress, asking in what manner it would be most proper to offer his resignation; whether in writing or at an audience. Congress adopted the latter method, and appointed the 23d as the time.

At noon on the appointed day, a brilliant assemblage gathered in the hall of Congress to witness the scene. The members of Congress were present, seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the Union. The gentlemen present as spectators were standing and uncovered. The galleries were filled with ladies. Washington was introduced by the Secretary of Congress, and was conducted to a seat appointed for him. After a slight pause, the President informed him that “the United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communication.”

Washington then rose, and in an impressive manner stated the reasons which impelled him to the action he was about to take. “Having now finished the work assigned me,” he said in conclusion, “I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take leave of all the employments of public life.”

He then delivered his commission into the hands of the President, who in a reply to his address, bore witness to the

¹ *Irving.*

faithful and able manner in which he had discharged the difficult duties of his august station. "You retire," he said, "from the theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages."

The next day Washington left Annapolis, and by nightfall was once more in the peaceful retirement of his beloved Mount Vernon.

He had ceased to be a "public character," and was once more a simple citizen. The change was grateful to him, but he could hardly realize it at first. "Strange as it may seem," he wrote to General Knox, "it is nevertheless true, that it was not until very lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating as soon as I waked in the morning on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had anything to do with public transactions."

The expenses to which he had been put during the war, and his long absence from home, had considerably impaired his fortune, and upon his return to Mount Vernon it was expedient for the General to practise a more careful economy than he had found necessary before. While he was engaged in arranging his plans for this purpose, he received a communication from the Representatives in Congress from Pennsylvania, informing him that the Supreme Council of their State, in view of his disinterested conduct during the war, and of the fact that his distinguished services would attract many visitors to Mount Vernon to pay their respects to him, had instructed them to urge upon Congress the propriety of tendering him some national reward. The Representatives were instructed to ask if such a step would be agreeable to him. Washington was deeply touched by this delicate effort to assist him in his pecuniary troubles, but he at once gratefully and respectfully, but firmly, declined it. It was his pride to serve his country at the sacrifice of his own interests.

For the first few months after Washington's return home he was confined to his estate by a severe winter, but when the spring returned he devoted himself with all his old ardor to

the improvement of his estate and to his favorite agricultural schemes. In the autumn of 1784 he crossed the Alleghanies in company with his old friend Dr. Craik, and visited some of his lands which lay beyond the mountains. He left Mount Vernon on the 1st of September, and returned on the 4th of October, having traveled on horseback six hundred and eighty miles, the greater part of the distance in an unsettled region, where he was obliged to encamp at night.

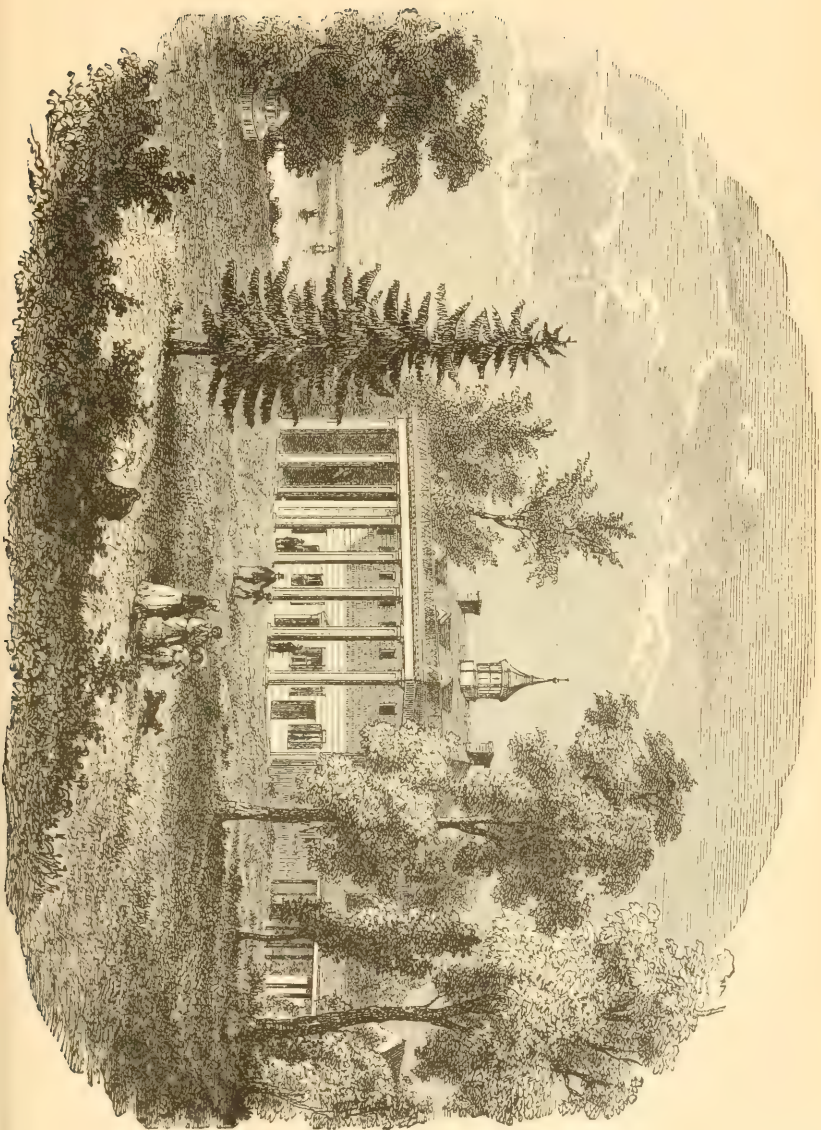
This journey convinced him of the importance of putting in execution a scheme he had long contemplated, namely: the construction of a series of canals from the headwaters of the Potomac and James rivers to the Ohio, and from that river to the great lakes. He was confident that great advantages would result from such a means of communication with the West, and he was anxious that Virginia and Maryland should secure them. Such an undertaking he believed to be necessary in order to retain the West as a part of the Union. Upon his return home he communicated his views to the Governors and Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland. The result of his efforts was the formation of the James River and the Potomac Canal Companies. He was appointed president of both companies, and the Legislature of Virginia gratefully voted him fifty shares in the Potomac and one hundred in the James River Company, worth in all about forty thousand dollars. Washington declined to receive the shares, except as a trust to be applied to the use of some public institution or object. They were ultimately applied by him to institutions of learning.

A large correspondence had to be attended to, much of which he would gladly have dispensed with. He delighted in writing to and hearing from his old friends and comrades, but there were other numerous demands upon his pen. From much of this drudgery he was relieved by his secretary, Mr. Tobias Lear, who was also the tutor of his adopted children—the son and daughter of the late Mr. Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son by her first marriage. He was devotedly attached to these little ones, and drew much of his most genuine happiness from their society. “I have sometimes,” said Miss Custis in after years, “made him laugh most heartily from sympathy with my joyous and extravagant spirits.”

His mode of life was exact. He rose before dawn and devoted himself to his correspondence until breakfast, which took place at half-past seven. After breakfast he mounted his horse, which was in waiting at the door, and rode over the estate to superintend the labors of the day. At half-past two dinner was served. If there was no company he would write until dark, or, if very busy, until nine in the evening. At other times he read in the evening or joined in a game of whist. At ten o'clock he retired to bed.

He was simple and unostentatious in his manner. "He spoke little generally," says Miss Custis, "never of himself. I never heard him relate a single act of his life during the war." His private secretary, Mr. Lear, wrote of him: "General Washington is, I believe, almost the only man of exalted character, who does not lose some part of his respectability by an intimate acquaintance. I have never found a single thing that could lessen my respect for him. A complete knowledge of his honesty, uprightness and candor in all his private transactions, has sometimes led me to think him more than a man." Mr. Elkanah Watson, who visited Mount Vernon in the winter of 1785, wrote of him: "I found him kind and benignant in the domestic circle; revered and beloved by all around him; agreeably social; without ostentation; delighting in anecdote and adventures; without assumption; his domestic arrangements harmonious and systematic. His servants seemed to watch his eye and to anticipate his every wish; hence a look was equivalent to a command. His servant Billy, the faithful companion of his military career, was always at his side. Smiling content animated and beamed on every countenance in his presence."

"The reverential awe which his deeds and elevated position threw around him," says Irving, "was often a source of annoyance to him in private life; especially when he perceived its effect upon the young and gay. We have been told of a case in point, where he made his appearance at a private ball where all were enjoying themselves with the utmost glee. The moment he entered the room the bouyant mirth was checked; the dance lost its animation; every face was grave; every tongue was silent. He remained for a time, endeavoring to





engage in conversation with some of the young people, and to break the spell; finding it in vain, he retired sadly to the company of the elders in an adjoining room, expressing his regret that his presence should operate as such a damper. After a little while light laughter and happy voices again resounded from the ball room; upon which he rose cautiously, approached on tip-toe the door, which was ajar, and there stood for some time a delighted spectator of the youthful revelry."

Though habitually grave and quiet in manner, he could laugh as heartily as the merriest when his keen sense of humor was excited, and many instances are on record of his being surprised into sudden and hearty fits of laughter, even when the weighty cares of the war were hanging over him.

In the retirement of his home, Washington was a close and anxious observer of the events which followed the return of peace. He was soon convinced that the Union could not hold together under the Articles of Confederation. The state of the country was very bad indeed, and was growing worse. The country was exhausted by the sacrifices and burdens imposed upon it by the War of Independence, and it was staggering under the enormous debt of \$170,000,000; a sum vastly out of proportion to its resources. Two-thirds of these debts had been contracted by Congress; the remainder by the States. The Articles of Confederation were found inadequate to the task of enforcing the authority of the general government, and the States treated the orders of Congress with neglect. Commerce was in confusion for lack of a uniform system. The States entered into competition with each other for the trade of foreign nations, and articles were admitted free of duty in some of the States which were subjected to heavy imposts in others. Some of the States were unable to enforce the collection of taxes within their own limits. The British merchants, at the close of the war, flooded the markets of America with their manufactures at reduced prices; and the result was that the domestic manufactures which had sprung up in the States during the struggle, were ruined; the country was drained of its specie; and the merchants and people of the Union were involved in heavy debts. A general poverty prevailed in the Eastern States, and gave rise to much discontent. In Massa-

chusetts, in December, 1786, a thousand men under Daniel Shays took up arms to prevent the courts from issuing writs for the collection of debts. The militia were called out, and "Shays' rebellion" was put down; but it was plain that the sympathies of the people were largely with the insurgents. These troubles brought home to the whole country the necessity of a more perfect system of government, and measures were begun for bringing about the changes needed. It was finally decided to call a Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. This Convention was to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787.

Washington was placed at the head of the Virginia delegation to the Convention. He endeavored to decline the honor, but was finally induced to accept it. Having made up his mind to attend, he prepared himself for his new duties by a course of reading "on the history and principles of ancient and modern Confederacies."

The Convention began its sessions on the 25th of May, 1787, and by a unanimous vote chose General Washington as its President. The deliberations of the Convention extended over a period of four months, and were held with closed doors. Instead of revising the Articles of Confederation, the delegates proceeded to frame an entirely new Constitution. Each article of this Constitution was discussed with care and minuteness, and with great feeling. The proceedings were so far from harmonious that there were several occasions when it seemed likely that the Convention would break up in confusion and leave its work unfinished. At length, however, through the exercise of a patriotic forbearance, the Convention brought its labors to a close, and the "Constitution of the United States" was perfected and presented to Congress, which body submitted it to the several States for their approval. The State governments submitted the Constitution to Conventions of their respective people. By the end of 1788 it was ratified by eleven States. North Carolina did not ratify it until November, 1789; Rhode Island accepted it in May, 1790.

Washington's influence in the Convention had been used in behalf of the Constitution. He was not altogether satisfied with it, but accepted and advocated it as the best result attain-

able; and the subsequent history of the country has vindicated the wisdom of his views. He watched its fate after it was submitted to the States with great anxiety, though he never for a moment doubted that they would accept it.

The Constitution having been adopted, an election for President was ordered by Congress for the first Wednesday in January, 1789. The electors chosen on this occasion by the people were to meet on the first Wednesday in the following February, and ballot for President and Vice-President. The new Congress was to meet in New York on the first Wednesday in March.

It was the general desire of the country that Washington should be the first President. He was aware of the popular wish, which was too outspoken for him to be ignorant of it, and in his confidential letters to his friends expressed his unfeigned reluctance to accept the office. "You will, I am sure," he wrote to Alexander Hamilton, "believe the assertion, though I have little expectation it would gain credit from those who are less acquainted with me, that, if I should receive the appointment, and if I should be prevailed upon to accept it, the acceptance would be attended with more diffidence and reluctance than I ever experienced before in my life. It would be, however, with a fixed and sole determination of lending whatever assistance might be in my power to promote the public weal, in hopes that, at a convenient and early period, my services might be dispensed with, and that I might be permitted once more to retire, to pass an unclouded evening, after the stormy day of life, in the bosom of domestic tranquillity."

The election was held at the appointed time, and resulted in the unanimous choice of Washington as President. John Adams was chosen Vice-President. Washington had by this time been led to see that his duty required that he should sacrifice his private wishes to the desire of his countrymen, and he now prepared to leave Mount Vernon as soon as he should be officially notified of his election. He repaired to Fredericksburg, and took a touching leave of his invalid mother, whose last years were cheered by seeing her son enjoying the highest honors within the gift of his grateful country. On

the 14th of April, Washington received official notice of his election, and on the 16th set out from Mount Vernon for New York.

His progress was a continual ovation. The citizens of Alexandria, his old friends and neighbors, took leave of him at a public dinner. Baltimore welcomed him with a joyous procession and with thunders of artillery. Arriving at Chester, he was met by a grand procession, and thus escorted, entered Philadelphia, under triumphal arches, and amid the ringing cheers of the citizens. At Trenton, where, twelve years before, he had led his little band of heroes through ice and snow, across the half frozen Delaware, to strike the decisive blow that rolled back the tide of defeat, and saved his country, he was met by crowds of enthusiastic citizens, who hailed him as their deliverer. He entered the town under an arch entwined with evergreens and laurels, and inscribed with the words, "The defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters." The matrons of the city assembled at this arch to meet him, and young girls walked before him, scattering roses in his pathway and singing an ode of gratitude and welcome.

"At Elizabethtown Point, a committee of both Houses of Congress, with various civic functionaries, waited by appointment to receive him. He embarked on board of a splendid barge, constructed for the occasion. It was manned by thirteen branch pilots, masters of vessels, in white uniforms, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. Other barges fancifully decorated followed, having on board the heads of departments and other public officers, and several distinguished citizens. As they passed through the strait between Staten Island and the Jerseys, called the Kills, other boats, decorated with flags, fell in their wake, until the whole, forming a nautical procession, swept up the broad and beautiful bay of New York, to the sound of instrumental music. On board of two vessels were parties of ladies and gentlemen, who sang congratulatory odes as Washington's barge approached. The ships at anchor in the harbor, dressed in colors, fired salutes as it passed. One alone, the *Galveston*, a Spanish man-of-war, displayed no signs of gratulation until the barge of the General

was nearly abreast; when suddenly, as if by magic, the yards were manned, the ship burst forth, as it were, into a full array of flags and signals, and thundered a salute of thirteen guns.

"He approached the landing place of Murray's wharf, amid the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannonry, and the shouting of multitudes collected on every pier head. On landing, he was received by Governor Clinton. General Knox, too, who had taken such affectionate leave of him on his retirement from military life, was there to welcome him in his civil capacity. Other of his fellow soldiers of the Revolution were likewise there, mingling with the civil dignitaries. At this juncture, an officer stepped up and requested Washington's orders, announcing himself as commanding his guard. Washington desired him to proceed according to the directions he might have received in the present arrangements, but for the future the affection of his fellow citizens was all the guard he wanted.

"Carpets had been spread to a carriage to convey him to his destined residence, but he preferred to walk. He was attended by a long civil and military train. In the streets through which he passed the houses were decorated with flags, silken banners, garlands of flowers and evergreens, and bore his name in every form of ornament. The streets were crowded with people, so that it was with difficulty a passage could be made by the city officers. Washington frequently bowed to the multitude as he passed, taking off his hat to the ladies, who thronged every window, waving their handkerchiefs, throwing flowers before him, and many of them shedding tears of enthusiasm. That day he dined with his old friend Governor Clinton, who had invited a numerous company of public functionaries and foreign diplomatists to meet him, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated."¹

The inauguration took place on the 30th of April. At half-past twelve o'clock Washington proceeded from his residence to the town hall, where Congress was in session. The oath was administered by Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State of New York, on a balcony in front of the Senate Chamber, in the presence of an immense multitude gathered in the

¹*Irving's Life of Washington*. Vol. IV., pp. 471-472.

street below. After taking the oath of office the new President returned to the Senate Chamber, where he delivered to both Houses of Congress his inaugural address. This done the whole assemblage, headed by the President, proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Church, where appropriate religious services were held by Dr. Prevost, the Episcopal Bishop of New York.

For some months Congress delayed the organization of the Executive Departments of the Government, and Washington was left to meet the early difficulties of his position without any constitutional advisers. He had the benefit of the advice of Mr. Jay, who had for some time been in charge of the foreign office, and of his old friend, General Knox, who had discharged the duties of Secretary of War since the close of the Revolution. On the 10th of September the bills creating the Departments of Foreign Affairs (afterwards called the State Department), the Treasury and War were passed by Congress. Washington at once appointed General Knox Secretary of War, and Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; John Jay, of New York, was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, as he preferred the Bench to a seat in the Cabinet; and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was made Attorney General. The Department of State remained vacant for some time. Mr. Jay consented to remain in charge of it until it could be filled to Washington's satisfaction. The President thereupon offered it to Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, then absent from the country as Minister to France. After some hesitation Mr. Jefferson accepted it, and returning home entered upon his duties in March, 1790.

In May the President was joined by Mrs. Washington and her grandchildren, and his household was complete. It was conducted in the simplest manner, but upon an ample and dignified scale. A steward had charge of it, and was required to render a weekly account of receipts and expenses, and was charged to guard against waste and extravagance. On Friday evening of each week Mrs. Washington held a general reception from eight to ten o'clock, at which the President was always present. These receptions were attended by the fashionable and official society of New York, and were open to all persons of respectability who chose to attend. These public

receptions were distinct from the private intercourse of the President and his family with their friends. Sunday was strictly observed by the President. He attended church in the morning and passed the afternoon in retirement. The evening was spent with his family, all visitors, save perhaps an intimate friend, being refused admittance.

In the early summer of 1789 Washington was prostrated by a virulent attack of anthrax, which for a time threatened to prove fatal. While recovering from his illness, which lasted nearly two months, he received intelligence of the death of his mother, which took place on the 25th of August. Although it was not unexpected, Washington was deeply moved by it.

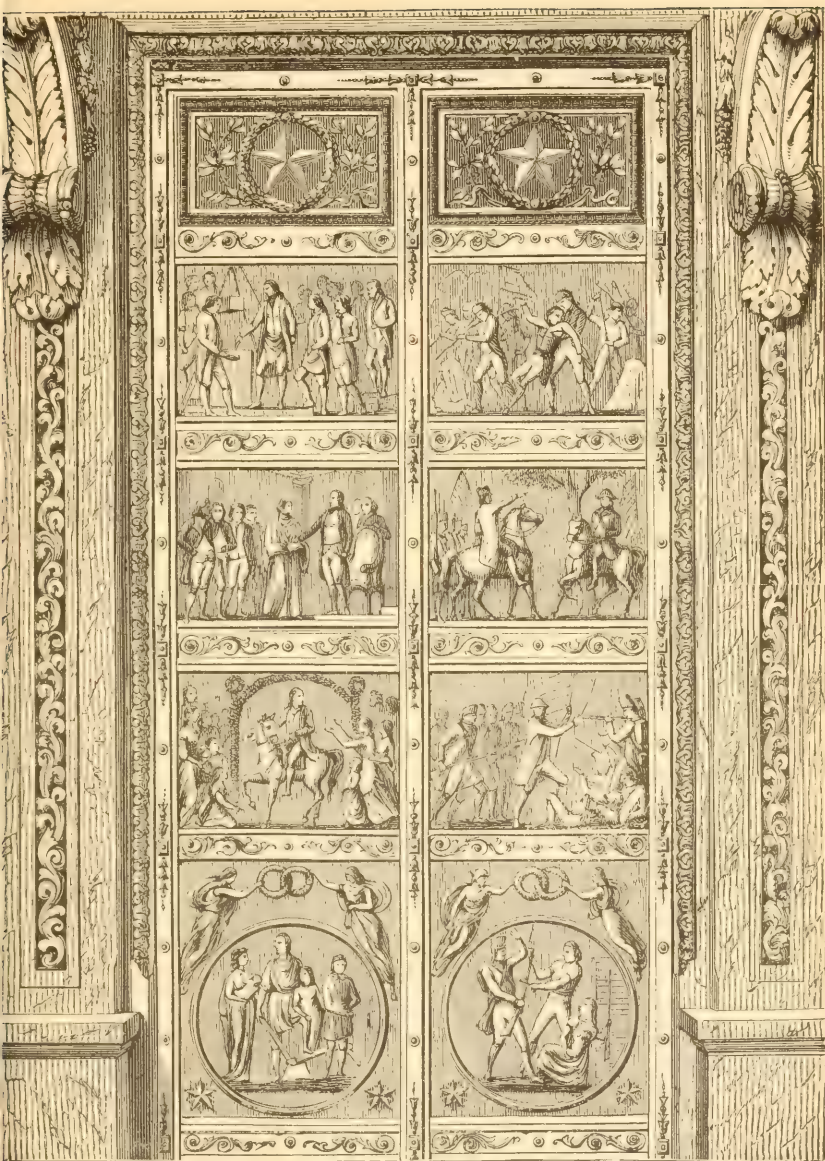
The new government was called upon to face many difficulties, the principal of which was the settlement of the financial affairs of the country, which was burdened with debt. The national debt had been contracted on account of the Revolution, and was in the form of notes of the government, or promises to pay. In addition to this, the States had each a heavy debt, generally in the same form and contracted on the same account. In January, 1790, Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, proposed to pay all these debts in full, and advised the General Government to assume the war debts of the States. The plan met with considerable opposition at first, but was at length adopted. It was also arranged that the revenues of the country should be divided between the Federal and State governments as follows: As the control of commerce had passed into the hands of Congress, the revenue derived from the duties levied upon articles imported into the Union was to be applied to the uses of the General Government. The proceeds of the direct taxes upon real estate and other property, which could be levied only by the respective States within their own limits, was to be used for the expenses of those States.

It had been for some time considered desirable to remove the seat of the Federal Government to some point more central than New York, and which could be placed under the supreme control of Congress. A number of sites for the new Capital were proposed. The South had earnestly desired that it should be located on the Potomac, near Georgetown, and in order to

obtain this settlement, the Southern delegates acceded to Hamilton's plan for the assumption of the State debts by Congress; the Northern delegates, in return for this support, voting in favor of the location of the Federal Capital on the Potomac. In 1790 it was resolved by Congress that the seat of government be fixed at Philadelphia for ten years, and that in 1800 it be removed to a new city, to be built on the banks of the Potomac. A Federal District, ten miles square, was obtained by cession from Virginia and Maryland, and was placed under the sole control of Congress. It was called the District of Columbia—the foundations of a new city, named "Washington," were laid on the left bank of the Potomac, a short distance below the falls of that river, and buildings for the accommodation of the General Government were begun and were pushed forward as rapidly as possible.

The General Government was removed to Philadelphia in 1791, and in December of that year the second Congress began its sessions in that city. The principal measure of this year was the establishment of the Bank of the United States, in accordance with the recommendations of Alexander Hamilton. The bank was chartered for twenty years, and its capital was \$10,000,000, of which the Government took two millions, and private individuals the remainder. The measure was approved by Washington, but was not carried through Congress without considerable opposition. The establishment of the Bank was very beneficial to the Government, as well as to the general interests of the country. The notes of the Bank were payable in gold and silver upon presentation at its counter.

The Indians of the Northwest had been very troublesome for some time. They committed innumerable outrages along the Ohio, and almost put a stop to trade upon its waters by attacking and plundering the flat-boats of the emigrants and traders which were constantly descending the river. Washington resolved to put a stop to their outrages, and General Harmer was sent against them with a considerable force in 1790, but was defeated with great loss. In 1791, General St. Clair, the Governor of the Northwest territory was placed by Washington in command of an expedition against the savages. Summoning him to a personal interview, the President gave



The Bronze Door in the National Capitol Commemorating the Events of the
' Life of George Washington.

St. Clair his final instructions. "You have your instructions from the Secretary of War," said the President. "I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—Beware of a surprise. You know how the Indians fight. I repeat it—*Beware of a surprise.*" St. Clair departed, and about the middle of September set out from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, with a force of 2,000 men. Near the headwaters of the Wabash he was surprised and defeated by an Indian force under Little Turtle, a famous chief of the Miamis. The wreck of his army fled to Fort Washington, and the frontier was once more defenseless.

The news of St. Clair's defeat reached Washington while he was entertaining a number of guests at dinner. He retained his calmness until his guests had departed, and he was left alone with his secretary, Mr. Lear. "Taking a seat on the sofa, he told Mr. Lear to sit down. The latter had scarce time to notice that he was extremely agitated, when he broke out suddenly: 'It's all over! St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale; the rout complete; too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain!' Then pausing and rising from the sofa he walked up and down the room in silence, violently agitated, but saying nothing. When near the door he stopped short, stood still for a few moments, when there was another terrible explosion of wrath. 'Yes,' exclaimed he, 'HERE, on this very spot I took leave of him; I wished him success and honor. "You have your instructions from the Secretary of War," said I; "I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word, *Beware of a surprise!* You know how the Indians fight us. I repeat it, *Beware of a surprise.*" He went off with that, my last warning, thrown into his ears. And yet!! To suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise, the very thing I guarded him against—O, God! O, God!' exclaimed he, throwing up his hands, while his very frame shook with emotion, 'he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country! The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of heaven!'

"Mr. Lear remained speechless; awed into silence by the appalling tones in which this torrent of invective was poured

forth. The paroxysm passed by. Washington again sat down on the sofa; he was silent—apparently uncomfortable, as if conscious of the ungovernable burst of passion which had overcome him. ‘This must not go beyond this room,’ said he at length in subdued and altered tone;—there was another and a longer pause—then, in a tone quite low: ‘General St. Clair shall have justice,’ said he, ‘I looked hastily through the dispatches; saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice.’”¹

Washington kept his word. He removed St. Clair from his command; but, having investigated the disaster, did justice to his bravery and his misfortunes. A Committee of Congress having made a similar investigation, returned a report explicitly exonerating General St. Clair. Washington continued to honor him with his friendship and confidence.

After St. Clair’s defeat, General Anthony Wayne was placed in command of the Western army. In the summer of 1794 he marched into the Indian country, laid it waste, and defeated the Indian tribes in the battle of the Maumee on the 20th of August. In the summer of 1795 the savages, cowed by their defeat, entered into a treaty with the United States, by which they ceded all the southern and eastern part of Ohio to the whites, and withdrew further westward.

The Cabinet was not harmonious. Jefferson and Hamilton had quarreled. The former was sustained by the Attorney General; the latter by his old comrade, the Secretary of War. The quarrel had spread to the country, and the rival secretaries had become the heads of the two parties which divided the country. Hamilton’s party was known as the Federalist; Jefferson’s supporters were becoming known as Republicans. The quarrel took an exceedingly bitter form, both in the Cabinet and out of it, and caused Washington the greatest annoyance. He was weary of public life, and looked forward with eagerness to the close of his term, when he meant to retire from office and seek the repose of his beloved Mount Vernon. Jefferson and Madison, the latter then a prominent member of Congress,

¹ Irving’s *Life of Washington*. Vol. V., pp. 102–103

earnestly entreated Washington to reconsider his determination, and serve another term, urging upon him the importance to the country of his continuing in the presidency. Hamilton and Randolph added their entreaties, and other friends joined in the appeal; and after a long and painful hesitation, Washington consented to be a candidate for re-election. He had no opponent to divide the popular vote, and received the unanimous vote of the Electors. He entered upon his second term on the 4th of March, 1793.

Shortly after the commencement of Washington's presidency, the French Revolution broke out, and drew upon France the attention of the whole civilized world. The events of the great struggle were watched with the deepest interest in America, for the nation cherished the warmest sentiments of gratitude to France for her aid in the war of independence. The Republican party favored an alliance with the French Republic, but Washington and the greater part of the Cabinet were resolved to take no part in European quarrels. As time passed on, the excesses of the revolutionists shocked the public sentiment of America, and the events of the Reign of Terror cooled the zeal of many of the most ardent friends of the French Republic. Party feeling ran high upon the subject, however, and the discussions were still very bitter, when M. Edmond Charles Genet, or "Citizen Genet," as he was generally styled, arrived in the United States, in 1793, as Minister from the French Republic. He brought the news that France had declared war against Great Britain. He was well received by a large part of the people, who were anxious that the United States should form a new alliance with France, and engage in a new war with England. The President and his Cabinet were unmoved by this demand, and a proclamation was issued declaring the neutrality of the United States in the war between Great Britain and France, and warning the American people to refrain from the commission of acts inconsistent with this neutrality. The firmness of Washington saved the country from a new and most disastrous war, which it was its duty as well as its interest to avoid.

Genet, encouraged by the sympathy of the friends of France, was resolved to embroil the United States with Great Britain to

such an extent that they would be compelled to make common cause with France. He therefore began to fit out privateers from American ports against the commerce of England. He was warned by the Government that he was transcending his privileges as the Minister of a friendly power, but paid no attention to this rebuke. His partisans now took a more determined stand against the policy of the Government, and the determination of President Washington not to interfere in the quarrels of Europe was vehemently assailed. His personal motives were traduced, and he was subjected to an amount of personal misrepresentation and abuse which disgusted him with his office.

Genet was greatly deceived by these clamors, which he mistook for the sentiments of the American people, and had the folly to suppose that they would sustain him against their own government. He now took the bold step of authorizing the French Consuls in American ports to receive and sell prizes taken by the French cruisers from the English, with whom the United States were at peace. He also contemplated the raising of a force in Georgia and the Carolinas for the purpose of seizing Florida, and another in Kentucky for the conquest of Louisiana, both of which regions were held by Spain, a power friendly to the United States. Finally his insolence induced him to declare his intention to appeal from the President to the people. This audacity aroused a storm of popular indignation, and meetings were held all over the country endorsing the course of the President. At length, Washington brought the matter to a close by demanding of the French Government the recall of M. Genet. His successor was appointed in 1794. Genet did not return to France, but became a citizen of the United States.

The impunity with which Genet had braved the Federal Government gave rise to a fear that it was not strong enough to enforce its authority, although it had compelled the insolent minister to confine his action to his proper sphere. An outbreak now occurred which showed that the Government was possessed of sufficient power to preserve internal peace. The western part of Pennsylvania had been settled chiefly by a hardy population of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had by

their determined efforts converted the wilderness into a region of thriving farms and orchards. Grain, apples and peaches were the staple products. The grain was distilled into whisky, and the fruits into brandies. One of Hamilton's favorite schemes for raising a revenue was the imposition of an excise duty upon whisky. This tax was generally unpopular throughout the country, but was especially so in the four western counties of Pennsylvania. The settlers of this region organized themselves in secret societies, for the purpose of resisting the tax, and at length, in 1792, encouraged by the embarrassments with which the Federal Government was contending, rose in open rebellion against the Government, refused to pay the tax, and drove off the excise officers. The best men in the western counties were engaged in the rebellion, and it was proposed to separate from Pennsylvania and form a new State. Nearly seven thousand men assembled under arms. Matters remained in this troubled condition for about two years. Washington was keenly alive to the necessity of maintaining the power of the Government, and at the same time was anxious to settle the difficulty without a resort to force, if possible. At last, finding his efforts in vain, he assembled a strong body of troops and directed it towards the insurgent counties to compel submission. At the same time he set out from Philadelphia to join the army, to conduct its operations. Upon the appearance of the troops, the leaders of the movement fled, and the "Whisky Insurrection" suddenly came to an end. This vigorous action of the President greatly added to the strength of the Federal Government.

The British Government failed to appreciate the fidelity with which Washington sought to discharge his duty of neutrality. Its conduct toward the United States was of such a character that there was constant danger of a new war between the two countries. By the Treaty of Paris which closed the Revolution, Great Britain had agreed to surrender the frontier posts held by her forces within the limits of the United States. Thus far she had failed to do so, and they were still held by British garrisons, and constituted so many centres for the hostile operations of the Indians against the American settlements. The English Government now proceeded to another act of aggression.

Orders were issued to the British Naval officers to seize and detain all vessels laden with French goods, or with provisions for any of the French colonies. As American ships were largely engaged in trade with France and her colonies, this order threatened the commerce of the States with ruin, which was plainly the end designed by Great Britain. These acts aroused a feeling of bitter hostility on the part of the Americans towards their old enemy, and the country was ripe for war. The Republic was yet too young and feeble to engage in another war; and peace was of vital importance to it. Washington appreciated this necessity, and his constant policy was to avoid as far as possible all dangerous complications with foreign nations. The conduct of Great Britain could not be ignored, however, and if an amicable and honorable settlement of the disputes with her could not be had, war was inevitable.

In order that all peaceful means might be tried, the President induced the Chief Justice, Mr. Jay, to resign his high office and undertake the mission to England, for the purpose of settling the disputes with that country by treaty. Mr. Jay was eminently qualified for the task by his high and conservative character, as well as by his great talents and experience in political matters. He was received in England with great respect, and in the course of a few months succeeded in negotiating a treaty, which was forwarded to America and submitted by the President to the Senate for ratification. By the terms of this treaty Great Britain agreed to give up the western posts within two years, to grant to American vessels the privilege of trading with the West Indies upon certain conditions, and to admit American ships free of restrictions to the ports of Great Britain and the English East India possessions. On the other hand, provision was made by the United States for the collection of debts due British merchants by American citizens.

The treaty pleased no party, and gave great offence to the enemies of the Administration. Mr. Jay himself was not satisfied with it, but both he and Washington saw that it was all that could be gained from Great Britain at the time, and for this reason the President threw all his influence in favor of its adoption. The treaty met with very great opposition in the Senate, and subjected the President to a great deal of adverse

criticism throughout the country. The Senate, after a fortnight's debate in secret session, advised the adoption of the treaty. It was promptly ratified by the President, and, imperfect as it was, secured a number of years of peace to the country at this critical period of its history.

The close of the President's second term was now rapidly approaching, and Washington looked forward to it with feelings of the greatest longing. He was wearied with the quarrels of political life which raged around him, and anxious for repose. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph had resigned from the Cabinet. Their successors were not to the President what they had been. Though deeply pained by the denunciations which were leveled at him by the press and speakers of the opposition, Washington had pursued with firmness the course he had marked out for himself, trusting to the good sense of his countrymen to do him justice in the end. He now felt that he had given to his country all that she had the right to demand of him, and that he was entitled to claim his remaining years for himself. There was great anxiety that he should consent to serve a third term, but he was firm in the resolution he had taken; and, in September, 1796, issued a Farewell Address to the people of the United States, in which he announced his intention to retire from public life at the close of his second term of office, and delivered to his countrymen such counsels and admonitions as he deemed suited to their present needs and future guidance. It was the warning of a father to his children engaged in a difficult and all-important undertaking.

The publication of the Address had a most happy effect. It put an end to the partisan hostility which had pursued the President, recalled to the people of the Union the great and unselfish services of Washington, and enabled them to see him in his true character. The gratitude of the nation burst forth in a mighty stream, and from every quarter came evidences of the affection and veneration of the American people for their great leader. Both Houses of Congress adopted replies to the farewell address, expressing their unshaken confidence in the wisdom and integrity of Washington, and during the winter of 1796-97 nearly all the State legislatures adopted similar resolutions.

At the elections in the fall of 1796, John Adams was chosen President. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1797, and immediately afterwards Washington set out from Philadelphia for Mount Vernon, accompanied by Mrs. Washington, Miss Nellie Custis and George Washington Lafayette, who had been sent over from France and placed in the care of his father's friend during the captivity of the Marquis.

From the retirement of his beloved home Washington could look back with pride over his administration of the Presidency. It had been eminently successful. When he entered upon the duties of the office the Government was new and untried, and its best friends doubted its ability to maintain its existence; the finances were in confusion and the country was burdened with debt; the disputes with Great Britain threatened to involve the country in a new war; and the authority of the General Government was uncertain and scarcely recognized at home. When he left office the state of affairs was very different. The government had been severely tested, and had been found equal to any demand upon it; the finances had been placed upon a safe and healthy footing, and the debt of the country had been adjusted to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned in it. The disputes with England had been arranged, and the country, no longer threatened with war, was free to devote its energies to its improvement. Industry and commerce were advancing rapidly. The exports from the United States had grown from nineteen millions to over fifty-six millions of dollars per annum, and the imports had increased proportionately. The rule of non-interference in European quarrels and of cultivating friendly relations with all the world, had become the settled policy of the Republic, and its wisdom had been amply vindicated.

Washington turned with delight to the tasks which awaited him at Mount Vernon, though he did not cease to watch the course of public affairs with deep interest. The homestead had come to need extensive repairs during the long absence of the master, and immediately upon his arrival the masons, joiners, plasterers and painters were set to work to make the necessary changes. "To make and sell a little flour annually," he writes in a happy vein to his friend Oliver Wolcott, "to repair houses fast going to ruin, to build one for the security of my papers of

a public nature, and to amuse myself in agricultural and rural pursuits, will constitute employment for the few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe. If, also, I could now and then meet the friends I esteem, it would fill the measure and add zest to my enjoyments; but, if ever this happens, it must be under my own vine and fig-tree, as I do not think it probable that I shall go beyond twenty miles from them."

The retirement for which Washington so much longed he was not permitted to enjoy in its fullest sense. Visitors were constantly arriving at Mount Vernon. "At dinner," wrote Washington to Mr. McHenry, "I rarely miss seeing strange faces, come, as they say, out of respect to me. Pray, would not the word curiosity answer as well? And how different this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board." The number of these visitors soon became so great as to seriously interfere with the daily duties of the host, and he brought his nephew Lawrence Lewis to Mount Vernon to relieve him of a part of his hospitable burden. The young man was much attached to his uncle, but Mount Vernon had a greater attraction for him in the young and blooming Miss Nellie Custis, who subsequently became his wife.

In the autumn of 1797 young Lafayette left the family at Mount Vernon and sailed for Europe to rejoin his father, who had been liberated from his prison at Olmutz.

The retirement of Washington was disturbed by the quarrel with France, which threatened to embroil the country in a war with that power. The French Republic had by a series of steady aggressions driven the United States to take up arms for the defence of its commercial rights. Congress authorized the President to raise an army and equip a navy, and while a final effort was made to settle the troubles peaceably the country prepared to take up the sword should it be necessary. There was a universal desire that Washington should assume the command of the army. President Adams and his old comrades urged him to comply with the popular wish. With great reluctance he consented to do so in case of actual invasion. On the 3d of July, 1798, the Senate confirmed his nomination to be Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised for the defence of the country.

Washington accepted the commission, on the understanding that he was not to be called upon to take the field until the army was in a condition to need his presence, or it should become indispensable by the urgency of circumstances. "In making this reservation," he wrote to President Adams, "I beg it to be understood that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty, also, to mention that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment before entering into a situation to incur expense."

Three Major-generals were appointed under Washington. They were Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Knox. Knox declined to serve under Hamilton and Pinckney, who had been his juniors in the Revolution, but asked permission to serve as an aide-de-camp to the Commander-in Chief.

In November, 1798, Washington set out from Mount Vernon for Philadelphia, where he spent five weeks with the Secretary of War and Hamilton and Pinckney, in arranging the organization of the army. Upon his return home he was obliged to give much of his time and correspondence to the same object. Fortunately the determined attitude of the United States had produced a happy effect in France. The Directory, impressed by the firm attitude of the Americans, re-opened the negotiation with the United States, by expressing a desire to receive Commissioners with authority to make a treaty. After some hesitation President Adams despatched the Commissioners in November, 1799. The work of organizing the army continued in the meantime. Washington at Mount Vernon retained the general direction of it.*

The winter of 1799 had now set in, and Washington gave himself up in a great measure to the formation of a plan for the proper management of his estate, the cultivation of the various farms, &c., in order that his death, should it occur soon, might not cause any confusion or change in the affairs of the estate. He reduced this plan to writing, drawing it up with great

*The settlement of the French dispute did not occur until after the death of Washington, who was Commander-in-Chief of the army at the time of his demise.

exactness and clearness. He finished this task on the 10th of December.

His last public act was performed on the morning of the 12th. He wrote to Hamilton cordially approving of the plan for the establishment of a military academy, which the latter had submitted to the Secretary of War. "The establishment of an institution of this kind upon a respectable and extensive basis," he wrote, "has ever been considered by me an object of primary importance to this country; and while I was in the chair of government I omitted no proper opportunity of recommending it in my public speeches, and otherwise, to the attention of the legislature."

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th of December, he mounted his horse and rode out to make the usual round of the estate. At one "it began to snow, soon after to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. As he wore his overcoat the General did not turn back, but completed his ride, and returned to the house after three. As dinner had been waiting for him, he sat down to table without changing his dress. During the evening he appeared as well as usual. The next day the snow was three inches deep, and the General was obliged to relinquish his usual ride. He complained of a sore throat, and it was evident that he had taken cold on the previous day. The storm passed away in the afternoon, and Washington went out on the grounds between the house and the river to mark some trees that were to be cut down. In the evening he was very hoarse, but was cheerful and conversed with the family, and read aloud to them from the newspapers as well as his hoarseness would permit. Upon retiring, Mr. Lear urged him to take something for his cold. "No," he replied, "you know I never take anything for a cold. Let it go as it came."

In the night he was taken with a severe chill and experienced great difficulty in breathing. Between two and three o'clock in the morning he awoke Mrs. Washington, who wished to rise and call a servant; but he prevented her for fear she should take cold. At daybreak a female servant entered the chamber to make the fire, and was sent for Mr. Lear, who came at once. He found the General very ill, breathing with difficulty, and scarcely able to speak. Dr. Craik, the family physician, who

resided at Alexandria, was at once sent for, and at the General's request, Rawlins, the overseer, was called in to bleed him. Half a pint of blood was taken by Washington's orders. External applications were made to the throat, and his feet were bathed in hot water, but no relief was experienced by the sufferer.

Dr. Craik arrived shortly before nine on the morning of the 14th, and summoned Drs. Dick and Brown. Various remedies and fresh bleeding were tried, but without success.

"About half-past four o'clock," says Mr. Lear, "he desired me to call Mrs. Washington to his bedside, when he requested her to go down into his room and take from his desk two wills, which she would find there, and bring them to him, which she did. Upon looking at them, he gave her one, which he observed was useless, as being superseded by the other, and desired her to burn it, which she did, and took the other and put it in her closet.

"After this was done, I returned to his bedside and took his hand. He said to me, 'I find I am going; my breath cannot last long. I believed from the first that the disorder would prove fatal. Do you arrange and record all my late military letters and papers. Arrange my accounts and settle my books, as you know more about them than any one else; and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters, which he has begun.' I told him this should be done. He then asked if I recollected anything which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us. I told him that I could recollect nothing; but that I hoped he was not so near his end. He observed, smiling, that he certainly was, and that, as it was the debt which we must all pay, he looked to the event with perfect resignation."

During the afternoon his breathing was difficult and painful, and Mr. Lear endeavored to raise him in order to afford him relief. "I am afraid I fatigue you too much," said the General. Mr. Lear assured him that such was not the case. "Well," said the dying man, gently, "it is a debt we must pay to each other, and I hope when you want aid of this kind you will find it."

Somewhat later, seeing his old servant Christopher, who had

been standing all through the day, he spoke to him kindly, and told him to sit down.

About five o'clock he said to his old friend, Dr. Craik, who was standing by his bed, "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed from my first attack that I should not survive it—my breath cannot last long." The Doctor, unable to reply, pressed his hand in silence, and took a seat by the fire plunged in grief. Towards six o'clock the other physicians that had been summoned by Dr. Craik, arrived. The General was assisted to sit up in his bed. "I feel I am going," he said; "I thank you for your attentions, but I pray you to take no more trouble about me; let me go off quietly; I cannot last long." He lay down again, and all but Dr. Craik retired from the room. During the evening further remedies were tried, but without avail. The General was restless and in pain, and frequently asked what time it was.

"About ten o'clock," says Mr. Lear, "he made several efforts to speak to me before he could effect it. At length he said, 'I am just going. Have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead.' I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again, and said, 'Do you understand me?' I replied, 'Yes.' 'Tis well,' said he.

"About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock) his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh.

"While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was seated at the foot of the bed, asked, with a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone?' I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. 'Tis well,' said she in the same voice. 'All is over now; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through.'"

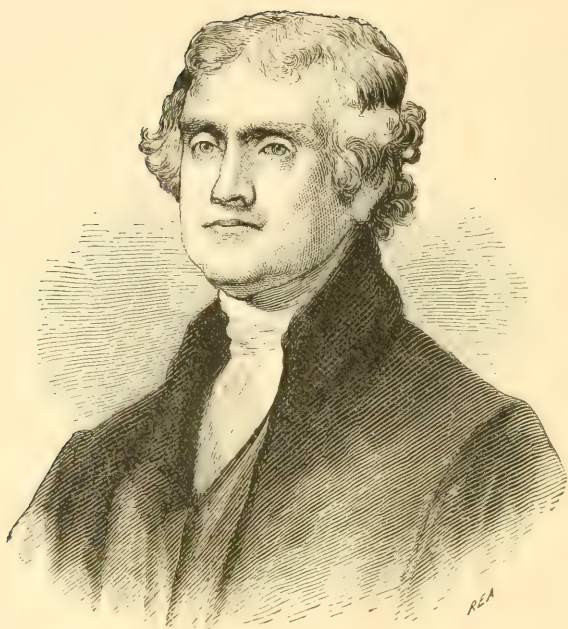
The funeral of Washington took place at Mount Vernon on the afternoon of the 18th of December. The people of Alex-

andria, the mayor and corporation of that city, the Free Masons, and the militia, with eleven pieces of cannon, arrived a little after noon. About three o'clock the procession began to move, and passing down the lawn, halted at the family vault at the right of the house, minute guns being fired all the while. The Rev. Mr. Davis read the funeral service at the vault, and pronounced a short address. Then the Masons performed their ceremonies and the services, which were simple, in accordance with Washington's own wishes, came to an end.

When the will of Washington was opened, it was found that he had bequeathed the boon of freedom to all his negro slaves after the death of his wife ; and he expressly forbade the sale or transportation out of Virginia of any negro slave of whom he died possessed.

The news of the death of Washington was received with profound sorrow throughout the Union. Congress immediately adjourned and ordered suitable mourning to be observed. All the States, and every city and town of the Union, paid appropriate honors to his memory, and the whole land bore witness by its sorrow to his illustrious character.

Nor were these testimonials confined to his own country. Napoleon, then First Consul of France, announced the death of Washington to the French army in a masterly order of the day, and caused the standards of the troops to be shrouded in crape for ten days. Lord Bridport, commanding the Channel fleet of England, consisting of sixty sail of the line, immediately upon receipt of the sad news, lowered his flag half-mast, and his example was followed by every ship in the fleet. But the proudest tribute of all to the memory of Washington is the unceasing and ever-increasing love with which his name is cherished by his countrymen.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

AMONG the first settlers of the Colony of Virginia was the founder of the Jefferson family. He was of Welsh extraction, and came to the Colony before it had surmounted its early trials. He was a member of the Virginia Assembly of 1619, the first legislative body ever convened in America. He must have been a man of merit, for he established for himself a goodly estate south of the James, and his descendants occupied a good social position in the aristocratic province of Virginia. One of these descendants, Peter Jefferson by name, being a younger son, had his own way to make in the world, and adopted the profession of a surveyor. He prospered, for he was a hard and systematic worker, and soon won for himself a farm of a thousand acres, on the banks of the Rivanna, at the foot of the Blue Ridge. He was a man of unusually large stature, and of extraordinary physical strength. "He had the strength of three strong men. Two hogsheads of tobacco, each weighing a thousand pounds, he could raise at once from their sides, and stand them upright. When surveying in the wilderness, he could tire out his assistants, and tire out his mules; then eat his mules, and still press on, sleeping alone by night in a hollow tree to the howling of wolves, till his task was done. He loved mathematics. He managed his affairs so well, that, in twenty years, he was master of a competent estate, and could assign a good plantation to his younger son, after leaving the bulk of his estate to his eldest." His bodily strength was well nigh matched by the vigor of his mind, and he was a dear lover of Shakespeare. The Spectator was also among his literary treasures, and he relished Swift as only a man of brains can. He took a high place in his county. He was one of the three justices of the peace appointed when the County of Albemarle was first laid off; was County Surveyor, and Colonel of the militia—the last no empty honor then, as upon him depended the direction of the defence of the frontier against the savages.

In 1738, while still engaged in his earlier efforts to establish a home, Peter Jefferson married Jane, the daughter of Isham Randolph, Esq., by whom he had eight children. She was a woman of fine intelligence and great sweetness of disposition. From her the subject of this memoir inherited the exquisite tenderness and loveliness which so endeared him to his friends in after life.

Colonel Peter Jefferson gave to his estate in Albemarle the name of Shadwell, as it was in that parish that his wife had been born during a visit of her parents to the city of London. It lay at the foot of the Blue Ridge, a few miles from the present town of Charlottesville. There, on the 13th of April, 1743, THOMAS JEFFERSON was born. He was the third child of his parents, and their eldest son. He passed his infancy and childhood in this delightful region, and grew up a hardy, healthy lad, with a stout frame and a vigorous constitution. He was passionately fond of music, and from both parents inherited a love for the beautiful. He learned at an early age to play on the violin, and through life found this instrument an unfailing source of pleasure and relaxation.

Colonel Jefferson was resolved that his son should possess the best education that could be obtained in the Colony; and when the boy was old enough, he was sent to board in the family of the Rev. Mr. Douglass, a Scottish clergyman, who taught him Greek, Latin and French. He spent five years under this excellent teacher. In 1757 Colonel Jefferson died at the age of fifty years. His last injunction was that his son's education should be completed, and that those who had it in charge should not permit him to neglect the bodily exercise necessary to keep his physical strength in full vigor, for the good father was convinced that a vigorous and healthy mind must have a body to match it.

After his father's death Thomas Jefferson changed his school, and placed himself under the instruction of the Rev. James Maury, of Huguenot descent, genuine scholarship, and—what was notable in all Virginia clergymen of that day—a man of blameless life and liberal opinions. He was noted here, says one of his companions, for his studiousness and his shyness. He was fond of hunting, though he never neglected his studies

for it, and would come in from a day's tramp over the mountains, fresh and sound of wind, the envy of his worn-out companions. He remained with Mr. Maury for two years, and at the age of sixteen repaired to Williamsburg, the capital of the province, and entered the College of William and Mary. On the journey he made the acquaintance of Patrick Henry, then a jovial young blade, noted for his fiddling and love of fun.

Jefferson spent two years within the walls of William and Mary. The standard of the college was not high, but it had among its professors no less a personage than Dr. Small, who subsequently became the famous Dr. Small, of Birmingham, in England. He taught him mathematics, "ethics, *belles-lettres* and rhetoric," and better still, thoroughly imbued him with his own liberal opinions. "He, most happily for me," said Jefferson in after years, "soon became attached to me, and made me his daily companion when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science, and of the system of things in which we are placed." Under the instruction of this wise teacher, Jefferson became as much enamored of mathematics as his father had been, and his love for this study ended only with his life. He worked hard, giving fifteen hours to his studies, yet managed to take at least a portion of the exercise necessary to his health. His habits were excellent; he did not use tobacco in any form, and neither gambled nor drank—vices common to the young men of this day.

His residence at Williamsburg was of the greatest value to the young student. The town was the centre of fashionable as well as of political life in the Old Dominion, and young Jefferson had the opportunity of acquiring those courtly graces for which he was afterwards noted, as well as of studying the men and measures of the time by immediate contact with them. He was an especial favorite of the brilliant Governor Fauquier, and was a daily visitor at the "Palace." There he met with George Wythe, one of the wisest men of his day, who conceived a warm friendship for the young student some seventeen years his junior. In the society of these gifted men Jefferson found himself drawn along into the intellectual pursuits they loved; his mind was awakened, his ambition aroused, and

he gained broader and deeper views of life and its duties than are common to young men of his age. "Such was the party oftenest gathered about the governor's 'familiar table:' Professor Small, the mathematician and man of science; George Wythe, the moralist, learned in law and Greek; Francis Fauquier, the man of the world of the period; Thomas Jefferson, a shy, inquisitive young man, quick to take in all these accomplished men had to give, and contributing his share of the entertainment by the intelligent sympathy with which he listened. These men were his teachers; this table his university."

This delightful party was broken up in 1762, by the removal of Professor Small to England. Jefferson was not sufficiently well off to remain unemployed longer than was necessary, and as he had mastered about all that William and Mary had to impart, he resolved to commence at once his preparation for the profession of the law, to which he had determined to devote himself. Accordingly he began his legal studies in 1763, enjoying the rare good fortune of having for his preceptor the good and wise George Wythe, who was also the instructor of John Marshall and Henry Clay.

Jefferson came of age in 1764, and at once took his position as his father's successor in his native county, giving faithful attention to the practical duties of life, while he pursued his law studies with vigor and zeal. He was not satisfied with mastering the ordinary text-books, though Coke was his favorite, and taught him those deep lessons of liberty and the rights of humanity that were the guiding principles of his after life. He traced the spirit of English law to its sources, and "conned with the keenest scrutiny" the legislation of King Alfred, the abrogation of which by the Conqueror the English so deeply lamented. He made copious notes of his studies, and subjected all his reading to a thorough and systematic digest. He was exact in all things, and there still remain the records which he kept during his early life. Until his death he continued this habit of minute record. "Nor did he ever content himself with the mere records of items. These were regularly reviewed, added, compared, and utilized in every possible way. It was the most remarkable of all his habits."

His law studies were carried on at Williamsburg during the winter, and at home, in Albemarle, during the remainder of the year.

While he was still a student of the law, stirring events were transpiring which he watched with an eager eye, and which served to attach him all the more to the principles he had drawn from his books. In 1765 the Stamp Act set the seal to the policy of injustice with which Great Britain had treated her American Colonies; and in the same year the First Colonial Congress assembled at New York. In 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, and the next year, when the legal studies of Jefferson came to a close, the effort to tax America was fairly inaugurated. Jefferson was a regular attendant upon the sessions of the Assembly. His old friend, Patrick Henry, who had won fame as the people's lawyer in the Parsons' cause, came to Williamsburg in May, 1765, as a member of the Assembly, to take his place as the champion of American liberty, and to electrify the country with his celebrated Five Resolutions, which joined the great issue squarely with the King. Jefferson stood at the door of the lobby, thrilled in every nerve by the masterly eloquence with which his friend supported his resolutions. His studies had been deep enough already to show him the justice of his country's cause, and he never doubted which side he should take if the worst came to the worst.

In the spring of 1766 the student made a journey in a one-horse chaise to the North, visiting Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. In the last-named place he made the acquaintance of a young gentleman of his own age from Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry by name, a man destined like himself to be a stout defender of the liberties of America.

Early in 1767, about the time of his twenty-fourth birthday, Jefferson's legal studies came to an end, and he was admitted to the bar. He at once began the practice of his profession in his own county. He already enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most thoroughly learned men in Virginia, and business came to him at once. Besides his office and county business, he was engaged in sixty-eight cases before the General Court of the Province during the first year of his practice.

These paid him a little more than two hundred pounds sterling, for in those days the fees of lawyers were limited by statute. Cases were plentiful, however. Almost every man had a law-suit, for Virginia had begun to pay the penalty of her early extravagance and her disregard of the fundamental conditions of a country's prosperity. The young lawyer was keenly aware of the causes of the troubles of his native province, and his practice impressed them deeply upon him, thus giving to him a special education which admirably fitted him for the part he was to play in after years. He worked hard, and by 1771 his income from his profession amounted to about five hundred pounds sterling per annum. Besides this, he had four hundred pounds more from his farm. As his habits were simple and inexpensive, he was able to lay by something every year. He made constant additions to his estate, and in 1774 found himself master of a number of farms, amounting in the aggregate to five thousand acres, "all paid for." He did not, however, invest any of his money in slaves, as was the custom of the time. He had learned to abhor the system of slavery, and in 1774 the thirty negroes who had been bequeathed to him by his father, had increased to but fifty-four. He was no orator, but he spoke with fluency and force, and his cases were so thoroughly prepared that it was very difficult for his opponents to pick a flaw in them. As for his legal knowledge, his preceptor was, perhaps, the only man in Virginia who was his superior. His industry was wonderful, and he possessed the peculiar gift of finding at once exactly what he wanted in the books to which he made reference. His temper was serene and thoroughly under his control, and his courtesy at the bar proverbial. He despised sharp practice. The late Col. Randolph, of Albemarle, his grandson, once asked an old man who, in his younger days, had heard him plead causes, how he ranked as a speaker. "Well," replied the old man, "it is hard to tell, because he always took the right side."

In the meantime the decision of the British Government to tax the Colonies had been taken, and in 1767, the year in which Jefferson entered upon the practice of his profession, the Bill imposing duties upon certain articles imported into the Colonies was passed by Parliament, and was met with a firm

resistance by Massachusetts. In the midst of the exciting discussions which followed, Jefferson was elected, in the winter of 1768-9, to represent his county in the General Assembly of the Province. He marked his entrance upon public life by a resolution for his own guidance, which we of to-day can particularly appreciate, and which he thus states in his own words: "When I first entered on the stage of public life I came to a resolution never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. I have never departed from it in a single instance; and I have, in multiplied instances, found myself happy in being able to decide and to act as a public servant, clear of all interest, in the multiform questions that have arisen, wherein I have seen others embarrassed and biased by having got themselves in a more interested situation. Thus have I thought myself richer in contentment than I should have been with any increase of fortune. Certainly I should have been much wealthier had I remained in that private condition which renders it lawful and even laudable to use proper efforts to better it."

The House of Burgesses began its session by making a hearty response to the invitation of Massachusetts to the other Colonies to *unite* in constitutional opposition to the injustice of Great Britain, and on the third day of the session adopted the Four Resolutions which declared, 1st, That taxation without representation was unlawful; 2d, That the Colonies had a right to unite in seeking redress of grievances; 3d, That the transportation of accused persons to England for trial was unconstitutional and a grievous wrong; and, 4th, that an address to the King be adopted, asking for redress of the wrongs complained of. The resolutions were adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and the speaker was ordered to send a copy of them to every legislative assembly "on this continent." The next day the address to the King was adopted, and ordered to be forwarded to England and published there. On the day following the Governor, Lord Botetourt, dissolved the Assembly for its boldness, and Jefferson was once more a private citizen. He took part in and gave his hearty support to the resolves of the meeting held the next day in the guest room of the

Raleigh Tavern, which bound Virginia to the non-importation scheme of the Northern Colonies.

A few months later the Assembly was again convened by Lord Botetourt, and during this session Jefferson met with a rebuff which must have taught him how far he was in advance of his associates. He had learned, as we have said, to abhor slavery, and he induced Colonel Bland to introduce a bill repealing the law which forbade manumitted slaves to reside in the province, and extending to the slaves, to use his own words, "certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws." The introduction of the bill aroused a storm of anger in the slaveholding Assembly. "I seconded his motion," says Jefferson, "and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the greatest indecorum." And this, although Colonel Bland was "one of the oldest, ablest and most respected members" of the Assembly. The author of the scheme was almost a century ahead of his time.

In 1770 Jefferson's residence was destroyed by fire, and he began the erection of a new house on the summit of his beloved Monticello. He meant that this should be the best-planned residence in Virginia. It took him nearly a quarter of a century to carry out his design, but he succeeded, at last, and realized his hopes in the stately mansion that is inseparably connected with his name. On the 1st of January, 1772, he married Martha Skelton, the widowed daughter of his friend John Wayles. She was a woman in all respects worthy to be the partner of such a man, and brought him a fortune equal to his own. He took his bride to his home at Monticello, and in her society passed his happiest days.

The growing troubles with the Mother Country did not permit him to enjoy his home in peace. His public duties called him to Williamsburg, where he took his true place among the foremost opponents of British injustice. He took an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly, and in the summer of 1774 drew up a long series of instructions to the delegates to be appointed from Virginia to the General Congress at Philadelphia. The instructions were not adopted by the nominating Convention, but were published in pamphlet

form under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of America." The pamphlet was extensively circulated in America, and was reprinted in England at the instance of Edmund Burke, and ran through edition after edition. It made a marked impression upon the people of both countries, and drew upon Jefferson the hostility of the British Government, as it was one of the boldest and most forcible statements of the history and the true nature of the connection between Great Britain and the Colonies that had yet appeared.

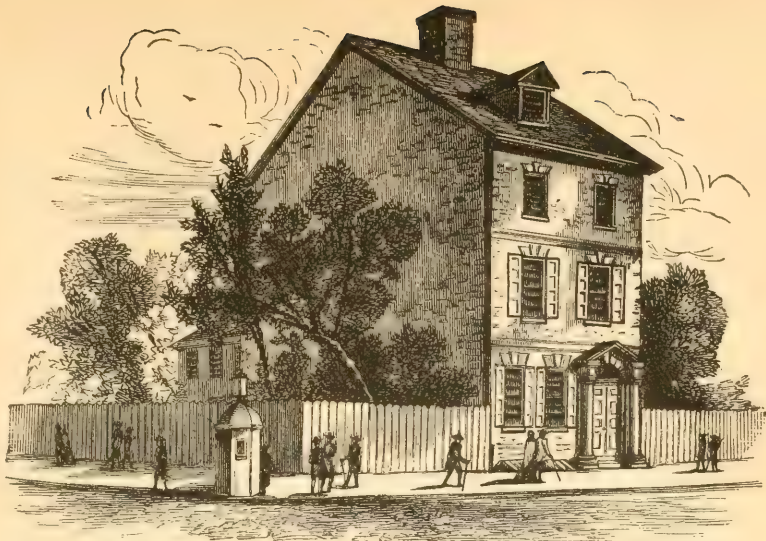
In 1774, at the age of thirty-one, after seven years' successful practice of his profession, Jefferson withdrew from the practice of law, and turned over all his business to his kinsman, Edmund Randolph. He was unable to attend the Convention which appointed the delegates to the General Congress, during its first session at Williamsburg, but was present at the adjourned session at Richmond, and was appointed one of the Committee of Thirteen charged with superintending the arming of Virginia. There was a probability of the General Assembly of the Province being convened by Lord Dunmore, and this measure would compel Peyton Randolph, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, to return home. The Convention therefore ordered that in such an event Mr. Jefferson should proceed to Philadelphia and take Mr. Randolph's place in the Congress. The course of events compelled the Governor to call the Burgesses together, and the first of June was appointed for the meeting. Mr. Randolph returned to Virginia, but asked Mr. Jefferson to delay his departure for Philadelphia for a few days, and in the meantime the latter held his seat in the Assembly, and drew up the reply of Virginia to the measures by which Lord North hoped to settle the difficulty. As soon as this was done, he left Williamsburg, on the morning of the 11th, for Philadelphia, which he reached on the morning of the 20th of June—the day on which Washington received his commission as Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. He brought with him the cheering news that Virginia was firm in her resolve to stand by her Northern Sisters to the bitter end.

Mr. Jefferson at once took his seat in the Continental Congress. He was not unknown to that body, but brought with him, as John Adams declares, "a reputation for literature,

science, and a happy talent for composition." "He was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in conversation," says the same writer—"not even Samuel Adams was more so—that he soon seized upon my heart." On the day that he took his seat news was received of the battle of Bunker Hill; three days later the new member was appointed a member of the Committee charged with drawing up a paper setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. His draught was rejected by the Committee, which accepted one prepared by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, who took Jefferson's glowing paper and toned it down to suit his own timidity. Towards the close of the session Mr. Jefferson drew up an answer on behalf of the Congress to Lord North's conciliatory propositions.

Returning to Richmond at the close of the session of Congress, Mr. Jefferson had the gratification of being re-elected to Congress by the Convention. Obtaining leave of absence from the latter body he returned home, which he reached on the 19th of August. As Congress was to meet again on the 5th of September, he had but ten days to remain at Monticello, "where he had a house enlarging, a family of thirty-four whites and eighty-three blacks to think for, half a dozen farms to superintend, and a highly complicated and extensive garden to overlook." When the fifth of September arrived, it found Jefferson watching by the sick bed of his second child, who died in this month of September, 1775. When his little one was laid in the ground, the bereaved father set out for his post of duty, and traveled with such energy that he reached Philadelphia in six days.

Congress sat with closed doors. Jefferson was regular in his attendance, and indefatigable in his service on Committees and in the other duties of his position. His absence from home cost him a great sacrifice, for his wife was in delicate health, and the whole management of his affairs depended upon himself. The efforts of Dunmore to excite a revolt of the slaves filled him with anxiety. As only four of the seven Virginia delegates were required to be constantly in attendance upon the sessions of Congress, the members of the delegation took turns in going home. Jefferson's turn came in January,



SMITH BROS., ENGRS., PHILA.

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THE HOUSE IN WHICH THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS WRITTEN.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
 Wm Lloyd Geo. Read Wm Hooper Saml Adams
 Stephen Hopkins Thos Mifflin Geo. Clymer
 Thos M. Heath Charles Carroll Harrold M. Ellbridge Gerry
 Roger Sherman Saml Huntington
 Wm Whipple Josiah Bartlett Thomas Lynch Junr
 Geo Taylor Ben Franklin
 Wm Williams Richd Stockton John Morison
 Oliver Wolcott Jas Watson Le Gros Robt
 Thos Stone Samuel Chase Robt Treat Paunle
 George Wythe Matthew Thornton
 Fran Lewis Th Jefferson Benj Harrison
 Lewis Morris Abra. Clark Phil Livingston
 Arthur Middleton Jas Hopkinson
 Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
 Richard Henry Lee Thos Mifflin Junr
 Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris
 Simon Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
 Francis Lightfoot Lee Edward Rutledge Jas. Smith
 William Ellery

SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

1776, and he eagerly availed himself of it. He passed the rest of the winter in Virginia, where he exerted himself to raise supplies for the people of Boston, and in collecting money for the purchase of powder. In March, 1776, his mother died, at the age of fifty-five. Early in May he returned to Philadelphia, and on the 13th of that month resumed his seat in Congress.

A little later the Virginia delegates received the instructions of that province directing them to move that Congress declare the Colonies independent of British rule. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee offered a resolution in Congress in accordance with these instructions, declaring "that the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." The resolution was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts, which province had instructed her delegates to take this stand. After two days' debate the subject was postponed for twenty days, and a Committee of five was appointed to prepare a declaration of independence. They were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman and R. R. Livingston.

Mr. Jefferson was regarded by his associates on the Committee as the one most fitted for the preparation of the declaration, and was urged to prepare it. The task was not very difficult, for all that was required was a clear and concise statement of the grievances which had driven the Colonies to separation from England; and these had been so thoroughly discussed for the past eleven years, that they were on every tongue. Jefferson was thoroughly conversant with them, and readily acceded to the request of his associates. He was lodging, at the time, in a new house on the suburbs of Philadelphia, near the present corner of Market and Seventh streets, and in his sitting room in this house, he wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence. The Committee made very few changes in the paper, and it was reported to the House in nearly the same shape that it came from Jefferson's pen. It was subjected to a three days' debate in Congress, and was very much changed and altered. This discussion terminated on the afternoon of Thursday, the 4th of July, 1776, when the

Declaration of Independence was adopted in its present form by Congress, by a majority of the votes of all the Colonies. The delegates at once affixed their signatures to it, and on the following Monday it was publicly read to the people in Independence Square.

The declaration was received by all the States, and by the army with enthusiasm. The thirteen United Colonies took their place in the family of nations as the thirteen United States. The declaration did not make the Colonies independent States, or States in any sense. It was simply their announcement to the world that they had, each for itself, by the exercise of its own sovereign power, assumed the independence which rightfully belonged to it. The declaration entirely changed the character of the war. It was now for independence, and could end only in the triumph or the subjugation of the States.

Family affairs and the need of his presence in Virginia now induced Mr. Jefferson to resign his seat in Congress. Upon the appointment of his successor he left Congress, in September, 1776, and returned to Virginia. He had been elected a member of the legislature of the State, and after spending a few days at home proceeded to Williamsburg to attend the sessions of that body. A few days after his arrival he received a communication from the President of Congress informing him of his appointment as one of the Commissioners to France. The delicate state of Mrs. Jefferson's health prevented him from taking her with him, and he could not think of leaving her in her feeble condition. The appointment was therefore declined.

In the Legislature of Virginia Mr. Jefferson was the acknowledged leader of the liberal party. He had the support of such men in the Assembly as George Mason, his old preceptor George Wythe, and a new member, James Madison by name, a young man of twenty-five, and just entering upon the career which Jefferson's influence was to do so much towards shaping. The Virginia radicals were resolved that Virginia should be rid of her old, narrow-minded and unjust laws. They saw the need of reform, and they went to work bravely to effect it. The Governor, Patrick Henry, was with them, but a strong

party, ably led by such men as Edmund Pendleton and R. C. Nicholas, clung to the old system, and opposed every effort to change it.

Jefferson's first blow was struck at the root of all the evils—the system of entail and primogeniture. After a three weeks' struggle, the old laws were abolished and a new bill adopted, making the ownership of all real estate and every negro in Virginia in fee simple, and rendering them liable to seizure for debt. Thus was the basis of the old aristocratic system destroyed, and the work of reform fairly begun. The next step was not so easy. Jefferson offered a bill repealing the laws requiring conformity to the Episcopal Church under severe penalties. It took nearly ten years to bring about the complete establishment of religious freedom in Virginia, and it was not until 1786 that Mr. Jefferson's bill for this purpose became the law of Virginia. His industry during this session of the Legislature was remarkable. "Never, perhaps," says Mr. Parton, "since the earliest historical times, has one mind so incorporated itself with a country's laws and institutions as Jefferson's with those of new-born Virginia. In this first month of October, 1776, besides actually accomplishing much, he cut out work enough to keep the best heads of Virginia busy for ten years." He drew the bill for establishing courts of law in the State, and for defining the powers, jurisdiction and methods of each of them. He induced the Legislature to remove the seat of government from Williamsburg to Richmond, and thus originated the plan which nearly every State has followed, of locating its capital near its geographical centre. In the same month he introduced a bill, which has in effect become the policy of the National Government, providing that a residence of two years in the State, a declaration of intention to live in the State, and an oath of fidelity to it, should entitle a foreigner to the privileges of citizenship of Virginia. The children of naturalized parents were, by the terms of this bill, to become citizens upon coming of age, without any legal formalities. He also secured the passage of a bill which he reported, appointing a committee of five to collect and revise the antiquated statutes of Virginia, and report to the house a body of law suited to the new conditions of the State. He was appointed chairman of

this committee, and his associates were Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, George Mason and Francis Lightfoot Lee. The work was actually done by the first three. Jefferson's portion was arduous, and occupied his leisure time for two years. The work was well done, and gave to Virginia the best code of laws she had ever enjoyed. Jefferson's reforms were won in the teeth of a fierce opposition from the old aristocratic class, and aroused a hatred of him and his measures upon their part which ended only with their lives.

In January, 1779, Mr. Jefferson was elected by the legislature Governor of Virginia, to succeed Patrick Henry, and on the 1st of June entered upon the duties of his office. Williamsburg was still the capital, and thither he repaired. Until now his public duties had been easily discharged; he was now to attempt a task of greater difficulty. The finances of Virginia were in confusion, the paper money of the time was worthless, and the State without credit. There was constant need for money, however, as the Virginia troops had to be supplied with arms, clothing and other necessities, the government of the State carried on, the Western frontier held against the attacks of the British and their savage allies, and the eastern coast protected against the inroads of the British fleet. The work in the West was well done by the heroic George Rogers Clarke, a native of Jefferson's own county, and a handful of men, and the hold of Virginia upon her immense territory beyond the Ohio was firmly maintained. The eastern counties were always exposed to the attacks of the enemy, whose fleet gave them the means of striking at any point of the Chesapeake coast. Jefferson gave to Colonel Clarke all the support in his power, but was not able to do much for the eastern counties. In the spring of 1780, the capital of the State was removed from Williamsburg to Richmond, then a village of nine hundred inhabitants.

Matters now became gloomy enough. Charleston was taken and South Carolina was quickly overrun. The British army was preparing for an advance northward, and Virginia was threatened from a new quarter. All the while urgent appeals were being made to the Governor to forward everything that could be spared to the army under Washington. Jefferson

labored with more than his usual energy to meet all these demands upon the State. A new army was formed in the Carolinas, under General Gates, to resist the northward advance of the British, and Jefferson sent Gates every man, horse, wagon, and all the supplies he could raise. He silenced the complaints of those who cried out that he was stripping Virginia of her means of defense by declaring that the only way to save Virginia was to prevent Cornwallis from reaching the State. All his energetic efforts were in vain, however, for the defeat of Gates at Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, lost everything he had been able to send the southern army. Jefferson was keenly alive to the dangers of the situation, but he addressed himself bravely to the task of repairing the disaster. Every nerve was strained to accumulate fresh supplies, raise new troops, and collect wagons, horses and arms, to enable the southern army to make a new stand.

In the midst of these preparations an expedition, under the traitor Arnold, ascended the James, landed at Westover, and made a dash at Richmond. Jefferson was promptly informed of the danger. He was alone; not a member of the Council or Assembly was in Richmond; but he set to work with energy to save the public property. With great exertion he succeeded in securing the removal of the archives and the greater part of the stores of the State to a place of safety, and at the same time summoned the militia of the surrounding country to arms. Arnold occupied Richmond on the 5th of January, 1781, but everything of value had been removed. He held the town but twenty-three hours, as the militia were responding zealously to the Governor's call. So energetic was the action of Jefferson, and so prompt the response of the militia, that in five days 2,500 men were on the traitor's path. He managed to escape by means of his vessels.

From this time the counties along the Chesapeake and its tributaries were at the mercy of the enemy, and were constantly harried by them. Virginia had a plenty of men willing to serve, but she had no arms for them. Jefferson constantly urged upon Washington and upon Congress the necessity of giving the State a supply of arms, but none could be obtained. Everything devolved upon the Governor. Richmond was so

much exposed that the Legislature met only in brief, hurried, sessions, at one of which almost dictatorial powers were conferred upon the Governor. He was authorized to call out the whole militia, to impress anything necessary to the public defence, and to issue State treasury notes to the amount of fifteen million dollars. He was powerless, however, and though he worked with untiring energy, he accomplished little, and aroused a storm of opposition. The old aristocratic class had not forgiven him for his reforms, and now avenged itself by denouncing him vigorously for what they termed his abuse of power. Finally the Legislature adjourned from Richmond to meet at Charlottesville on the 24th of May, 1781. On the 1st of June Mr. Jefferson's term expired, and Virginia found herself without a Governor. The Legislature met on the 24th, but there was no quorum until the 28th. Even then an election for Governor could not be held. Cornwallis was rapidly advancing into the State, and a British force under General Leslie was already in possession of the counties South of the James from Portsmouth to Petersburg. At this juncture a bold dash was made by Colonel Tarleton with his dragoons at Charlottesville. On the 4th of June both Monticello and Charlottesville were occupied by the dragoons. A timely warning enabled Jefferson and his family to escape, and the Legislature being also informed of their danger, met hastily and adjourned to meet at Staunton, beyond the Blue Ridge. They met at Staunton on the 7th of June, and, sore from their rough handling, several of the members endeavored to cast the blame of the frequent invasions of the State upon Governor Jefferson. Jefferson's friends met these charges by a demand for their investigation, and the Governor himself succeeded in putting an end to the interregnum by inducing his friends, who were a majority of the house, to elect Thomas Nelson, who had been his main stay during his administration, Governor of Virginia. A few months later the war was brought to a practical close by the capture of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown.

Mr. Jefferson was elected to the Legislatnre after the close of his term, and on the 19th of December, 1781, rose in his place in the House and reminded that body of the intimated censure of his conduct while Governor, and demanded that

charges should be brought against him. The answer of the Council and Assembly was a unanimous joint resolution thanking him for his "impartial, upright, and attentive administration." Even this resolution did not heal the wound which had been inflicted upon the sensitive statesman. He was disgusted with public life, and withdrawing from it, retired to Monticello, to repair the ravages which the war and his devotion to the service of his country had made in his fortune, and to devote himself to the care of his family and the cultivation of intellectual pursuits. His dream of happiness was rudely broken by the death of his wife on the 6th of September, 1782. The blow crushed him for awhile, and it was a relief to his tortured mind to enter, in November, 1783, upon public life again. In that month he took his seat in Congress, then sitting at Annapolis, as a representative from Virginia. As a member of this Congress he signed the Treaty of Peace, which acknowledged the independence of the United States. He rendered an additional service to the country by recommending the simple and excellent system which was adopted for the national currency. He also drew the plan for the government of the Northwest Territory ceded by Virginia to the common country, and inserted the clause prohibiting slavery in that magnificent domain, which was defeated, however, by the votes of the Southern members of Congress. On the 7th of May, 1784, Congress appointed Mr. Jefferson an envoy to France, to co-operate with Dr. Franklin and John Adams in the work of negotiating commercial treaties with the leading nations of Europe. After making provision for the care of his family, he set out from Annapolis on the 11th of May, and sailed from Boston on the 4th of July. Early in August he was in Paris. He performed his duties as a member of this commission with zeal and ability, and on the 10th of March, 1785, was appointed by Congress Minister Resident at the Court of Versailles.

Mr. Jefferson remained abroad five years—a period full of the most useful service to his country. Dr. Franklin had won the cordial regard of the French nation for America, but France knew little or nothing of the country it had helped to independence. Jefferson exerted himself to remove this ignorance, and to introduce his country, and make known its mag-

nificent capacity for improvement to the European world. He endeavored, during the whole of his residence in France, to inaugurate free trade between that country and America, and though he was unsuccessful in this effort, gained many advantages for America. Trade was fettered by too many monopolies at that time for his far-seeing policy to prevail. He negotiated a treaty with France, placing the Consular service upon a more reasonable footing than formerly. He exerted himself to spread information concerning America, its geography, climate, resources and capabilities for improvement. He corresponded with learned men and scientific societies, wrote communications for various publications, and contributed several articles on American subjects to the *Encyclopédie*. He was regarded as the best source of information on American topics, and was consulted on all sides by those desiring information. His "Notes on Virginia" were published in English and French during his residence in Europe, and had a marked effect. He also exerted himself to procure information in Europe for his countrymen at home. "He kept four colleges—Harvard, Yale, William and Mary and the College of Philadelphia—advised of the new inventions, discoveries, conjectures, books, that seemed important." Congress was regularly informed of such mechanical and other inventions and improvements as seemed to promise good to the industry of the young republic. Mr. Jefferson made a journey into Piedmont and obtained samples of the fine rice of that country, which he forwarded to South Carolina. It was carefully planted and nourished, and from these samples dates the improvement in the quality of American rice. Agricultural information was carefully collected by him and forwarded, together with seeds, roots and bulbs, to his correspondents in America. "There was no end of his services to the infant unskilled agriculture of his country." He traveled through France, England and a part of Italy, enjoying with a keen relish the artistic treasures and natural beauties of those countries, and carefully noting down and sending home accounts of whatever he thought could be useful to his fellow citizens.

The result of his travels and residence in Europe was to make him a better Republican than ever. He watched the

growing troubles of France with the deepest interest, and witnessed the opening events of the French Revolution. He was intimate with the leaders of the patriot party, and his advice went far to shape their course. This was the purer era of the great struggle, when it had not degenerated into the madness of the Reign of Terror. A Republican to the heart's core, his sympathies were with the Revolutionists, and this friendship gave coloring to his whole subsequent career. "His sympathy with that supreme effort of France to escape the oppression of outgrown institutions was entire and profound, but it was also considerate and wise. * * To the last, his constant advice was, Save the monarchy; France is not ripe for a republic; get a Constitution that will secure substantial liberty and essential rights, and wait for the rest."

In November, 1788, Mr. Jefferson applied for leave of absence, as he wished to take his daughters back to Virginia, and late in August, 1789, received permission to return home. As he expected to be back in Paris in a few months, he left his affairs unsettled. His five years' residence abroad had been of the greatest benefit to him, and had completed his education as a public man. "He had become a swift, cool, adroit, thoroughly trained, and perfectly accomplished minister; and this, without ceasing to be a man and a citizen, without hardening and narrowing into the professional diplomatist, without losing his interest or his faith in mankind."

On the 18th of November, 1789, he landed at Norfolk with his daughters. They were ten days in reaching Richmond, where Mr. Jefferson was cordially received by the Legislature of the State.

In the meantime, the old Articles of Confederation had been superseded by the Constitution of the United States, and the new Government had been inaugurated with Washington at its head. On the day that he landed at Norfolk, Mr. Jefferson read the announcement in the newspapers that President Washington had appointed him Secretary of State. From Richmond Mr. Jefferson went with his daughters to the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Eppes, in Chesterfield, where he received the letter of President Washington, enclosing his commission as Secretary of State, and urging him to accept the place.

Jefferson's wish was to return to Paris, and he so wrote to the President, but stated that he would be guided by his decision. Washington decided that he should take his place in the Cabinet, and he consented to sacrifice his own wishes. Having answered the President's first letter, Jefferson and his daughters returned to Monticello. He remained at home nearly two months to arrange his affairs, and to be present at the marriage of his daughter Martha to Thomas Mann Randolph, and then set out for New York, where he arrived on Sunday, March 21st, 1790. He at once entered upon his duties as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Washington.

The business of his office was greatly in arrears, and he went at it with such energy that his health began to suffer. He had accepted the office solely from a sense of public duty, and he was homesick all the time he held it. The relations between the President and himself were of the most cordial nature. Each possessed the perfect confidence of the other. His position was not pleasant to him, however. The tone of New York society was eminently aristocratic, and there were not wanting those who wished to give to the new Government a character suited to this feeling. Thomas Jefferson never forgot that the Federal Government was a government by and for the people, and he had no patience with any wish to change its popular form. Besides, he was fresh from France, where he had seen the miseries springing from aristocratic rule. He was especially sensitive upon this point—perhaps unnecessarily so. He recognized Hamilton as the leader of the aristocratic party, and became suspicious of him; and so these two great men and true patriots became forever separated and hostile. Yet the rivalry which sprang up between them was unavoidable. Jefferson was the natural leader of the people; Hamilton was a born aristocrat. Mr. Jefferson did not favor Hamilton's scheme for the assumption of the State debts by Congress; but the situation was so grave, and the contest had become so bitter in Congress, that he consented to act as mediator between the opposing parties, and brought about the compromise by which the Southern men in Congress consented to the assumption of the State debts, and the Northern delegates voted to locate the capital of the nation on the banks of the Potomac.

The duties of the Secretary of State were not very clearly defined at first, and for awhile the affairs of the post-office and patent-office were in his hands. The question of establishing a Mint was referred to him by Congress for his opinion, and he urged the prompt establishment of such an institution. A Mint was thereupon located at Philadelphia. In the fall of 1790, the seat of Government was removed from New York to Philadelphia.

As Secretary of State it was Mr. Jefferson's business to conduct the negotiations with England for the compliance of that power with the terms of the Treaty of Paris. He was not able to bring England to an honest performance of her engagements, and went out of office before Jay's Treaty was arranged. Another source of anxiety to him was the relations of the country with France. He was the faithful friend of the French Republic, and though he bitterly deplored the excesses of the Revolutionists, he did not, like many of his countrymen, regard these crimes as inseparable from the great work in which France was engaged. He did justice to the French people, saw clearly that the excesses of the ultra radicals must be short lived, and believed that out of all this trouble great good would result to France and to the world. His opponents, however, charged him with sympathizing with the barbarities of the Terrorists, and painted him to the people of this country, who had been shocked by the excesses of the French, as the embodiment of Atheistic and Socialistic principles. Even the red waistcoat which he wore was denounced as a badge of his horrid creed. When M. Genet was sent to the United States as the Envoy of the French Republic, Jefferson warmly favored his reception, and maintained that the treaties with France were with the nation, and not with the King, and were not annulled by the changes that had taken place. Hamilton, on the contrary, maintained that they were with the King. Upon Genet's arrival, Mr. Jefferson endeavored to restrain him within the bounds of moderation, and gave no encouragement to the extravagance and insolence of that minister. On the contrary he consistently supported the President in his determination to preserve the neutrality of the country, and one of his last official acts was to administer to Genet a dignified

rebuke which made the wily Frenchman writhe with mortification.

The antagonism between Jefferson and Hamilton deepened into an open quarrel, and their continued warfare gave the President no little trouble. Had Hamilton possessed the moderation of his rival, Washington's efforts at mediation might have been successful. As it was, the quarrel became more bitter every day. The *National Gazette*, published at Philadelphia by Philip Freneau, who was a translator in the State Department, had come to be the organ of the Republican party. The Federalist party charged that this paper was Jefferson's organ, and attributed its utterances to him. In this they were wrong. "I never did," said Mr. Jefferson subsequently, "by myself or any other, or indirectly, say a syllable, nor attempt any kind of influence, * * * nor write, dictate, or procure any one sentence to be inserted in Freneau's or any other gazette, to which my name was not affixed, or that of my office." Hamilton took the articles in Freneau's paper, as coming from Jefferson, who had already offended him by his opposition to his policy in the Cabinet. He therefore attacked him in a series of bitter articles published under fictitious names in Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*. The President attempted to make peace between the Secretaries, but without success.

The quarrel spread beyond the Cabinet, and Jefferson found himself, through no act of his own, acknowledged as the chief of the party which was resolved to preserve the popular form of the Government, and which called itself the *Republican* party. Among the leaders of this party were Madison and Monroe. In the heat of the controversy Jefferson believed that Hamilton and his party designed to bring about the downfall of the Republic and the establishment of a monarchy. Washington, calmer and more sagacious, set him right in a few words. "*Desires there may be, but not designs,*" he said.

At last there came a season of relief to the hard-worked Secretary of State. He determined to withdraw from the Cabinet. His most powerful reason was that he was not able to live upon the salary of his office and not rich enough to make up the deficiency from his private purse. His private affairs demanded his attention. Besides, he was tired of the

false position in which he was placed. "Before he had been a year in office the Secretary of State had enough of it. Scrupulously avoiding all interference with the departments of his colleagues, never lobbying, immersed in the duties of his place, he found himself borne along by Hamilton's restless impetuosity, and compelled to aid in the execution of a policy which he could as little approve as prevent. He was nominally the head of the Cabinet, without possessing the ascendancy that belonged to his position. He seemed to himself at once responsible and impotent; and he believed the sway of Hamilton over public affairs to be illegitimate, and to be upheld by illegitimate means." He had meant to resign his office at the close of Washington's first term, but yielded to the entreaty of the President to remain; but his private affairs now leaving him no choice, he resigned his Secretaryship on the 1st of January, 1794. The President, in accepting his resignation, wrote: "The opinion which I had formed of your integrity and talents and which dictated your original nomination, has been confirmed by the fullest experience, and both have been eminently displayed in the discharge of your duty."

He had the good fortune to withdraw from the Cabinet under the happiest circumstances. His correspondence with the French and English ministers was published at the meeting of Congress, and showed his patriotic and upright course in his negotiations with them so clearly that his enemies were conciliated for the moment; his friends were in raptures.

Returning to Monticello, Mr. Jefferson resumed the management of his estate, which had been almost allowed to go to ruin by the overseers during the ten years' absence of the master. He soon brought affairs to a better condition, and once more devoted himself to the completion of his mansion. He proved an excellent farmer, and was so successful in his efforts that two years after his return his estate was in such capital order that it seemed to a visitor a model farm.

In 1796 he was nominated by the Republican party for the Presidency. His opponent was John Adams, the candidate of the Federalist party. At the election Mr. Adams received the highest number of votes, and was declared elected President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson receiving the next highest

number, became the Vice-President. The vote in the Electoral College stood as follows: Adams, 71; Jefferson, 68. As Vice-President, Mr. Jefferson supported the President's determination to seek to adjust the quarrel with France by peaceful means. He stoutly opposed the Alien and Sedition laws and the other repressive measures, which he deemed violative of the Constitution. He became the leader of the opposition, and worked with energy to enlighten the public mind upon the questions at issue. He was bitterly denounced by the Federalist party, whose measures for the subversion of the Constitution found no mercy at his hands; but he did not shrink from his duty. In 1800 Mr. Jefferson was nominated for the Presidency by the Republicans, and was once more the object of the slanders with which his opponents deluged the country. He was denounced by the Federalists as an atheist, a libertine, a socialist, and an enemy to all government; but the Federalist party had so outraged the nation by their sins against the Constitution that it was clear to the public that the only weapon they had left was slander, and Mr. Jefferson had shown himself too great and pure a man for these "campaign lies" to injure him. In the Electoral College Jefferson and Aaron Burr received an equal number of votes. The election therefore passed into the House of Representatives, by which Mr. Jefferson was elected President and Burr Vice-President.

Mr. Jefferson was the first President inaugurated in the new Federal city of Washington, and entered upon his duties on the 4th of March, 1801. We have only space here to sketch the leading events of his administration.

Mr. Jefferson's first act as President was to pardon and release all prisoners under the Alien and Sedition laws. When Congress met in December, 1801, the President found a strong majority of his own party in each house, on whose support he could rely. The obnoxious measures of the last administration, such as the internal taxes, the taxes on stills, distilled spirits, refined sugars, carriages, stamped paper, etc., were repealed. Measures were set on foot for the reduction of the public debt, and the President inaugurated the reign of economy by reducing the number of public employees to the minimum. "As soon as his election was known, some of his friends urged

him to conciliate the Federalists by appointing a few of their leaders to office. His answer was, No; the mass of the party being Republican at heart, will be conciliated by a consistent adherence to Republican principles. * * Besides, every office in the country, in the gift of the President was already filled by a Federalist, * * * and he thought it only right that all vacancies should be given to Republicans, until there should be at least as many of them in office as Federalists. * * Jefferson took great care to get the right man for the right place. * * * He would not give an appointment to a relative. * * He turned no man out of office because he was opposed to him in politics. And yet he did, during the first two years of his first term, remove twenty-six Federalists, and appoint Republicans in their stead. After that there were scarcely any removals; and Republicans were only appointed to vacancies created by death or resignation." The twenty-six persons mentioned were removed from office for good and sufficient reasons.

Mr. Jefferson was utterly opposed to the Court etiquette that had grown up during the first two administrations of the Government, and promptly abolished it. He discontinued the weekly levee and retained only the public receptions of the 1st of January and the 4th of July. He was always accessible to those who had business with him, or who were entitled to attention at his hands, but never permitted mere social visits to consume the time which belonged to his public duties. He also inaugurated the custom which has since prevailed, of sending a written message to the two Houses of Congress at the opening of each session.

While Secretary of State, Mr. Jefferson had been called upon to oppose a firm and successful resistance to the schemes for placing the mouth of the Mississippi and New Orleans under British control. He had always regarded the possession of Louisiana by the United States as of vital importance to the prosperity of this country, and he now had an opportunity of carrying out his views with reference to it. He instructed R. R. Livingston, the American Minister at Paris, to open negotiations with the French Government for the purchase of the province of Louisiana. This was an easier task than he had

supposed it would be. Napoleon was in need of money, and was anxious to be relieved of the necessity of defending so large and distant a possession, and readily sold the whole region of Louisiana to the United States for the sum of \$15,000,000. The purchase was made in April, 1803. It was of the highest importance; it about doubled the territory of the Union, and placed the whole of the Mississippi Valley within the limits of the Republic.

While Minister to France, Mr. Jefferson had been obliged to conduct the humiliating negotiations with the Barbary powers of Africa, by which the United States purchased exemption from their piracies. In 1801, as President, he resolved to treat these States as the enemies of mankind. He despatched a fleet of vessels of war to the Mediterranean and compelled the Bey of Tripoli to sue for peace in 1805.

In the fall of 1804 Mr. Jefferson was elected President a second time, but this time Colonel Burr was dropped by his party, which elected George Clinton, of New York, Vice President. Burr had at last experienced the reward of his insincerity; both parties had come to distrust him. After his defeat for the Vice Presidency, he was nominated for Governor of New York, but was defeated mainly through the influence of Alexander Hamilton. He avenged himself by challenging Hamilton and killing him in a duel. This put an end to his own political career. Mr. Jefferson declined to appoint him to any important office under the Government, for he had never trusted him. A little later Burr became involved in the western schemes, which caused his arrest and trial for treason.

Mr. Jefferson continued the policy of neutrality in the quarrels of Europe inaugurated by President Washington. As the struggle in the Old World deepened, the efforts of the principal combatants to draw the United States into it increased. The general character of the European war had thrown the commerce of the world into the hands of the few nations which had not engaged in the struggle. The principal of these was the United States. England viewed with alarm the rapid growth of the commercial prosperity of this country. By its "Orders in Council" that Government declared all vessels engaged in conveying West India produce from the United

States to Europe, legal prizes. A number of American vessels were captured and condemned upon this pretext. In May, 1806, Great Britain declared the coast of Europe, from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe, in a state of blockade, and forbade neutral vessels to trade with any port within these prescribed limits on pain of capture and confiscation. This high-handed measure was a direct blow at the commerce of America. It was met by an act on the part of France equally unjust and destructive to that commerce. Napoleon issued his famous "Berlin decree," by which he declared the whole coast of Great Britain in a state of blockade, and forbade the introduction of British goods into the French Empire, and the admission into French ports of any neutral vessel that should first touch at an English port. Great Britain thereupon forbade all neutral nations to trade with France; and Napoleon issued his "Milan decree," ordering the confiscation of all vessels that should disobey the "Berlin decree," and also of those which should submit to be searched by an English cruiser. Thus was the commerce of the world placed at the mercy of these powers. The Americans were the chief sufferers by these outrages. Their ships were captured by both British and French cruisers, and their remonstrances produced no effect. Unfortunately, Mr. Jefferson, in his desire for economy in the Government, had pursued a most unfavorable policy towards the navy, and the country had not ships of war enough to protect its commerce. The European powers were encouraged by this helplessness, and their outrages upon American property increased. The popular feeling in America was stronger against Great Britain than against France, partly because of the old attachment to the latter power, and partly because England, being the stronger power at sea, was the principal and the original aggressor. The British Government claimed the right to stop American vessels on the high seas and search them for deserters. Under this head they included all persons born within the British dominions, whether naturalized American citizens or not. When found on American vessels, these persons were removed by force, and compelled to serve in the English navy. The British officers also seized large numbers of native-born American seamen, and forced them into their navy.

The Government of the United States addressed urgent remonstrances to that of Great Britain against these outrages, and finally, in the spring of 1806, sent William Pinckney as joint commissioner with James Monroe, then Minister to England, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty which should put a stop to the acts complained of. The Commissioners succeeded in negotiating a treaty which was, on the whole, more favorable to the United States than Jay's treaty, but as it did not provide for the discontinuance of the searching of American vessels or the impressment of their seamen by British cruisers, Mr. Jefferson assumed the responsibility of rejecting it in the spring of 1807, without submitting it to the Senate.

Matters were now brought to a crisis by the insolence of a British naval commander. The frigate *Chesapeake*, 38, Commodore Barron, sailed from Norfolk for the Mediterranean. She put to sea before her preparations for sailing were completed, and while her crew were unused to their duties. In this helpless condition she was stopped off the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay by the British frigate *Leopard*, of fifty guns, fired upon, and compelled to surrender. Four of her crew were removed to the *Leopard*, on the pretense that they were deserters, and the British frigate sailed for Halifax, leaving the crippled *Chesapeake* to return to Norfolk.

The news of this outrage excited the profoundest indignation throughout the United States. "I had only to open my hand," said Mr. Jefferson, afterwards, "and let havoc loose." The moderation and firmness of the President were now shown in a conspicuous light. He was opposed to war, if a peaceful settlement could be had, and while he did not intend to shrink from the former, he resolved to make an effort to secure the latter. He at once despatched a frigate to England with instructions to the American Minister to demand reparation for the outrage; and on the 2d of July, 1807, issued a proclamation forbidding all naval vessels of England from entering American waters, excepting only those in distress and those bearing despatches. Two thousand militia were posted along the coast to prevent the British vessels from obtaining supplies. A special session of Congress was summoned; every available vessel of the navy was made ready for active service, and De-

catur, commanding at Norfolk, was ordered to attack the British fleet then anchored within the capes of the Chesapeake, if it should attempt to pass higher up the bay. The President expected war, and he meant to make it a vigorous one if it could not be avoided honorably. The British Government, however, received information of the affair before the arrival of the American demand. The action of the commander of the *Leopard* was disavowed, and a special messenger was sent to the United States to arrange the matter. Great Britain disclaimed the right to search vessels of war, and the excitement was quieted for a time.

In December, 1806, as the outrages upon American commerce were continued by the European powers, Congress, at the recommendation of the President, passed the "Embargo Act," by which all merchant vessels of the United States were prevented from leaving the ports of this country. This measure entirely put an end to the intercourse between the United States and Europe. It was hoped by the President and his supporters that the measure would compel Great Britain and France, by the loss of our manufactures and supplies, which were very necessary to both, to put a stop to their arbitrary course. The measure was regarded by both Napoleon and the *Edinburgh Review* as a statesmanlike act, and Mr. Jefferson, to the day of his death, believed that if it had been faithfully carried out it would have accomplished its object and have saved us the second war with England. It was utterly unpopular in the Eastern and Middle States, yet it was in the end a benefit to them. Thousands of persons were thrown out of employment by the enforced idleness of the ships, and many of these turned their attention to manufacturing pursuits, which thus received a decided impetus. The loss caused to the shipping interests was considerable, and the disaffection became so great that just before the expiration of his term of office Mr. Jefferson recommended to Congress the repeal of the Embargo Act, as a measure of conciliation. The law was repealed on the 1st of March, 1809, and in the same month Congress passed an act prohibiting trade with France and England.

Mr. Jefferson declined to be a candidate for a third term, and upon the inauguration of Mr. Madison, his successor, withdrew

from Washington and retired to Monticello. He retired from office with undiminished popularity, and with the respect and confidence of the nation. His great services in the Revolution, his draft of the Declaration of Independence, his acquisition of Louisiana, and the purity and grandeur of his character, placed him, notwithstanding the malice of his enemies, next to Washington in the public estimation.

The last seventeen years of Mr. Jefferson's life were spent in retirement at Monticello. He was still the principal personage in the United States, and did not by any means lose his interest in public affairs. Mr. Madison, whose education he had in a measure directed, consulted him constantly, and his counsels largely shaped the policy of the Government. "When there was dissension in the Cabinet, it was Mr. Jefferson who restored harmony."

Monticello was overrun with guests during these years. "They traveled," says Mr. Bacon, Mr. Jefferson's manager, "in gangs; sometimes a whole family, with carriage and riding horses, and servants; sometimes three or four such gangs at a time." These guests, many of whom were entire strangers to Mr. Jefferson, entailed a heavy expense upon their host. "He knew," continues Mr. Bacon, "that it more than used up all his income from the plantation and everything else; but he was so kind and polite that he received all his visitors with a smile, and made them welcome."

He never permitted his visitors to interfere with his work. His mornings were given to his correspondence, the management of his estate, and such other business as was to be attended to, and his evenings were spent in the society of his friends. "Mr. Jefferson was the most industrious man I ever saw," says Mr. Bacon. "I never saw him sitting idle in his room but twice. * * At all other times he was either reading, writing, talking, working upon some model, or doing something else. * * * I have rode over the plantation, I reckon, a thousand times with Mr. Jefferson; and when he was not talking, he was nearly always humming some tune, or singing in a low tone to himself."

One of the pleasantest of the tasks which occupied his time was the direction of the education of a number of young men,

who had asked him to do them this service. "They place themselves," he wrote to a friend, "in the neighboring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my society. In advising their course of reading, I endeavor to keep their attention fixed on the main object of all science, the freedom and happiness of man; so that, coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government."

It had long been one of Mr. Jefferson's dearest wishes to introduce into Virginia the free school system of New England, but he found that the time had not yet come for such a step. For many years he had been desirous of establishing a University in the State, at which the young men of Virginia could obtain a thorough and liberal education. He devoted the last fifteen years of his life to this object. His friend, Joseph C. Cabell, a member of the State Senate, entered cordially into his scheme, and labored for it in the Legislature with ability and success. It required all of Mr. Jefferson's popularity and all of Mr. Cabell's energy and skill to induce the State to appropriate a sum sufficient to establish the proposed school, but by hard work they carried the scheme through both Houses, and it received the Governor's approval, and at last the cornerstone of the University of Virginia was laid. The site was chosen by Mr. Jefferson, and was within five miles of Monticello. Mr. Jefferson gave his personal superintendence to the erection of the buildings—in short, every detail of the work passed through his hands—and when it was completed was appointed Rector, and was mainly instrumental in establishing the peculiar and excellent system upon which this noble institution is conducted. At last he had the happiness of seeing the end of his work, and in March, 1825, the University was opened with forty students.

The last years of Mr. Jefferson were passed under the pressure of heavy debt. His salary had not supported him during his Presidency, and he had been obliged to pay a large part of his expenses out of his private means. He left Washington owing twenty thousand dollars. The war of 1812-15, which followed so soon, rendered the products of his farm almost

worthless. He could not bear the sense of debt, and at the close of the war relieved himself of it by the greatest sacrifice he could make. The Library of Congress had been burned by the British. He offered Congress his own library, which was estimated by the committee to be worth \$23,000—about half of its cost. Mr. Jefferson accepted this beggarly sum, in order that his enemies might not make the purchase an occasion of injury to his friends; and Congress did not have the honesty to afford him substantial relief by paying the real value of this magnificent collection. The loss of his library was a hard blow to him, but he bore it with characteristic cheerfulness. He was not at the end of his troubles, however, for he had endorsed for one of his old friends and connections to the amount of \$20,000. His friend became bankrupt, and Mr. Jefferson had to assume the crushing debt. After vainly seeking to pay it, he sought relief by asking authority of the Legislature to dispose of one of his farms by means of a lottery. The desired permission was granted, but in the meantime it had become rumored throughout the country that the author of the Declaration of Independence was about to lose Monticello. A feeling of generous sympathy was aroused, and voluntary subscriptions for Mr. Jefferson's relief were begun. New York sent him \$8,500; Philadelphia, \$5,000; and Baltimore \$3,000. The lottery was abandoned, and Mr. Jefferson accepted the relief tendered him by his countrymen with gratitude and with pride.

Up to the spring of 1826, Mr. Jefferson had enjoyed such good health that his family had not noticed the gradual decay of his bodily vigor. His mind remained vigorous until the end; but in the early summer of 1826 he was confined to his bed by growing weakness. "I am like an old watch," he said, "with a pinion worn out here and a wheel there, until it can go no longer." He grew weaker steadily, but suffered no pain, and conversed calmly and cheerfully with those about him. He was satisfied that his end was at hand, but he felt no "solicitude about the result." During the third of July he slept a great deal, under the influence of opiates. He was anxious to live until the next day—the day he had helped to render immortal. Towards midnight Mr. N. P. Trist, the hus-

band of one of his granddaughters, sat by his bed watching him. "This is the fourth?" asked the dying man, rousing himself. Mr. Trist made him no answer, as he could not bear to tell him "no." A little later Mr. Jefferson repeated his question—"This is the fourth?" Mr. Trist nodded affirmatively this time. "Ah!" sighed the dying patriot, an expression of relief settling over his features. He sank into a deep sleep, and remained tranquil through the night. He lingered until the next day, and at twenty minutes to one in the afternoon on the 4th of July, 1826, the well-spent life of Thomas Jefferson was ended.

At the same time, in his far-off home in Massachusetts, John Adams, who had seconded the motion for a Declaration of Independence, and had been its best champion, was dying. He passed away with the setting sun.

Mr. Jefferson was buried at Monticello. A granite obelisk was erected over his grave, bearing the following inscription, which was found among his papers:—

HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
AUTHOR OF
THE DECLARATION OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,
OF THE
STATUTE OF VIRGINIA
FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM,
AND
FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA.

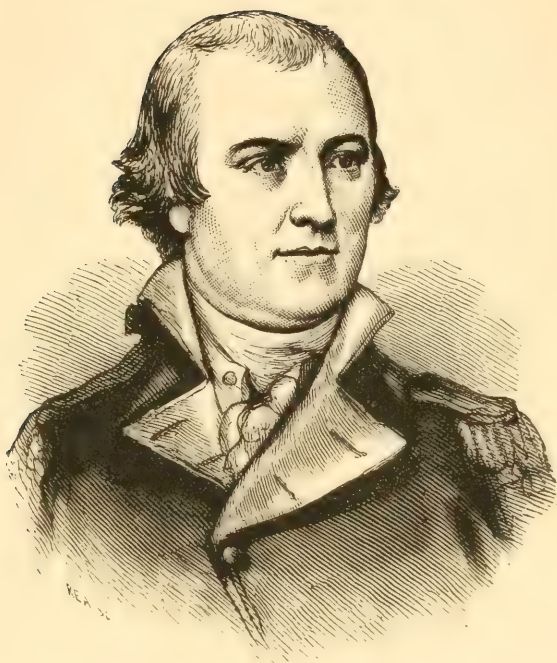
NATHANIEL GREENE.

NATHANIEL GREENE was born in the town of Warwick, Kent county, Rhode Island, on the 26th day of May, 1742. His father was an anchor smith, and a member of the Society of Friends. Young Greene followed the plough during his boyhood, and occasionally worked at his father's forge. He received only a common school education, but being possessed of a genuine thirst for knowledge, gave all his spare time, after leaving school, to reading and study. He earned his own living from a very early age, and invested all his spare money in books. He was fond of mathematics, and Plutarch's Lives and Caesar's Commentaries were his delight. He applied himself to military studies, and pored with eagerness over the campaigns of the great masters of the art of war—a strange taste in one bred in the peaceful community to which he belonged.

He was a great favorite with his fellow townsmen, and when quite a young man was elected to a seat in the Assembly of his native Colony. He entered upon his public career when the troubles between the Colonies and the Mother Country were rapidly approaching a crisis. From the first he had no hesitation as to the course he should pursue if the worst came to the worst. He was an American first, a Quaker afterwards; and laying aside his peaceful principles as unsuited to the times, he declared himself in favor of armed resistance to Great Britain. This patriotic decision cost him his fellowship in the religious body in which he had been bred, and was followed by his immediate dismissal from the Society of Friends.

In 1774 he became a private in a military company, commanded by James M. Varnum, afterwards a brigadier-general. He did not remain in this humble capacity long, for he was regarded as the best informed military man in his province, and when Rhode Island, in May, 1775, raised three regiments of militia as her contingent to the army before Boston, Greene

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NATHANIEL GREENE.



was appointed to the chief command of them, and marched them at once to Cambridge. They were regarded as the best disciplined and equipped troops in the army. Upon the arrival of Washington in the camp, to assume the command of the army, he was received in the camp of the Rhode Island brigade with a soldier-like address of welcome from Greene.

Washington was deeply impressed with the frank and manly bearing of Greene. "His appearance and manner were calculated to make a favorable impression. He was about thirty-nine years of age, about six feet high; well-built and vigorous, with an open, animated, intelligent countenance, and a frank, manly demeanor." A mutual friendship was thus begun between these truly great men, which never wavered, but grew stronger with the lapse of time. Greene regarded the Commander-in-chief with an enthusiastic reverence, and Washington's confidence in and affection for him were unlimited. It was his wish that, in the event of his death during the war, General Greene should be appointed his successor in the chief command.

Greene was appointed a brigadier-general by Congress, and during the siege of Boston his command formed a part of the left wing, under Major General Charles Lee. During the difficulties and trials of this investment, he gave to Washington not only his cordial and intelligent co-operation in the efforts to organize the army upon an effective footing, but also his sympathy in his trials and disappointments. "No one drew closer to Washington in this time of his troubles and perplexities," says Irving, "than General Greene." He had a real veneration for his character, and thought himself happy in the opportunity to serve under so good a general. He grieved at Washington's annoyances, but attributed them in part to his being somewhat of a stranger in New England. He was one of the few officers of rank who supported the plan of the Commander-in-chief for carrying Boston by assault.

During the season of relaxation which followed the evacuation of Boston, Greene employed himself with his military studies. He was placed by Washington in charge of the important line of works which had been thrown up beyond Brooklyn on Long Island, and set to work to mature a plan of defense. Unfortunately, in the midst of his preparations, and

just before the advance of the British, he was seized with a raging fever, and was obliged to relinquish his command to General Sullivan. On the 26th of August, 1776, the day before the battle of Long Island, he was promoted by Congress to the rank of major-general in the regular army. He returned to duty as soon as he was able to mount his horse, and was given command of all the troops in New Jersey. He was charged to keep up a communication with the main army east of the Hudson, so as to secure a retreat for Washington in case of necessity. He established his headquarters at Fort Lee, on the Hudson, and kept a sharp lookout upon the British at the mouth of the river.

Upon the withdrawal of the American army across the Hudson, Washington left it to General Greene's discretion to hold or evacuate Fort Washington. Greene committed the error of believing that the work could be held, an opinion in which he was sustained by Colonel Magaw, the commander of the fort. He believed that if the fort should be found untenable, the garrison could at any time be drawn off under the guns of Fort Lee, on the Jersey shore, immediately opposite. He perceived his error too late. On the 16th of November Fort Washington was captured, and the loss of this work compelled the evacuation of Fort Lee. Before the latter operation was completed, Lord Cornwallis landed above Fort Lee with a strong force, and made a push to secure the line of retreat of the American army. Washington by a rapid march threw his force in advance of the British, and the memorable retreat across New Jersey began.

During this dark and trying period Greene was cheerful and even hopeful. He did not believe that such a cause could be lost so easily. He had nothing but brave and encouraging words for his troops, and he rendered a hearty and zealous support to every measure of the Commander-in-chief. He cordially endorsed the plan of Washington for re-crossing the Delaware and striking a blow at the Hessians at Trenton and in the battle which ensued bore a distinguished and honorable part. He favored the re-occupation of Trenton at the close of the year 1776, and endorsed the plan of Washington for the flank march to Princeton on the night of the 2d of January,

1777. He executed his part of the movement with daring and skill, and bore himself with his usual credit in the battle of Princeton. Indeed, during the whole of this trying period, he was Washington's chief reliance and most confidential associate. During the winter Washington sent him to Philadelphia to lay before Congress such matters as he could not trust to a letter. "He is an able and good officer," wrote the Commander-in-chief, "who has my entire confidence, and is intimately acquainted with my ideas."

When the American army took position at Chadd's Ford to dispute the passage of the Brandywine, Greene's division, which consisted of Weedon's and Muhlenburg's brigades of Virginia troops, was held in reserve, and kept in readiness to support either wing of the army. In the battle of the Brandywine, on the 11th of September, 1777, the British succeeded in gaining the rear of the right wing of the Americans, which was commanded by General Sullivan. They attacked with vigor, and succeeded in driving back both wings of the American army.

Greene was preparing to go to the assistance of the left wing, when he received urgent orders from Washington to support the right under Sullivan, which was in danger of being surrounded. He moved forward with his troops at a run, and marched a distance of five miles in less than fifty-five minutes. He found the battle lost, and the broken masses of Sullivan's troops in full retreat. Not a moment was to be lost, and throwing his command between the enemy and his beaten countrymen, he checked the advance of the pursuers by a sharp and well-directed fire of artillery. Falling back slowly, Greene was met by an order from Washington to occupy a second position about a mile beyond Dilworth, and cover the retreat of the army. Sending his artillery to the rear to ensure its safety, he held his new line with small arms until the army had gotten off in safety. He then fell back slowly and in good order in the face of the enemy, who were unable to gain any advantage over him. His firmness alone saved the army from a total rout.

Greene was justly proud of the splendid conduct of his troops, and was very much vexed when Washington failed to

notice it in the general orders issued after the battle. He went to the Commander-in-chief and remonstrated against what he deemed an injustice to his men.

"You, sir," said Washington in reply, "are considered my favorite officer. Weedon's brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them for their achievement, under your command, I should be charged with partiality; jealousy will be excited, and the service injured."

"Sir," broke in Greene, with great warmth, "I trust your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not selfish. In my own behalf, I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please; I shall not complain. However richly I prize your Excellency's good opinion and applause, a consciousness that I have endeavored to do my duty, constitutes at present my richest reward. But do not, sir, let me entreat you, on account of the jealousy that may arise in little minds, withhold justice from the brave fellows I had the honor to command."

Washington refused to grant Greene's request, as he was convinced that prudence required such a course on his part. Greene, upon reflection, saw that the Commander-in-chief was right, and at once went to him and apologized frankly for his intemperate manner, if not for his expressions. Washington, delighted with this exhibition of the inborn nobleness of his friend, held out his hand, and said with a smile, "An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once in two years, deserves to be forgiven."

This was their nearest approach to a misunderstanding during the entire war.

At the battle of Germantown, on the 4th of October, 1777, Greene commanded the left wing of the American army. He drove the enemy rapidly before him, and had reached the centre of the town with his own division, when the army was suddenly seized with an unaccountable panic, and retreated from the victory that was within its grasp. He covered the retreat of the army with his division, and displayed such good generalship in holding the enemy at bay, that he won the cordial praise of the Commander-in-chief. Thanks to him, the Americans were able to carry off all their artillery and wounded.

During the winter of 1777-78, the American army experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining supplies of all kinds. A great deal of this was due to the inefficient management of the Quartermaster's Department. A reform in this branch of the service was imperative, and Washington prevailed upon Congress to confer the office of Quartermaster-General upon General Greene, whose great executive ability he wished to secure for it. He knew that Greene was devoted to his profession, and that to ask him to withdraw from the field would be to demand a great sacrifice of him. Nevertheless, he believed that Greene would accept the post under the circumstances. He thus stated his reason for this belief, in a conversation with a member of Congress. "There is not," he said, "an officer of the army, nor a man in America, more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote their interests in the character of a *corporal*, he would exchange, as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulet for the knot. For although he is not without ambition, that ambition has not for its object the highest rank, so much as the *greatest good*."

When the appointment was offered to General Greene, he declined it. Washington summoned him to his headquarters, however, and laid before him the necessity for his assuming the disagreeable position. Greene thereupon consented to accept the appointment, on condition that he should retain his place in the line and his right to command in action. He entered upon the duties of his office in March, 1778. He declined to receive any compensation for his services, as he would do nothing that might complicate his position in the line. He held the office until the summer of 1780. He found it in great disorder and confusion, but by extraordinary exertions and excellent system, so arranged as to put the army in a condition to take the field and move with rapidity the moment it should be required.

While acting as Quartermaster-General, Greene took part in the battle of Monmouth on the 28th of June, 1778. He commanded the right wing, and did much to repair the damage caused by the failure of General Charles Lee to execute his orders. In July of the same year he was placed in command

of one of the divisions of Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island. The expedition was a failure, owing to the refusal of the French commander to co-operate with Sullivan.

General Greene's return to his native State was the occasion of his receiving many tokens of the affection and esteem with which he was regarded by his own people. Among those who were prominent in these demonstrations, were several leading members of the Society of Friends. They had dismissed him with regret from their communion, and had not lost their esteem for him. His well won success was a sincere pleasure to them. A young officer jestingly asked a Quaker visitor at the General's quarters how he could reconcile it with his principles to associate with a man whose trade was war. "Friend," replied the Quaker promptly, "it is not a suit of uniform that can either make or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many colored apparel, but whatever may be the form or color of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head and virtuous heart that gained him the love and esteem of our Society."

When Knyphausen advanced into New Jersey, to seize the passes of the Highlands, in June, 1780, Gen. Greene checked his advance in a sharp engagement near Springfield, on the 23d of June, and compelled him to retreat.

In the summer of 1780, General Greene, unable to agree with Congress upon the management of his department, tendered his resignation. It was at once accepted, and as his independent conduct was displeasing to Congress, there was talk in that body of suspending him from his command in the line. Washington at once interposed in his behalf, against this intended outrage, and by pointing out the evil consequences to the army of such an arbitrary use of power, induced Congress to refrain from executing its unwise design.

In the early fall of 1780, Greene was called upon to discharge the most painful duty of his life. He was appointed, by Washington, President of the Board of Officers convened for the trial of Major André. André was found guilty, and was sentenced to be hanged as a spy. A strong appeal was made by the unfortunate young man, that he might be shot. The Commander-in-chief referred the matter to his general officers. All

but General Greene advised him to grant André's request. Greene, "who was well versed in military law, and was a man of sound head and kind heart," replied as follows to the Commander-in-chief: "André is either a spy or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him in any way would be murder; if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it short of the execution of the prisoner as a common spy; a character of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicion which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general that, in the case of Major André, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity beyond what he received—perhaps entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free."

Greene's reasoning was conclusive, and the sentence of the court was carried out.

The chief interest of the struggle was now transferred to the Southern States, and the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, rendered it of the highest importance that the little army gathering in the South to resist the advance of Cornwallis should be commanded by a general of tried skill and experience. Congress therefore removed General Gates from his command, and ordered the Commander-in-chief to appoint an officer to succeed him. Washington at once selected Greene for the important post, and his appointment was confirmed by Congress. In his letter of instructions to General Greene, Washington left him substantially free to conduct the campaign according to his own judgment. "I am aware," he said, "that the nature of the command will offer you embarrassments of a singular and complicated nature; but I rely upon your abilities for everything your means will enable you to effect."

General Greene at once set out for his new command, and

reached Charlotte, North Carolina, on the 2d of December. The next day he assumed the command of the Southern army. Gates was very sore over his reverses, and was not disposed to regard his successor with kindness; but he was treated by Greene with so much generosity and sympathy that he was completely subdued. "The coldness, if not ill will, with which he had hitherto regarded Greene, was at an end; and, in all his subsequent correspondence with him, he addressed him in terms of affection."

The advance of Cornwallis into North Carolina had been checked by the defeat of Ferguson's detachment at King's Mountain, but the war in the South had only begun. Greene found himself at Charlotte, at the head of an army of a little over twenty-three hundred men, half of whom were militia. The troops were disheartened and cowed by their recent defeat, and the officers were careless and inefficient. The whole force was badly clothed and fed, and was without tents or camp equipage. On his journey from the North, Greene had left Baron Steuben in Virginia to collect reinforcements and supplies and forward them to him. Without waiting for these he applied himself to the task of reorganizing his army. "He went to work quietly, but resolutely; called no councils of war; communicated his plans and intentions to few, and such only as were able and willing to aid in executing them. * * His efforts were successful; the army soon began to assume what he termed a military complexion. He was equally studious to promote harmony among his officers, of whom a number were young, gallant, and intelligent. It was his delight to have them at his genial but simple table, where parade and restraint were banished, and pleasant and instructive conversation was promoted; which, next to reading, was his great enjoyment. The manly benignity of his manners diffused itself round his board, and a common sentiment of affection for their chief united the young men in a kind of brotherhood."

Until now General Greene's success had been won while executing the orders of Washington. He was now to be tried by the most difficult of tests—an independent command—and under the most unfavorable circumstances. He was to oppose a greatly superior army, led by a commander of ability, and

that with a force which he could never arm, clothe, or feed properly. He was constantly under the apprehension that his unpaid, ill-clothed, and almost starving army would disband, and he was obliged to confess that in such a case he should not be able to blame the men. In order to subsist his force more easily, he divided it into two columns. One of these, about one thousand strong, he placed under command of General Morgan, and threw it forward to a position in South Carolina between the Broad and Catawba Rivers, with orders to assemble the militia of that district. With the other division he advanced into Chesterfield District, on the east side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw Hills.

The task before him was one of immense difficulty. The war was conducted with a savage fury by the British, and the country was divided between the Patriots and Tories, who pursued each other with merciless determination. The nature of the country also added to his embarrassments. "War here," he wrote in one of his letters, "is upon a very different scale to what it is at the Northward. It is a plain business there. The geography of the country reduces its operations to two or three points. But here it is everywhere; and the country is so full of deep rivers and impassable creeks and swamps, that you are always liable to misfortunes of a capital nature."

Cornwallis, with a superior force, was encamped at Winnsborough, South Carolina, about seventy miles south of Greene's position. Feeling himself strong enough for such a movement, he determined to leave Lord Rawdon with a sufficient force at Camden, and by rapid marches throw his army between Greene and Virginia. He hoped by this movement to compel Greene either to fight him with his present force or to retreat in disgrace from North Carolina. The British commander counted upon a general uprising of the royalists and the re-establishment of the King's authority, upon his occupation of North Carolina, after which he meant to overrun Virginia and Maryland.

In order to prevent Morgan from uniting his forces with Greene, Cornwallis sent Colonel Tarleton to attack him with a force of 1,100 picked troops and two pieces of artillery. With his main force the British commander moved towards the fords

of the Broad and Catawba rivers. Tarleton endeavored by forced marches to come up with Morgan, and the latter, upon learning of his approach, retreated towards the Catawba. Finding that he could not escape, Morgan halted at the Cowpens, where, on the 17th of January, 1781, he was attacked by Tarleton. The British were routed with a loss of over 300 killed and wounded, and 625 prisoners, and their artillery. Tarleton saved himself only by the speed of his horse.

Cornwallis moved towards Morgan's line of retreat as soon as he heard of Tarleton's defeat, believing that he could overtake him while he was still laden with the spoils of his victory. Morgan was too good a soldier to be caught in this way. Leaving Colonel Pickens under the protection of a flag of truce to bury the dead and to attend to the wounded of both armies, he resumed his retreat, with his prisoners and spoils, an hour or two after the battle, and hurried towards the Catawba, which he crossed in safety. Two hours after he had passed that stream, the advanced guard of Cornwallis's army appeared on the opposite bank, but a sudden rise had so swollen the river that the British were unable to ford it. The freshet continued several days, and gave Morgan an opportunity to send off his prisoners to a place of safety and rest his men.

As soon as he heard of Morgan's victory at the Cowpens, Greene put his troops in motion with orders to join Morgan by forced marches, and rode on in advance to the camp of the latter. On the last day of January he reached Morgan's camp on the east side of the Catawba. The enemy occupied the opposite bank of the river, which was subsiding. Upon his arrival Greene learned that Cornwallis, in order to make sure of overtaking the American army, had burned all his heavy baggage and stores, and had reduced his army to the strictest light marching order. He now resolved to retreat into Virginia, where he hoped to receive reinforcements, and to wear out the British by constantly tempting them with the prospect of a battle, and as constantly avoiding one. "It was the Fabian policy he had learned under Washington, of whom he prided himself on being a disciple."

Morgan was ordered to move off silently, on the evening of the 31st of January and to march rapidly all night so as to

gain a good start in advance, while Greene remained to check the enemy as long as possible and bring off the militia.

On the night of the 31st, the British army passed the Catwba and dispersed the militia that had been left to guard the fords. At daylight the next morning, Greene learned of the defeat of the militia, and apprehensive of a rapid advance on the part of Cornwallis, set off at once to rejoin Morgan. He rode all day through a heavy rain and roads almost impassable on account of the mire. As he had sent off all his aides-de-camp in different directions, to collect the scattered militia, he rode the most of the way alone. At midday he reached Salisbury. As he alighted at the door of the inn, he was met by an army surgeon, who inquired after his health. "Fatigued, hungry, alone and penniless," answered Greene, sadly. Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, the hostess of the inn, chanced to overhear these words; she said nothing, but when he was seated at the table, she entered the room, closed the door, and took from under her apron two bags of coin which she had saved for emergencies. "Take these," said the noble woman, offering them to him; "you will want them, and I can do without them." Greene accepted the money with thanks, and continued his journey with a lighter heart. Such was the patriotism of the women of the Revolution.

Rejoining Morgan, Greene urged his men on towards the Yadkin as rapidly as the wretched roads would permit. He passed that stream on the 3d of February, and his rear guard was still engaged in crossing when the British reached the river. A skirmish ensued on the banks of the Yadkin, and night coming on, the British commander deferred the attempt to force a passage until the next day. During the night a heavy rain swelled the river so high that it could not be forded. Greene profited by this delay to push on to Guilford Court House, where he was joined on the 9th by his other division under General Huger.

Greene now resolved to continue his retreat into Virginia, and Cornwallis determined to strain every nerve to intercept him before he could reach the Dan. The two armies now entered upon a race for that river. Greene entrusted the task of covering his retreat to General Morgan, but that officer falling ill, the

command of the rear guard passed to Colonel Otho H. Williams. Cornwallis supposed that the Dan could not be passed at the lower ferries, and that Greene would seek to reach the upper fords. He moved rapidly in that direction to cut him off. Greene, however, had long contemplated the passage of the river at the lower ferries, and his agents had collected a large number of boats for that purpose. He therefore moved in that direction while Cornwallis was aiming for the upper fords. The retreat was conducted with masterly ability. "It was a long and severe march for both armies, through a wild and rough country, thinly peopled, cut up by streams, partly covered by forests, along deep and frozen roads, under drenching rains, without tents at night, and with a scanty supply of provisions. The British suffered the least, as they were well equipped and comfortably clad; whereas the poor Americans were badly off for clothing, and many of them without shoes." Perceiving Cornwallis's error, Colonel Williams retreated towards the upper fords, and so confirmed that commander's delusion, while Greene with the main body pushed on to the lower ferries, which he reached and passed in safety in the course of the 14th of February. He at once sent back word to Williams, who, with his covering party, was far in the rear. That excellent officer encamped as usual on the night of the 14th in front of the enemy, but a few hours later withdrew his men, leaving his camp-fires still burning, and by a forced march all night reached the ferries on the morning of the 15th, crossed the river and rejoined Greene. An hour or two later, Cornwallis, who had discovered his mistake too late, reached the Dan; but was compelled to halt. The river could not be forded, and all the boats were in Greene's possession. The British commander was deeply mortified by his failure to intercept the American army. He had pursued it for over two hundred miles and had made great exertions to come up with it; but Greene had managed to elude him at every step, and had safely accomplished one of the most brilliant retreats on record. After resting his men a few days on the banks of the Dan, Cornwallis fell back to Hillsborough.

Having received a slight reinforcement, General Greene recrossed the Dan about the last of February, and advanced

into North Carolina to put a stop to Cornwallis's efforts to raise the Loyalists of that region. His prompt advance put an end to the recruiting of the British army, and caused many Tories, on their way to join it, to return home. Cornwallis, being short of supplies, abandoned Hillsborough and slowly retreated southward. Greene followed him cautiously, too weak to risk a battle if it could be avoided, but ready to take advantage of the first error on the part of his adversary. His movements were conducted with the utmost circumspection, and in order to guard against a surprise, he never remained in the same place more than one day, and kept secret, until the last moment, the places he selected for his encampments. Cornwallis thoroughly appreciated the merits of his adversary. "Greene," he said, "is as dangerous as Washington. He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighborhood."

In the meantime reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina brought Greene's army up to about four thousand men. In numbers it was now superior to the enemy, but in other respects was greatly inferior to them. Greene was aware of this inferiority, but he determined, nevertheless, to accept the battle which the enemy had so long offered. Sending his baggage to a place of safety, he marched to Guilford Court House, about eighteen miles distant, and took position there. As soon as he learned of this movement Cornwallis, trusting in the superior qualities of his veterans, advanced on the 15th of March, to attack the American army. A severely contested battle ensued; the American army was defeated, and compelled to retreat. Greene retired in good order, and Cornwallis was so severely crippled by his victory that he withdrew to Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River. By the time he reached that place his army had been so much weakened by desertions and losses in battle that he had but 1,400 men with him.

Washington thoroughly approved the course of General Greene. "Although the honors of the field do not fall to your lot," he wrote to him, "I am convinced that you deserve them. * * * The motives which induced you to risk an action with Lord Cornwallis are supported upon the best military principle,

and the consequence, if you can prevent the dissipation of your troops, will no doubt be fortunate." The retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington, as we have seen, justified the course of Greene.

The activity of General Greene during this memorable campaign was remarkable. He gave his personal supervision to everything. He could never depend upon the militia, and was obliged to incur many fatigues that a better regulated army would have saved him. After the battle of Guilford Court House, he wrote: "I have never taken off my clothes since I left the Pedee. I was taken with a fainting last night, owing, I suppose, to excessive fatigue and constant watching." After the battle of Eutaw Springs, he wrote to the Committee of War, "I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes."

Greene had followed Cornwallis some distance on his retreat, but finding that the latter was moving towards Wilmington, he turned off, and marched towards Camden to crush Lord Rawdon. He advanced to Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from Camden, where he was attacked by Lord Rawdon on the 25th of April. After a sharp engagement Greene was defeated. He fell back in good order, having inflicted upon the enemy a loss about equal to his own. Lord Rawdon was unable to derive any advantage from his victory, as he could not bring Greene to another general engagement. At the same time the American partisan troops were so active in his rear that the situation of his Lordship became dangerous. He therefore set fire to Camden and fell back to Monk's Corner.

In the meantime Lee, Marion, Pickens, and the other patriot leaders, had broken up the fortified posts of the British with such success that by the month of June, 1781, only three positions of importance remained to the British in South Carolina—Charleston, Nelson's Ferry and Fort Ninety Six, near the Saluda. The last named position was of the greatest importance, and was held by a force of Carolina Tories. Lee and Pickens were sent against Augusta, Georgia, and captured it after a close investment of seven days. General Greene himself marched against Ninety Six and laid siege to it. Being informed that Lord Rawdon was hurrying to its relief, he attempted to carry the fort by assault on the 18th of June, but

was repulsed with severe loss. Greene then raised the siege and retreated across the Saluda.

Early in July the excessive heat put an end to active operations on the part of the two armies. Greene withdrew to the high hills of the Santee, and the British went into camp on the Congaree. A bitter partisan warfare now sprang up between the Patriots and Tories, in which neither age nor sex was spared. Lord Rawdon added to the horrors of the war by hanging Colonel Hayne, a distinguished citizen of Charleston, on the pretext that he had broken his parole. The execution was so unjust that General Greene felt himself obliged to retaliate by executing as deserters all those prisoners who had formerly served in his own army. So bitter was the feeling of the American troops that they could scarcely be prevented from shooting the British officers who fell into their hands.

Lord Rawdon sailed for England and left the command of his army to Colonel Stewart, an officer of ability and experience. At the close of the summer of 1781, General Greene, whose army had been increased, by the arrival of the commands of Marion and Pickens, to 2,500 men, resumed the offensive. He attacked the British at Eutaw Springs on the 8th of September, and after a severely fought battle the left wing of the British was routed. In the moment of victory the American army stopped to plunder the enemy's camp, and the British, taking advantage of the delay, rallied and made a stand in a large stone house, from which they could not be driven. Greene was forced to draw off his troops and leave the field to the enemy.¹ Both sides claimed the victory, but the advantage certainly lay with the Americans. The British lost a third of their army, and immediately fell back to the vicinity of Charleston. Greene followed them as far as Monk's Corner, and then returned to the Hills of Santee. The American commander had abundant reason to be satisfied with the result of his oper-

¹ "At the battle of Eutaw Springs Greene says, 'that hundreds of my men were naked as they were born.' Posterity will scarcely believe that the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes, while a folded rag or a tuft of moss protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will inquire, 'By what magic was the army kept together?'"—*Johnson's Life of General Greene.*

ations in South Carolina. He had rescued the greater part of the State from the British, and had confined them to the region between the Santee and the Lower Savannah. He had repeatedly engaged the enemy with the most inadequate means, and under the most unfavorable circumstances; but had never failed, even though defeated, to accomplish the object for which he fought. He had baffled the English commanders over again, and, like William of Orange, had managed to derive greater advantages from his reverses than his adversaries were able to draw from their victories.

The battle of Eutaw Springs was the last fight of General Greene. It was followed by the abandonment by the British of the whole of South Carolina save Charleston. A period of rest followed, during which a plot was formed by some mutinous soldiers of the army to seize their General and deliver him to the British. The plot was detected in time, and the ringleader was shot. It was found that not a single native born American was connected with it. Greene retained his command in the South until the close of the war, when he resigned his commission and returned to his home in Rhode Island, where he met with an enthusiastic welcome from his fellow-citizens.

The Southern States, which his genius had so well defended, were prompt, after the close of the war, to show their gratitude in a most substantial manner. South Carolina presented him with an estate valued at over fifty thousand gold dollars; Georgia bestowed upon him an estate near Savannah worth over twenty-five thousand gold dollars; and North Carolina gave him twenty-five thousand acres of land in Tennessee.

General Greene decided to make his home on his estate near Savannah, and after spending two years in Rhode Island in arranging his affairs, sailed for Georgia, with his family, in October, 1785. Establishing himself in his new home, he devoted himself with enthusiasm to agricultural pursuits. As he was a man of vigorous health, and but forty-five years old, he naturally looked forward to many years of peaceful enjoyment with his family. His hopes were not to be realized, however. On the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1786, he was prostrated by a sunstroke while walking over his grounds.

He lingered until the 19th of the month, when he died. At the request of the citizens of Savannah, his body was conveyed to that city, and was buried in a cemetery adjoining it with public honors.

The news of the death of General Greene was received by his countrymen with unaffected grief. Congress, by a unanimous resolution, on the 12th of August, 1786, ordered that a monument be erected to his memory at the seat of the Federal Government—*an order that has never been carried out.* “He was a great and good man,” wrote Washington to Lafayette, announcing his death. He was the model of an American soldier and patriot, and his name and fame are among the most precious possessions of his countrymen.

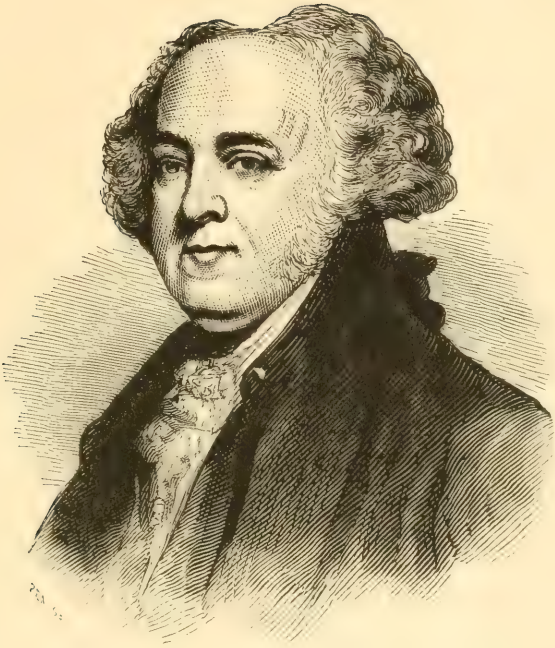


JOHN ADAMS.

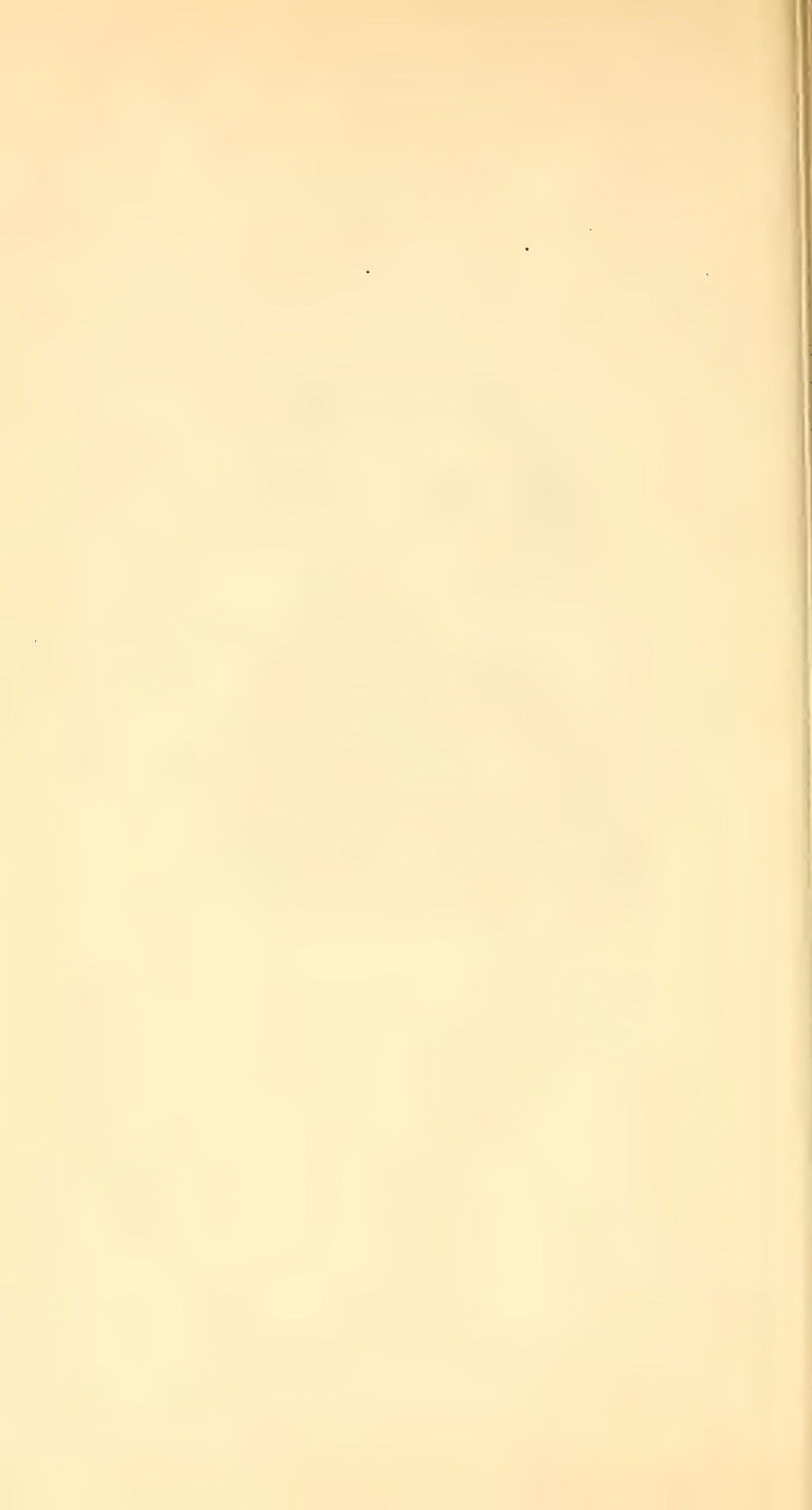
JOHN ADAMS was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, on the 30th of October, 1735. His father was a farmer, in plain circumstances; but as he had received a college education as his only legacy from his father, he determined that his son should be equally fortunate, and after considerable trouble, prevailed upon John to prepare at an early age for college. He was noted at college as the best scholar of his class, and in the summer of 1755, when not quite twenty, took his degree of bachelor of arts, and entered upon the duties of life.

He had his own way to make in the world, and began by taking charge of the public school in the town of Worcester. It was a position which barely supported him, and he adopted it merely as an expedient to obtain the means of supplying the most pressing wants of nature until he could make choice of and enter upon a profession. His small income required of him the utmost carefulness, and he thus learned the habits of thrift and frugality, which distinguished him through life. He did not acquire the fault of niggardliness which usually accompanies these qualities—the inborn generosity of the man was too sound for this.

It was the wish of young Adams's parents and friends that he should become a preacher—then the most honorable calling in New England; but the naturally liberal mind of the young man revolted against the close, hard theology of the time. "I saw," he said in after years, "such a spirit of dogmatism and bigotry in clergy and laity, that, if I should be a priest, I must take my side, and pronounce as positively as any of them, or never get a parish; or getting it, must soon leave it. Very strong doubts arose in my mind whether I was made for a pulpit in such times; and I began to think of other professions." His most intimate friends were fortunately men of broader and more liberal views than commonly prevailed in New England at the



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time, and he had the good fortune to read at this critical juncture of his life the works of Lord Bolingbroke—and he read them, too, with a nice discrimination very rare in so young a man. The result of the matter was that he threw aside the idea of the ministry, and entered upon the study of the law, under the guidance of his friend Mr. Putnam. He was eminently qualified for this profession, by the peculiar cast of his mind, his quick perception and discriminating judgment, and by his clear, sonorous voice, and readiness as a speaker. He pursued his studies for three years under the direction of Mr. Putnam, supporting himself during this period by teaching school. Six hours of each day were regularly given to the duties of the school, and the remainder of his time to the study of the law. He was a close, diligent student, and as a consequence became one of the most thoroughly informed members of his profession in New England. In October, 1758, his legal studies and school teaching came to an end, and he was sworn in as an attorney in the Superior Court.

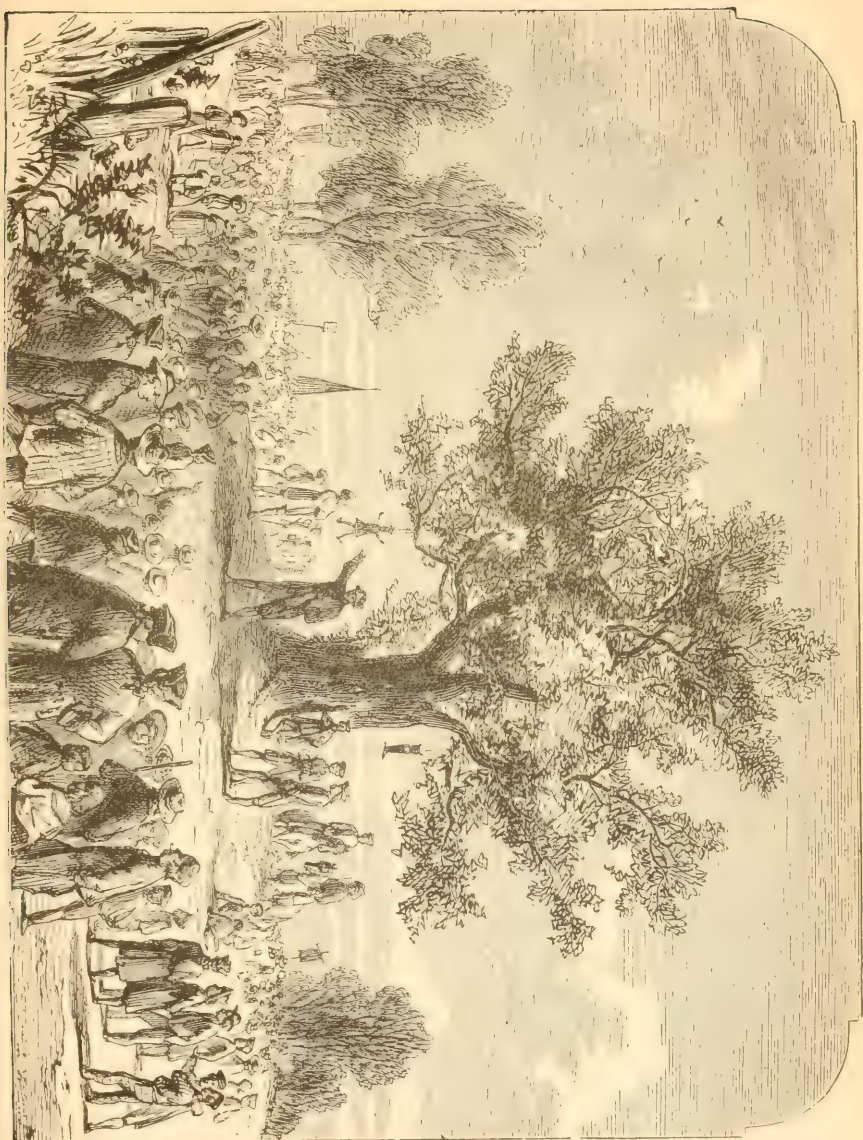
Mr. Adams now removed to his father's house in Braintree, where he resided for the next six years. In 1761 his father died, and he remained with his mother until his marriage, three years later. During the first years of this period his lot was that of all young members of his profession. He was unknown, a resident of a small New England town, and he had to wait for practice. He had plenty of leisure, and he employed it in continuing his professional studies and general reading upon a more extensive scale than had been possible at Worcester. He knew that he was to be the architect of his own fortunes, that he had neither wealth, family nor influence to sustain him, and he neglected nothing that could fit him for an honorable and enduring success in life. He had formed at an early day the habit of keeping a diary, in which he noted down his acts, his comments on the people with whom he associated, his opinions on the topics of the day, and his inmost feelings. These journals are invaluable in assisting us to a proper understanding of his efforts and character. Slowly and by degrees he struggled into practice, and was admitted as a barrister in the Superior Court. During his attendance at the session of this court in 1761, he heard the splendid argu-

ment of James Otis against the "Writs of Assistance." It made an indelible impression upon his mind, and fifty-seven years after the event he wrote the most vivid account of it that has come down to us.

The great grandfather, grandfather and father of John Adams had been town officers in their day. The same mark of confidence was conferred upon him by his fellow townsmen, and soon after his settlement in Braintree he was elected surveyor of the highways, the duties of which office he discharged with vigor and fidelity.

On the 25th of October, 1764, Mr. Adams married Abigail, second daughter of William Smith, the minister of the First Congregational Church at Weymouth. "By this marriage Mr. Adams became allied with a numerous connection of families, among the most respectable for their weight and influence in the province, and it was immediately perceptible in the considerable increase of his professional practice." Better than all this, the young man obtained as a wife "a woman whose character was singularly fitted to develop every good point of his," and to whom, more than to any one else, he owed the success of his after life. In the same year Mr. Adams was chosen a selectman and assessor and overseer of the poor in the town of Braintree.

Until now Mr. Adams' life had been quiet and uneventful. He had watched the growing troubles between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and though he had deeply sympathized with his native land, he had taken no part in the political questions of the day. The passage of the Stamp Act aroused such a determined opposition in the Colonies that he was drawn, in spite of himself, into the discussion which it excited. He drew up a petition to the selectmen of Braintree, and obtained the signatures of a number of the leading townsmen, to call a meeting of the people, and at this meeting presented a draft of instructions to the representatives of the town in the General Court in relation to the stamps. The instructions were adopted by the meeting without a dissenting voice, and being published were adopted by forty other towns of Massachusetts as instructions to their respective representatives. But though firm and outspoken in his resistance to the injustice





of Great Britain, Mr. Adams sincerely deplored the violence of the people of Boston towards the stamp officials of that town. Mob law never found favor in his eyes.

The Courts of Massachusetts disregarded the Stamp Act in the despatch of their business, but Hutchinson, who was Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and Judge of the Probate Court of Suffolk county, refused to hold either Court. A meeting of the town of Boston was held, and James Otis, Jeremiah Gridley and John Adams were appointed to present a memorial to the Governor and Council, praying that the Courts should resume their sittings. The duty of opening the argument in favor of this petition devolved upon Mr. Adams. He delivered his argument on the 20th of December, 1765, and grounded it, he says, "on the invalidity of the Stamp Act, it not being in any sense our act, having never consented to it." This bold doctrine went to the root of the whole matter, and from this time Mr. Adams was regarded as one of the leaders of the patriot party. The Governor and Council, however, refused to order the reopening of the Courts, as they decided that the matter was a question of law to be settled by the Courts themselves. Hutchinson was therefore triumphant for the time.

In the spring of 1768, Mr. Adams removed his residence from Braintree to Boston. During the year he was offered, by Governor Bernard, the appointment of Advocate General of the Court of Admiralty, then vacant. The Governor expressly declared that Mr. Adams' acceptance of the office would not necessitate any sacrifice of his political sentiments or opinions; but the office was promptly and firmly declined. Mr. Adams would hold no position that might even seem to commit him to a support of the unjust treatment of his country by England. During the two or three years which succeeded the repeal of the Stamp Act, he devoted himself with energy to his profession, and the result was a steady and marked increase of his practice and reputation.

Mr. Adams shared the resentment of the people of Boston at the occupation of their town by the British troops, and in May, 1769, as chairman of a committee of his fellow citizens, drafted a series of instructions to the representatives of Boston, in the General Court, to investigate the conduct of the troops since

their occupation of the city. He was prompt and outspoken in his views, and his opinions were well known in New England.

On the night of the 5th of March, 1770, occurred the conflict between the troops and a number of citizens, known as "the Boston Massacre." The affair threw the town into a fever of excitement, and came near precipitating an open conflict between the troops and the citizens. To pacify the latter, the troops were withdrawn from the city, and the officer and soldiers engaged in the "Massacre," were arrested and held for trial. They applied to John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., to defend them, and these gentlemen conducted their defense at their subsequent trial, though in the face of considerable popular opposition. The prisoners were acquitted of the charge of murder, but two of the soldiers were convicted of manslaughter. The calmness and deliberation with which this trial was conducted had a happy effect in England, and exhibited the fairness and moderation of the Colonists in the most favorable light.

In June, 1770, Mr. Adams was elected a delegate from Boston to the General Court. This election was largely due to the desire of the leaders of the patriot movement to draw him into *political* activity in behalf of their cause. Until now Mr. Adams had been a sympathizer with the cause, but had not engaged in it as a manager, as had his relative, Samuel Adams. He was wanted now in a different capacity. "The patriot party stood in need of a legal adviser at all times; but never more than now, that they were summoned to contend with the shrewdness and skill of Hutchinson, just transferred from the highest judicial to the highest civil post of the province. * * * Otis, long an energetic, though not uniformly a consistent counsellor, had just sunk a victim to his own irregularities and the vindictiveness of his enemies. Joseph Hawley, the pillar of the party in Western Massachusetts, was not always at hand, nor did his temperament, ever prone to melancholy, incline him to assume undivided responsibility. Both he and Samuel Adams saw in John Adams the person now wanted to step into the vacant place. * * It is certain that, from this date, whether in or out of public station, John Adams was

looked to as a guide in those measures in which questions involving professional knowledge were to be discussed with the authorities representing the crown.”¹

Mr. Adams bore an important part in the struggles of the General Court with Governor Hutchinson, but at the close of the year retired from the House. The year had been one of great labor to him, and his health had become so seriously threatened that he determined to bid adieu to politics and retire to his rural home. His sense of his duty to the public, however, prevented him from carrying out the first part of his determination, and he soon became involved in the fierce dispute which was aroused by the discovery of Governor Hutchinson's secret letters to the British Ministry. It was owing to his splendid handling of the controversy that the efforts of the Governor to vindicate himself met with a most humiliating defeat. In May, 1773, the popular party endeavored to elect him to a seat in the Council, but his election was negatived by the Governor because of “the very conspicuous part he had taken in the opposition.”

One of the most active partisans of the royal cause in Massachusetts was Peter Oliver, Chief Justice of the Superior Court. Hutchinson relied upon him more than upon any one else in his efforts to destroy the liberties of the Colony. The General Court demanded his removal, but the Governor refused to comply with the request. The Legislature then passed a bill adjourning the meeting of the Superior Court for three days later than the usual term, but the Governor refused to take notice of the measure. The Chief Justice was confident that the effort to remove him would fail, when he was suddenly brought to a realization of his mistake. John Adams ended the controversy by proposing the impeachment of the Chief Justice by the House of Representatives before the Council. The House, after due consideration, acted upon this proposition, and the impeachment was ordered by a vote of 92 to 8. The action of the House was sustained by the people of the Colony, who refused to acknowledge the right of the Chief Justice to hold court while under impeachment. Not a jury

¹ *Life of John Adams. By J. Q. and C. F. Adams. Vol. I. p. 148.*

could be obtained, and the sentiment of the province was so unanimous that even Oliver quailed before it. The Superior Court, which he had sought to corrupt, was closed.

Mr. Adams was one of the principal sufferers by the closing of the Courts. His means of support were destroyed by this measure, and the closing of the port of Boston and the growing disorder of the affairs of the province left it very uncertain whether there would be any improvement in his prospects. Yet what seemed to be a misfortune was in the end to prove a gain to both himself and his country. He was now in his thirty-ninth year, and "had hitherto been only a private man, honored with few marks of the confidence of his fellow citizens. Indeed, he had rather sought to avoid than win them." The necessities of the patriot party made it imperative that they should secure him as one of their most active leaders. He was the first man in the Colony in learning; he was calm, cool, courageous, devoted to the cause and absolutely incorruptible.

When the Assembly of Massachusetts, just before its dissolution by Governor Gage, elected the delegates from that province to the General Congress, Mr. Adams was chosen one of them. He accepted the appointment, and was in his place in Philadelphia at the opening of the Congress in September, 1774. His position in that body was difficult from the first. He was one of the recognized leaders of the Congress, but the circumstances in which he was placed required him to keep this character in the background. There was a feeling abroad that the New England Colonies had gone too far, and were aiming at a separation from the Mother Country. The conservative element of the Southern and Middle Colonies was not yet prepared for this decisive step. Redress of grievances was all they aimed at at present, and in order to secure union and harmony, the New England leaders were compelled to carry out the wishes of their associates from these Colonies, and the Congress confined its action simply to protesting against the injustice of Great Britain, petitioning for a redress of the wrongs complained of, and the formation of an association, pledging the Colonies to non-intercourse with Great Britain, until the aggressions of the Mother Country should cease. Mr. Adams had no faith in the efficacy of these matters. He

was convinced that they would fail, and that the injustice of Great Britain would drive the Colonies into war. His own province he knew had no retreat, and he was anxious above all to secure for her the support of her sister Colonies. He was not satisfied with the work of the Congress, but looked to the reassembling of that body, in May, 1775, with more hope.

He was returned as a delegate to the Second Congress, and was promptly at his post. His views had by this time been largely vindicated by the result. Gage had precipitated the struggle in Massachusetts, blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord, and the Colonies must either make common cause with Massachusetts, or submit unconditionally to the King. The war had come, and there was "no retreat, but in submission and slavery." Mr. Adams' mind was clear as to what would be the character of the war. He had studied the question too deeply to believe that it could result in a mere accommodation of the quarrel with England. Its natural result was independence, and he was convinced that it could have no other issue, apart from the subjugation of the country. Independence was to his far-seeing mind the natural destiny of the Colonies, and from the reassembling of the Congress, he devoted himself to the task of preparing that body for the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, and the assertion of their independence. There were a few members, whose views coincided with his own, but the Congress was as yet under the influence of the timid counsels of John Dickinson and his supporters, who were anxious to try the effect of one more petition to the King. Nevertheless, Mr. Adams and his friends succeeded in pledging the Congress to the support of Massachusetts, and in inducing that body to adopt the New England forces before Boston as a Continental army, and to appoint a Commander-in-Chief for it. This was a great gain, and Mr. Adams was enabled to render his country another service of the first importance, by nominating Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental army, and securing his election by Congress. He did this because of his conviction of Washington's peculiar fitness for the post, and because of his earnest desire to unite the Southern Colonies more firmly with New England.

In the first Congress the two Adamses had been regarded as persons of extreme and treasonable opinions. This reputation followed them into the second Congress. Shortly after the meeting of the latter body, some letters of John Adams to his wife and friends in New England were betrayed into the hands of the enemy at Newport, and were published. They showed that their author was far in advance of the great majority of his colleagues, and "displayed him as drawing the outlines of an independent State, the great bugbear in the eyes of numbers, who still clung to the hope that the last resort might be avoided." The result was that Mr. Adams fell into temporary disfavor with the Congress. "It is stated by more than one witness that Mr. Adams was avoided in the street by many, as if it were contamination to speak with such a traitor. Even of his friends, several become infected with the general panic, and looked coldly upon him. At no time, and he had repeated trials of the kind, did he stand more in need of all his fortitude and self-control than upon the occasion of this sudden and unlooked for influx upon him of the general disapprobation."

Congress took a recess during the month of August, and Mr. Adams returned home. He had been chosen a member of the Provincial Congress, of Massachusetts, and spent the recess in the arduous task of getting a proper government to work in the province. At the end of the recess he was back at his post in Congress. Letters from home for many weeks filled him with the keenest anxiety for his family. His children were ill, his wife overburdened with the cares of her household, and there was everything to induce him to return home. He could not leave his post, however. He was a marked man and formed, with Samuel Adams, the Lees of Virginia, and a few others, a minority whose duty it was to guide the country towards the final separation from England, to which it was steadily advancing. Be the consequences to himself what they might, he must remain to advocate openly the principles he had so long held in private. His labors were energetic, and his services on the various committees to which he was assigned were arduous. At length he had the satisfaction of seeing his views become more common in Congress.

The Southern Colonies came at last to see that their dependence upon the justice of the King was in vain; that they *must* fight, and that their only hope of safety lay in making common cause with the Northern Colonies.

Towards the close of the year, Mr. Adams determined to return home to accept the post of Chief Justice of Massachusetts, which had been recently conferred upon him. He went back to Massachusetts in December, 1775, and gave several months to the work of arranging the civil and military affairs of the Colony. He was a member of the Provincial Council also, and its most active member. Early in 1776 the Council elected him a delegate to Congress to serve during the year, and February found him once more in Philadelphia. Bancroft draws this splendid picture of him upon his return to Congress:

"His nature was robust and manly; now he was in the happiest mood of mind for asserting the independence of his country. He had confidence in the ability of New England to drive away their enemy; in Washington, as a brave and prudent commander; in his wife, who cheered him with the fortitude of womanly heroism; in the cause of his country, which seemed so bound up with the welfare of mankind that Providence could not suffer its defeat; in himself, for his convictions were clear, his will fixed, his mind prepared to let his little property and his life go, sooner than the rights of his country.

"Looking into himself he saw weakness enough, but neither meanness, nor dishonesty, nor timidity. His overweening self-esteem was his chief blemish; and if he compared himself with his great fellow-workers, there was some point on which he was superior to any one of them; he had more learning than Washington, or any other American statesman of his age; better knowledge of freedom as grounded in law than Samuel Adams; clearer insight into the constructive elements of government than Franklin; more power of debate than Jefferson; more courageous manliness than Dickinson; more force in action than Jay; so that, by varying and confining his comparisons, he could easily fancy himself the greatest of them all. He was capable of thinking himself the centre of any circle to which he had been no more than a tangent; his vanity was in such excess that in manhood it sometimes confused his judg-

ment, and in age bewildered his memory ; but the stain did not reach beyond the surface ; it impaired the lustre, not the hardy integrity of his character. He was humane and frank, generous and clement ; yet he wanted that spirit of love which reconciles to being outdone. He could not look with complacency on those who excelled him, and regarded another's bearing away the palm as a wrong to himself ; he never sat placidly under the shade of a greater reputation than his own, and could try to jostle aside the presumptuous possessor of recognized superiority ; but his envy, though it laid open how deeply his self-love was wounded, had hardly a tinge of malignity, and never led him to direlictions for the sake of revenge. He did his fame injustice when, later in life, he represented himself as suffering from persecutions on account of his early zeal for independence ; he was no weakling to whine about injured feelings ; he went to his task bright, and cheery, and brave ; he was the hammer, and not the anvil ; and it was for others to fear his prowess and to shrink under his blows. His courage was unflinching in debate and everywhere else ; he never knew what fear is ; and had he gone into the army, as once he had longed to do, he would have taken there the virtues of temperance, decision and intrepidity. To his latest old age his spirit was robust, buoyant and joyous ; he saw ten times as much pleasure as pain in the world ; and after his arm quivered and his eye grew dim, he was ready to begin life anew and fight its battles over again.

“In his youth he fell among skeptics, read Bolingbroke's works five times through, and accustomed himself to reason freely and think boldly ; he esteemed himself a profound metaphysician, but only skimmed the speculations of others ; though at first destined to be a minister, he became a rebel to Calvinism, and never had any very fixed religious creed ; but for all that, he was a staunch man of New England, and his fond partiality to its people, its institutions, its social conditions and its laws, followed him into Congress and its committees. and social life, tintured his judgment and clinched his prepossessions ; but the elements in New England that he loved most were those which were eminently friendly to universal culture and republican equality. A poor farmer's son, bent on

making his way in the world, at twenty years old beginning to earn his own bread, pinched and starved as master of a stingy country school, he formed early habits of order and frugality and steadily advanced to fortune; but though exact in his accounts, there was nothing niggardly in his thrift, and his modest hospitality was prompt and hearty. He loved homage, and it made him blind; to those who flattered him he gave his confidence freely, and often unwisely; and while he watched the general movement of affairs with comprehensive sagacity, he was never a calm observer of individual men. He was of the choleric temperament; though his frame was compact and large, yet from physical organization he was singularly sensitive; could break out into uncontrollable rage, and with all his acquisitions, never learned to rule his own spirit; but his anger did not so much drive him to do wrong as to do right ungraciously. No man was less fitted to gain his end by arts of indirection; he knew not how to intrigue, was indiscreetly talkative, and almost thought aloud; whenever he sought to win an uncertain person to his support, his ways of courtship were uncouth, so that he made few friends except by his weight of character, ability, public spirit and integrity; was unapt as the leader of a party, and never appeared so well as when he acted from inspirations of his own.

“Hating intolerance in all its forms, an impassioned lover of civil liberty, as the glory of man and the best evidence and the best result of civilization, he, of all men in Congress, was incomparable as a dogmatist; essentially right-minded; loving to teach with authority; pressing onward unsparingly with his argument; impatient of contradiction; unequalled as a positive champion of the right. He was the Martin Luther of the American Revolution, borne on to utter his convictions fearlessly by an impulse which forbade his acting otherwise. He was now too much in earnest, and too much elevated by the greatness of his work to think of himself; too anxiously desiring aid, to disparage those who gave it. In the fervor of his activity, his faults disappeared. His intellect and public spirit, all the noblest parts of his nature, were called into the fullest exercise, and strained to the uttermost of their healthful power. Combining more than any other, farness of sight and

fixedness of belief with courage and power of utterance, he was looked up to as the ablest debater in Congress. Preserving some of the habits of the lawyer, he was redundant in words and cumulative in argument; but his warmth and sincerity kept him from the affectations of a pedant or a rhetorician. Forbearance was no longer in season; the irrepressible talent of persevering, peremptory assertion was wanted; the more he was hurried along by his own vehement will the better; now his country, humanity, the age, the hour, demanded that the right should be spoken out; his high excitement had not the air of passion, but appeared, as it was, the clear perception of the sublimity of his task. When, in the life of a statesman, were six months of more importance to the race than these six months in the career of John Adams?"¹

Mr. Adams and his colleagues from Massachusetts were charged, by their province, to take such measures as should seem good to them "for the establishment of right and liberty to the American Colonies upon a basis permanent and secure, against the power and art of the British administration." In his judgment, there had been from the first but one way to accomplish this—by a total separation from England. "I saw from the beginning," he says in a letter to his wife, written some time before this, "that the controversy was of such a nature that it never would be settled, and every day convinces me more and more." He was fully alive to the necessity of securing the good will of foreign powers, and especially of France, but was not at first disposed to favor an alliance with her or to ask her for direct aid. He came at length, however, to see the necessity of her assistance, and lent his abilities to the task of persuading Congress to attempt to secure it. He failed, however, for the members were not yet prepared to take so decisive a step. When the Committee was formed to correspond with foreign powers, he was carefully excluded from it, lest he should commit the Congress to an open bid for French aid.

The influence of Mr. Adams could not be confined to Congress. It spread beyond the walls of Independence Hall, and

¹ *History of the United States.* By Geo. Bancroft. Vol. VIII., pp. 308-12.

did much to prepare the people of the whole country for the decisive step which he saw, though they did not, was close at hand. About this time George Wythe, of Virginia, chanced to spend an evening with him, and was so impressed with his vigorous remarks upon the constitution best suited to a free state, that he asked him to give him his ideas in writing. Mr. Adams complied with the request, and wrote for him his "Thoughts on Government." This document was published in Virginia, which was then on the point of reconstructing its government, and was hailed with delight by Jefferson, Henry, the Lees and other Liberals. Its result was to preserve to Virginia a republican form of government.

To Patrick Henry Mr. Adams wrote, defining his idea of the true policy of the Colonies. "It has ever appeared to me," he said, "that the natural course and order of things was this; for every Colony to institute a government; for all the Colonies to confederate, and define the limits of the Continental Constitution; then, to declare the Colonies a sovereign State, or a number of confederated States; and, last of all, to form treaties with foreign powers." "Confederation among ourselves or alliances with foreign nations," he wrote to his wife, "are not necessary to a perfect separation from Britain. That is effected by extinguishing all authority under the crown, parliament and nation." In accordance with this view, and to make the separation complete, he set himself to work to induce Congress to advise the Colonies to institute governments of their own, in place of the royal governments which had ceased to exist. He was successful in this effort, and on the 15th of May, 1776, a resolution for this purpose was adopted by Congress. It was a great triumph for Mr. Adams, and a gain for the country. The action of Congress destroyed the foundations of British authority in America, and left the people the only source of power.

On this very 15th of May, the Convention of Virginia instructed its delegates in Congress to move a declaration by the latter body of the independence of the Colonies. The news was communicated to Mr. Adams, by Richard Henry Lee, and was received by him with delight. On the 7th of June, Mr. Lee, in obedience to the orders of his province, offered a reso-

lution in Congress, "that the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be dissolved." The resolution was seconded by John Adams, and after considerable debate, was adopted by a bare majority of one. A committee was appointed to prepare a declaration, and Mr. Adams was placed upon it. When the declaration was reported to Congress, and called up for debate, upon Mr. Adams devolved the task of defending it, and saving it from the hands of the timid members, who sought to rob it of its force and spirit. The masterly manner in which he performed this task, so impressed Jefferson, that he styled him "the colossus of independence" on the floor of Congress. Thanks to his efforts, the substance of the Declaration, as it came from Jefferson's hand, was saved, and on the 4th of July, the great Charter of American freedom was signed by all the members present. The point at which Mr. Adams had aimed from the first, was now attained, and the whole country was pledged to a war for independence.

Mr. Adams was a member of the Committee appointed to conduct the negotiations of Congress with foreign powers, and was appointed also on the Committee which conducted the affairs of the war office. The duties of both Committees were important; those of the latter were very heavy. Mr. Adams was at the head of the Board of War, and throughout his connection with it, exerted all his powers to give an efficient support to the army. These were not his only services. He served as a member of over one hundred different committees, and was chairman of at least twenty-five. "As the head of the committee already mentioned, which reported the rules concerning allegiance, he was instructed to draw up, anew, the articles of war. He took a leading part in that which was directed to pave the way for alliances with foreign States. He shared in the discussions upon the proposed form of confederation between the States, and bore record against some of the defects which ultimately brought it to nothing. He animated the organization of a naval force, which from that day to the end of his life, was ever a cherished feature of his national system." He seemed never to tire of his labors. During the dark hours

of the struggle, when all prospect of success appeared to have vanished, he was for a time discouraged, but he did not relax his efforts. He was for fighting the struggle out to the bitter end, and in his deepest despondency, never entertained a thought of yielding.

At length these labors began to tell upon even this robust patriot. He needed rest, and his private affairs demanded his presence at home. He therefore resigned his seat in Congress, and on the 11th of November, 1777, set out for home. A few days after his departure he was appointed by Congress to replace Silas Deane in the commission sent to procure an alliance with France. "Dr. Franklin's age alarms us," wrote James Lovell, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Adams. "*We want one man of inflexible integrity on the embassy.*" Mr. Adams at once accepted the appointment, though at a considerable sacrifice. Mrs. Adams was anxious to accompany him, but it was decided, after mature consideration, that she should remain at home.

Mr. Adams sailed from Massachusetts Bay, in the frigate Boston, on the 13th of February, 1778, taking with him his eldest son, John Quincy Adams, a lad of ten years. It was an anxious voyage, for the risk of capture was very great, and John Adams knew that he could expect no mercy at the hands of Great Britain. All went well, however. Near the close of the voyage, an English privateer was sighted. Captain Tucker, with the consent of Mr. Adams, gave chase to her, but feeling his responsibility for the safety of the Commissioner, stipulated that Mr. Adams should remain below, out of danger. The privateer was overtaken and was captured after a short engagement. In the midst of the battle, Captain Tucker, to his horror, saw Mr. Adams, whom he had supposed safe below, among the marines, musket in hand, engaged in the fight. The French coast was reached in safety, and Mr. Adams was landed at Bordeaux, from which port he hastened to Paris, where he arrived on the 8th of April, 1778.

The defeat of Burgoyne had put an end to the hesitation of the French Cabinet, and before Mr. Adams reached Paris a treaty of friendship and alliance had been concluded between the United States and France. There was nothing for him to

do but to avoid taking sides in the quarrels in which he found his brother Commissioners engaged. He did this, and resolved to return home at once. "I cannot eat pensions and sinecures," he wrote to his wife, "they would stick in my throat." After a considerable delay, he was offered a passage home in the French frigate *Sensible*, which was to convey M. de la Luzerne, the newly appointed French envoy to the American Republic. On the 17th of June, 1779, the frigate sailed, carrying the French Minister and Mr. Adams and his son, John Quincy. Boston was reached in safety on the 2d of August, and Mr. Adams rejoined his family at Braintree.

He was at once elected a delegate from Braintree to the Convention called for the purpose of framing a new Constitution for Massachusetts, and rendered valuable service in this body. These labors were cut short by his appointment by Congress, on the 26th of September, as a member of the Commission ordered to proceed to Europe to be in readiness to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain when that power should be willing to treat. He accepted the position and sailed from Boston in the *Sensible*, on her return, taking with him his son John Quincy. He reached Paris on the 5th of February, 1780.

While awaiting in France an opportunity to enter upon his duties, Mr. Adams began an unofficial correspondence with the Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and proposed to him that a knowledge of his powers to treat should be brought to the attention of the British Government. Vergennes, who was perpetually haunted by the fear that the United States would make a separate peace with England, and so break faith with France, refused Mr. Adams' proposal in the coldest possible manner. Mr. Adams submitted to this refusal cheerfully, but, in order that he might render some service to his country, prepared regularly an account of affairs in America for the *Mercur de France*, conducted under the supervision of the French Government. Vergennes informed Mr. Adams that he would be glad to receive from him direct such information as he should obtain from America. This led to an unofficial communication with the Count, in which Mr. Adams regularly laid before him the desired information. Interpret-

ing an act of Congress with regard to the redemption of the Continental money as an effort to wrong the French creditors of the Republic, Vergennes addressed a note to Mr. Adams, whom he knew to be in no way accredited to the Court of France, complaining of what he termed the injustice of Congress towards French citizens, and urging him to use his efforts to induce Congress to reverse its policy, or at least exempt French citizens from its operation. Mr. Adams, feeling bound by his obligations to his country to do so, replied to the note of the Count, defending the policy of Congress, which he claimed did no injustice to Frenchmen. The Count, instead of replying to him, addressed a note to Franklin, the accredited Minister of the United States, urging him to make the appeal to Congress to exempt Frenchmen from the measure referred to, and to transmit the correspondence with Mr. Adams to Congress, with an expression of his disapproval of Mr. Adams' reasoning. Franklin was induced by the Count's misrepresentations to regard Mr. Adams' part in the transaction as an interference with his own privileges, and readily disavowed all disposition to uphold Mr. Adams' defence of Congress, and wrote to that body complaining of Mr. Adams' interference with his province. The truth was that Mr. Adams was too zealous an American to suit the Count de Vergennes. Fortunately he had friends in Congress who were too devoted to him to permit him to be sacrificed to the prejudices of the French minister. Congress, by a formal vote, approved his course.

Finding himself of no use in Paris, Mr. Adams left that city on the 27th of July, 1780, and repaired to Amsterdam. He went to Holland for the purpose of forming an opinion for himself of the probability of obtaining a loan in that country for the United States. He came to the conclusion that it was possible, and so wrote to Congress. Fortunately, six weeks before this, Congress had despatched authority to him, in the absence of Mr. Laurens, to make the attempt. Before this authority arrived, he set to work to prepare the Dutch for his proposal, by causing accounts of the war in America, and of the resources of the United States, to be published and circulated in Holland. He found friends and sympathizers among the

cultivated citizens of Amsterdam, and received their cordial assistance in these efforts.

Fortunately for the American Republic, Mr. Laurens was captured at sea, together with his papers, among which was a copy of a treaty between the United States and Holland, drawn up by parties who had no authority on the part of the Dutch to negotiate. The British Government, however, made the treaty a pretext for an attack upon Holland, and by its dictatorial demands made war inevitable. Mr. Adams, perceiving the gain to his country from this state of affairs, quietly suspended his efforts in Holland until the panic consequent upon the rupture with England should subside. On the 1st of January, 1781, Congress appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, with authority to negotiate a treaty of alliance with them whenever such a measure should be practicable. Immediately upon the receipt of his commission he set to work with energy to procure the recognition of his country's independence by Holland. He succeeded so well that on the 19th of April, 1782, the United Provinces formally recognized the independence of the United States, and received Mr. Adams as the accredited Minister from the Government of that country. The American Minister followed up this success by negotiating a loan of five millions of guilders from the bankers of Amsterdam, which he forwarded to America. From this time until his return home, in 1788, he continued his relations with the Dutch bankers, and was instrumental in effecting several other loans, by which the Government of the Union was enabled to tide over this most critical period of its history.

In the meantime negotiations for peace had been begun at Paris, and Mr. Adams's presence was needed there. He returned to France as soon as he had finished his work in Holland, and reached Paris on the 26th of October, 1782. He came back thoroughly distrustful of the Count de Vergennes, and to his great satisfaction found that his colleague, Mr. Jay, had been driven by the Count's dubious policy into the conviction that American interests were safest in American hands. Dr. Franklin, though more disposed than either of the others to trust in the good faith of the French Court, gave his support to his colleagues, and it was decided by the Commissioners to

conduct the negotiations with Great Britain directly, and without consulting the French Court. The truth was that France had entered upon the struggle chiefly from her desire to cripple England, and not from any very deep sympathy with America. She was tired of the war and anxious for peace, and Vergennes was willing, if the independence of the States could be secured, to sacrifice their interests in other respects in order to obtain peace. Mr. Adams had long been convinced of this, and he was doubly vigilant.

The negotiations with Great Britain were begun and carried on by the American Commissioners without consulting the French Government. Mr. Adams's energy and determination saved to the United States the Northeastern boundary, which Great Britain was anxious to push back to the Penobscot, and he demanded for his country a share in the fisheries as a right. England was willing to concede this as a *privilege*, but Mr. Adams insisted upon it as a *right*, and carried his point. The other articles of the treaty were arranged satisfactorily, and on the 30th of November, 1782, the preliminary treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed. The matter was concluded without the knowledge of the French Court, but the treaty was made contingent upon the conclusion of a general peace for which England, France, and Spain were now in full treaty. The French Prime Minister professed to regard this action as a breach of the treaty of alliance between France and America, though he had purposely refrained from communicating the progress of his own negotiations to the American Commissioners. The American Congress was disposed to sustain the action of the Commissioners. The matter was happily brought to an end by the preliminary treaty between Great Britain, France, and Spain, signed on the 21st of January, 1783. In September, 1783, the definite treaty of peace was signed by all the parties to the war.

The long struggle was now over, and Mr. Adams was anxious to return home. Congress desired him to remain in Europe, however, and assist in negotiating commercial treaties between the United States and the different nations of Europe. He consented to do this, but was immediately taken down with a severe illness. As soon as he was able to travel, he set out

with his son for England. He spent a couple of months in visiting the various places of interest in London and the surrounding country, and had the rare satisfaction of listening to the speech of King George, in which that monarch announced to Parliament his recognition of the independence of the United States. Before his health was entirely restored, he made a winter voyage to Holland, which caused him much suffering. In the summer of 1784, he was joined by Mrs. Adams and their only daughter. He took a house near Paris, and happy in the society of his family, devoted himself to his duties as a member of the Commission for negotiating treaties of commerce, to which Mr. Jefferson had been recently added in the place of Mr. Jay. Now that his country was free, Mr. Adams was relieved of the crushing anxiety which had formerly prevented him from enjoying the brilliant and cultivated society into which he was thrown. "Paris was just then in that stage of transition from the old to the new, which is apt to quicken whatever there may be of sprightly in society, without having yet materially impaired its stability. Literature and philosophy had become the rage, even in fashionable circles. And the flippant ridicule of all things, sacred and profane, of which Voltaire had set a fascinating example, had supplied in zest what was subtracted from the dignified proprieties of ancient France. Mr. Adams saw something of the literary men of the day—of Marmontel, and Raynal, and DeMably—and he became quite intimate with the Abbés Chalut and Arnoux, and Count Sarsfield, men who lived for society, and who were fully able to open to him a view of its springs, ordinarily little obvious to foreigners. Deriving great enjoyment, as he unquestionably did, from these opportunities, his quick sagacity was not, however, less active in determining for himself how far the nation he saw before him would be fitted for any other form of government than the one it had. From the opinion then formed he never changed."

On the 14th of February, 1785, Congress appointed Mr. Adams Minister to the Court of St. James, and in May he removed with his family to England. The position was not only one of honor, but also of heavy responsibility. He was the first Minister of his country to its former sovereign, who had

never forgiven or become reconciled to the loss of the Colonies, and he must shape his conduct so as not to offend Great Britain nor humiliate his own country. No better man could have been chosen for this delicate task.

Mr. Adams was formally presented to the King. The interview was embarrassing to both parties. The King knew that the new Minister had been one of the most determined workers for American independence, and his feelings towards him were naturally not of the most cordial character. He was courteous therefore to the Minister, but restrained. Mr. Adams bore himself with dignity and independence, and made it evident that he was fully equal to the situation in which he was placed. The position of the American Minister was unpleasant and very delicate. The King, though civil to him, treated him with frigid politeness only, and the Court and society generally took their cue from the monarch, and Mr. Adams found himself neglected. England committed one of her characteristic mistakes in her treatment of the new Republic and its Minister. A generous policy would have won her the cordial friendship of a people proud of their English descent, and have gained for her important commercial advantages. She chose, however, to treat the United States with cold distrust, to take every advantage of the stipulations of the treaty, to evade her own compliance with them to the last moment, and to keep on the alert to take advantage of the distresses into which the new nation was being plunged.

Mr. Adams found his duties limited to constant and fruitless solicitations to Great Britain to comply with the conditions of the Treaty of Peace. He quickly perceived that he could accomplish nothing for his country that could compensate him for the painfulness of his position, and he resigned his post and sailed for home on the 20th of April, 1788. He arrived in Massachusetts after the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and while it was still under discussion by the States. He gave his cordial support to the Constitution. "His bitter experience of the want of a government to sustain the national honor in Europe, and his life-long attachment to the tripartite or English theory, combined, on his return, to place him warmly on the side of its friends." In the elections

of 1789, he was unanimously chosen Vice-President of the United States.

The position of Mr. Adams was of too negative a character to permit him, as Vice-President, to exercise a controlling influence upon public affairs. "My country," he wrote, "has, in its wisdom, contrived for me the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." He was naturally impatient of the restraint imposed upon him, and his mental activity found relief in literary labors. The French Revolution was the all-absorbing topic of the day, and was exercising a powerful influence upon the course of affairs in America. Mr. Adams thoroughly distrusted it, and was anxious that his countrymen should see it in the light in which it appeared to him. For upwards of a year he published a series of articles in "Fenno's Gazette of the United States," entitled "Discourses upon Davila," which were devoted to an analysis of Davila's history of the Civil War of France in the 16th Century. It was Mr. Adams's aim "to point out to his countrymen the dangers to be apprehended from powerful factions in ill balanced forms of government; but his aim was mistaken, and he was charged with advocating monarchy, and laboring to prepare the way for an hereditary presidency." This misconception of his object subjected him to a great deal of abuse, and caused him considerable pain. In 1792, Mr. Adams was chosen Vice-President for a second term. He gave his support to the general policy of Washington's administration, and though he did not regard Jay's Treaty as a fair settlement of the disputes with England, he sustained it because he was convinced that it was the best peaceful adjustment that could be had. In May, 1794, he had the happiness of seeing his eldest son, John Quincy Adams, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate to be Minister from the United States to Holland. It was a peculiar gratification to the father that his son should be sent to earn his laurels in the same field in which he himself had won his "greatest triumph."

President Washington having declined to serve a third term, Mr. Adams was the candidate of the Federalist party in the elections of 1796. His opponent was Mr. Jefferson. The contest was bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams. He was inaugurated at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1797.

Mr. Adams made no change in the Cabinet of his predecessor, and in retaining the Secretaries appointed by Washington committed an error which was a source of constant trouble to him throughout his administration. The Secretaries were not in sympathy with his policy, and were men chosen by Washington, on the ground, as he himself expressed it, "that he had Hobson's choice." As they owed their advancement to no preference of Mr. Adams, they felt under slight obligations to defer to his authority or to labor to carry out his policy. Three of the four had been taken from the section of the Federal party with which Mr. Adams had the least sympathy. They regarded Alexander Hamilton as their chief, and gave their assistance to his efforts to control the policy of the administration, and sustained him in his resentment of Mr. Adams's refusal to submit to his control.

The relations of the United States with France had for some time been of an unfriendly nature. Jay's treaty had given great offense to the French Government, and the insolent conduct of M. Adét, the French Minister to the United States, had led to a suspension of diplomatic intercourse between the two Republics. The French Directory gave unmistakable evidence of its disregard of the rights of America by causing the seizure of all American vessels in the ports of France laden with British manufactured goods. At the same time the American Minister to France, Mr. Charles C. Pinckney, was treated with such studied indignity that he demanded his passports and withdrew to Holland. Privateers went to sea from French ports, seized American vessels and treated their crews as prisoners. France also exerted her influence with Spain and Holland to induce those powers to pursue a similar course towards the United States. The cause of her anger was the alleged partiality shown by the American Government for England in Jay's Treaty. In spite of these acts there was a considerable party in the United States which favored a close alliance with France, and could not or would not see the deliberate purpose of that country to treat the United States as a dependent republic.

In May, 1797, President Adams laid before the two Houses of Congress, convened in extra session, a statement of the re-

lations of the country with France. The announcement of the insults received by the American Minister at the hands of the Directory, and the increased aggressions upon American commerce, aroused a feeling of deep indignation throughout the country, and drew upon the partisans of France in America a considerable amount of odium.

Wishing to exhaust all peaceful means of settlement, the President directed John Marshall, a leading Federalist, and Elbridge Gerry, one of the Republican leaders, to repair to Paris, and unite with Mr. Pinckney in an effort to arrange a treaty with France which should amicably and honorably adjust the disputes between the two countries. Marshal and Gerry joined Pinckney in France in October, 1798, and made known their mission to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the famous Talleyrand. The Minister refused to receive the American envoys in an official capacity, but employed secret agents to communicate with them. It soon transpired that the object of these secret interviews was to extort money from the Commissioners. They were informed that the payment by them of a certain sum of money to the members of the Directory for their personal use, and the pledge by them of a loan from the United States to France, would remove all obstacles to negotiations. The Commissioners indignantly refused to entertain this insulting proposal, whereupon Marshal and Pinckney were ordered to quit France at once. Mr. Gerry was invited to remain and negotiate a treaty. He consented to do so, but was unable to accomplish anything. The correspondence between the Commissioners and Talleyrand's agents was published in the United States, and aroused such a storm of indignation that the French party disappeared.

A large emigration of Frenchmen had set in towards the United States since the outbreak of the Revolution. These persons sustained their own country in the quarrel with the United States, and were constantly intriguing to make the Government depart from its policy of neutrality. It was believed that some were acting as spies for the Directory, and it was known that many had abused the hospitality extended to them by seeking to carry out hostile expeditions against Florida and Louisiana, then territories of Spain. They were

amongst the most active in their abuse of the President and his policy. In the spring of 1798, Congress attempted to check these evils by passing the measures known as the "Alien and Sedition Acts." The Alien Act empowered the President to send out of the country "any foreigner whom he might believe to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." This Act was never executed, but it caused a general alarm among the class at which it was aimed, and a number of them left the United States soon after its passage. By the Sedition Act, it was made a crime, punishable with severe penalties, for any one to "write, utter, or publish," any "false, scandalous, or malicious writing, against either House of the Congress of the United States or the President of the United States, with intent to defame, or bring them, or either of them, into contempt and disrepute." The Alien Act was executed in a number of instances, but gave great offense to the country, as it was regarded as an effort on the part of the Government to strike down freedom of speech and of the press. Both measures were roundly denounced as subversive of the principles of the Constitution. They were among the greatest blunders of the administration, and the chief cause of Mr. Adams's rejection for a second term.

The connection of the President with these laws, is thus stated by his grandson: "That he had no hand in suggesting them is very certain. That he declined to insert in his speeches recommendations, submitted by his officers, to restrict the rights of aliens, and of naturalization, is likewise certain. Yet when they had been once passed upon by the two Houses of Congress, he had no such constitutional doubts as would justify his declining to affix his official signature to them, nor any scruples about putting them in execution, in an emergency. On the other hand, he had no confidence in their value as effective measures, and very little inclination to attempt experiments. It was this well understood state of his mind, that caused great dissatisfaction among those Federalists who had favored their adoption. * * * * There was in this respect a radical difference of opinion between these persons and Mr. Adams, which shows itself incidentally in other acts of his administration. * * * From all these circum-

stances, joined to the fact of an almost total absence of allusion to them in his private correspondence, it is fair to infer that Mr. Adams's participation in the Alien and Sedition Laws was confined to his official act of signature. So far as this goes, he is responsible for them, but no farther."¹

In the summer of 1798, Mr. Marshall returned from Europe, and his report confirmed the statements that had been made of the hostile intentions of the French Government. The President submitted to Congress a statement of the disputes between the two countries, and Congress, recognizing the danger of war, began to prepare for it. It was resolved to create a navy; the three frigates just completed were fitted for sea, and the President was instructed to have built, or to purchase or hire, twelve twenty-gun ships. An army was ordered to be raised, and the prominent points on the coast were placed in a state of defense. Washington was made Commander-in-chief of the army, and Alexander Hamilton its senior major-general. In the winter of 1798-99, Congress ordered six seventy-four gun ships, and six sloops of war to be built for the navy.

The President was determined to maintain the national honor with firmness, and at the same time to settle the matter peaceably if it could be done. The wing of the Federalist party, led by Hamilton, was anxious to go to war with France, and form an alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Adams had to prevent this party from plunging into war, and at the same time prevent the party friendly to France from weakening the measures of the Government to protect the rights of the country. His task was a difficult one, and subjected him to a merciless attack from Hamilton and his friends, in which his own Cabinet joined.

The determination evinced by the Americans opened the eyes of Talleyrand, who had not believed they would fight. A new war would merely add to the embarrassments of France, and he now signified to Mr. Van Murray, the American Minister to Holland, the desire of his government to renew diplomatic intercourse with the United States. Mr. Adams was promptly informed of this, and resolved to embrace the opportunity of averting the war. He sent Oliver Ellsworth, Chief

¹ *Life of John Adams.* By J. Q. and C. F. Adams. Vol. 2., p. 301.

Justice of the United States, William R. Davie and William Van Murray, Minister to Holland, to treat with the French Republic for the settlement of the differences between the two countries. The Commissioners were ordered by the President not to enter France unless they were assured that they would be received in a "manner befitting the Commissioners of an independent nation." The Hamilton wing of his party, and the members of his Cabinet, made great exertions to prevent the sending of this embassy; but Mr. Adams adhered with firmness to his convictions, and by refusing to yield to the schemes of the war party, saved the country from much suffering.

Upon reaching Paris, the Commissioners found that the Directory had been overthrown, and that a successful revolution had placed Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of affairs as First Consul. Bonaparte received the Commissioners with courtesy and cordiality, and negotiations were entered upon and carried forward with such success that on the 30th of November, 1800, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed between the United States and France.

The treaty came none too soon, for the two countries had already come to blows. More than three hundred merchant vessels were licensed to carry arms for their defense. On the 9th of February, 1799, the American frigate *Constellation* captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of equal force, after a severe engagement. Somewhat later the *Constellation* engaged the French frigate *La Vengeance*, of superior force, and silenced her fire after an engagement of five hours. The French vessel succeeded in making her escape.

Before the news of the treaty arrived, the death of Washington plunged the country into mourning. During the summer of 1800, the seat of Government was removed to the new Federal city of Washington.

In the Presidential campaign of 1800, Mr. Adams was the candidate of the Federalist party for reëlection. The Alien and Sedition laws, for which the President was generally held responsible, had sealed the doom of the Federalist party, which was also divided upon the French quarrel, and the opposition was strong enough to prevent a choice by the people.

The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and resulted in the choice of Thomas Jefferson as President, and Aaron Burr as Vice President.

One of the last official acts of President Adams, was to appoint John Marshall, of Virginia, Chief Justice of the United States, in the place of Oliver Ellsworth, who resigned his office.

Mr. Adams retired from office and from public life in March, 1801. The Presidency had been a long trial to him, and his firmness in adhering to his convictions of right, though vindicated by the subsequent course of events, had destroyed his popularity, and broken up the Federalist party. He had done his duty faithfully, but his very fidelity had made him for the time, as his grandson declares, "disgraced in the popular estimation." His inflexible courage, however, though it had drawn upon him the denunciation of his party, "had saved the neutral policy, and had removed the obstacles which had threatened the prosperity of the nation at the moment that he took the helm." Never, in his whole career, had he given a more splendid exhibition of the great qualities of his nature.

Mr. Adams survived his retirement from the Presidency for twenty-five years, and this period was spent in the peaceful seclusion of his home. He felt keenly the attacks that had been made upon him, and passed a portion of his time in the preparation of a reply to them. He devoted himself to the cultivation of the estate he had won by his labors in earlier life, and which constituted his only means of support. As the time passed on, he came to look upon the strife through which he had passed with calmer and kindlier feelings. After the retirement of Mr. Jefferson from the Presidency, the cordial relations which had once existed between Mr. Adams and himself, and which had been interrupted by the party struggles of their official life, were resumed through the mediation of an intimate friend. Time, the great trier of all men's actions, brought to Mr. Adams some reward for his sufferings. As the passion of the times died away, men came to do justice to his motives and acts, and his old popularity returned, and he became the constant recipient of gratifying attentions from his countrymen. His life was peaceful, and his seclusion was unbroken except once, when he became a delegate to the Convention

which met to form a new Constitution for Massachusetts, after the erection of Maine into a State, in 1820.

On the 28th of October, 1818, Mr. Adams sustained his greatest affliction in the death of his wife, who had been the faithful partner and strong support of his life for over half a century. He was eighty-three years old, and knew that he could not long survive her. A gentle sadness settled over him, and his manner lost the cheerfulness that had hitherto marked it. He was comforted and in part rewarded for his sorrows in his country's cause by the election of his son, John Quincy Adams, as President of the United States in 1825, by the House of Representatives.

Mr. Adams survived this event a little more than a year. He had reached the age of ninety, and was infirm in body, and unable to read, or to write. His mental vigor did not fail him and he "retained so much interest in present objects as fully to employ the services of members of his immediate family, both in reading to him and writing after his dictation." He would listen with eagerness to anything that was read to him, for he dreaded to fall into the mental torpidness of old age. He took his daily walk until unable to bear the fatigue of exercise, and then substituted a ride for the walk. In this way he glided tranquilly to his end.

In the spring of 1826 it was evident that he was rapidly approaching that end. He was growing steadily weaker. The fourth of July of that year would close the half century of American independence, and there was manifested all over the country the greatest anxiety that Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson might live to take part in the rejoicings of the occasion. Mr. Adams, it was well known, would not be able to attend a distant celebration, but his fellow townsmen hoped to have him with them at their festivities in Quincy. On the 30th of June a gentleman called upon him to propose a toast to be presented as coming from him. "I will give you," said the venerable patriot, "*Independence forever!*" He was asked if he would not add anything to it. "Not a word," he answered.

Mr. Adams grew weaker rapidly. He suffered no pain except from the difficulty of respiration, but this increased so steadily that he was obliged to take to his bed. On the morn-

ing of the 4th of July, his attendant physician informed his family that he could not live beyond sunset. The celebrations at Quincy went on, and late in the afternoon the banquet began. The toast presented by Mr. Adams was received with ringing cheers, which were plainly heard by those watching by the bed of the dying man, and while they were still rending the air the spirit of John Adams passed away from earth.

The watchers around his bed heard him murmuring faintly, a short while before his death, and bending over him, caught these words: "Thomas Jefferson still survives!" It was not as he supposed, however. A few hours before, at his home in Virginia, Mr. Adams's fellow-laborer in the great cause of independence had ended his work, and had preceded him in the journey to the spirit land.



HENRY KNOX.

HENRY KNOX was of Scottish descent, and was born at Boston, on the 25th of July, 1750. He received a fair education and began life as a bookseller. He manifested a great fondness for military matters, and read all the works relating to them that he had in his shop, or could borrow. His reading was not confined to military literature entirely, but was extensive upon other subjects. In 1774, he became a member of one of the volunteer companies formed in Massachusetts in anticipation of war with England, and was elected an officer. He was noted for his activity in behalf of his company, and his vigor in enforcing its discipline. He gave more than usual attention now to military engineering and artillery, and gained the reputation of being one of the most thoroughly informed men in Boston upon these subjects. This fact, and his known zeal in behalf of the Colonial cause, drew upon him the attention of Governor Gage, who, in order to prevent the Americans from enjoying the benefit of his talents, ordered him, after the battle of Lexington, to remain in Boston.

Previous to this Knox had married a lady belonging to a prominent family which warmly supported the measures of the British Ministry, and tempting promises of honor and distinction were made to him on condition that he would adhere to the cause of the King. The patriotism of Henry Knox was too pure to be tempted by such offers. He was already prospering in a marked degree in his business, and was happily married to an attractive young wife. His heart was with his country, however, and he counted no sacrifice too great to make for her. In June, 1775, he found an opportunity of escaping from Boston, and promptly embraced it. Turning his back on his home, he left the city, and repaired to the patriot camp at Cambridge. He was received with delight, for his patriotism and his military knowledge were well known. The

Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown, at once sent for him, and charged him with the construction of such works as should be necessary to protect the army from a sudden attack from Boston. Knox attended to these duties with energy and skill, but declined to accept any definite commission. The army was too disorganized and insubordinate to render service in it attractive to one of his habits. He served, therefore, as a volunteer, and in the capacity of aide-de-camp to General Artemas Ward took part in the battle of Bunker Hill.

When Washington arrived at Cambridge to take command of the army, Knox was delighted with him. Washington, on his part, recognized the skill with which Knox had planned the defenses of the American camp, and the ability with which he had on several occasions handled the few cannon on the American lines. He was anxious to make the best use of this promising volunteer, and recommended him to Congress for the command of the regiment of artillery in place of the veteran Gridley, who was too old for active employment.

In the meantime the cold season was approaching, when the waters around Boston would be frozen and military operations might be conducted upon the ice. Washington keenly felt his lack of artillery, and was fearful that Howe would learn his weakness in this respect and attack him. Besides this, he was well aware that the enemy could not be driven from Boston except with artillery. He was sorely perplexed to know where to obtain the cannon he needed. Fortunately, Knox had been quietly investigating the matter also, and he now came forward and offered to proceed to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and bring all the artillery that could be spared from those posts to Cambridge. Washington gratefully accepted his offer, and instructed him to inform himself carefully as to the state of the artillery in camp, ascertain what was wanting, and then proceed to New York, procure and forward all he could obtain there; and thence repair to the headquarters of General Schuyler, to whom Washington wrote, requesting him to aid Knox in procuring whatever supplies were needed from the forts on Lake Champlain. Knox set off promptly, and a few days after his departure the commission of Colonel of the regiment of artillery, which Washington had requested of Congress for

him, arrived at headquarters, and was forwarded to him by the Commander-in-Chief.

Knox received the cordial coöperation of Schuyler, and worked with energy to provide the means for transporting the cannon and ammunition he obtained on Lake Champlain to Boston. It was easy enough to procure the cannon; the difficulty was to get them to the camp. By almost superhuman efforts he succeeded in transporting them to the head of Lake George, and on the 17th of December, 1775, wrote to Washington these cheering words, which were truly welcome to the harassed Commander-in-Chief: "Three days ago it was very uncertain whether we could get them over until next spring; but now, please God, they shall go. I have made forty-two exceedingly strong sleds, and have provided eighty yoke of oxen to drag them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to take them into camp." Late in February, 1776, Knox arrived in the camp at Cambridge with his long train of sledges drawn by oxen, and laden with more than fifty cannon, mortars and howitzers, and a large supply of flints and lead. "The zeal and perseverance which he had displayed in his wintry expedition, across frozen lakes and snowy wastes, and the intelligence with which he had fulfilled his instructions, won him the entire confidence of Washington. His conduct in this enterprise was but an earnest of that energy and ability which he displayed throughout the war." The arrival of the cannon brought by Knox enabled Washington to push the siege of Boston with vigor, and bring it to a successful close.

After his return from Lake Champlain, Colonel Knox was placed in command of the entire artillery corps of the army, and retained it throughout the war. He gave to this arm of the service the efficiency it obtained, and kept it throughout the struggle a model of good discipline and skillful execution. He superintended the transportation of the artillery over the half frozen Delaware, on the night before the battle of Trenton, and gave his personal direction to it in that memorable engagement. On the morning after the battle of Trenton, Knox was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general at the recommendation of Washington. After the victory at Princeton,

Knox strongly advised the Commander-in-chief to move to Morristown; his advice was acted upon, and the American army occupied the strong position in which it passed the winter.

Knox commanded the artillery at the battle of Germantown, but his guns were too light to batter down the strong walls of Chew's house, which the enemy had converted into a fortress. At Monmouth, he was more successful. The failure of General Lee to execute his orders, and his sudden retreat before the enemy, threatened the whole army with destruction. Washington hastily formed his men on a new line, and to the artillery, which was served under the personal direction of General Knox, was confided the task of checking the advance of the British. The American batteries nobly executed their part in the battle, and were rewarded by the following compliment in the general orders of the Commander-in-chief: "He can with pleasure inform General Knox and the officers of the artillery, that the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than ours."

General Knox enjoyed the warm friendship and entire confidence of Washington throughout the war. He regarded the Commander-in-chief with enthusiasm, and was never so happy as when by his side. He accompanied Washington on his visit to Hartford in September, 1780, to concert measures with the French officers for an attack upon New York. He was one of the first whom Washington informed of the treason of Arnold, which was discovered on his return.

In November, 1780, the Marquis de Chastelleux, an officer of rank and distinction in the French contingent, visited the American camp. He has left an interesting account of his visit. In the camp of the artillery, he says, he found everything in perfect order and conducted in European style. "Knox, with his genial aspect and cordial manners, seems to have won De Chastellux's heart. 'He is thirty-five years of age,' writes he, 'very stout, but very active; a man of talent and intelligence, amiable, gay, sincere and loyal. It is impossible to know him without esteeming him, and to see him without loving him.'"

At the siege of Yorktown the artillery was directed by Gen-

eral Knox, and how well he performed his task is shown by the steady and rapid reduction of the British works by the fire of his guns. When the assault on the British redoubts was begun on the night of the 14th of October, Washington took his stand with Generals Knox and Lincoln and their staffs in the grand battery to watch the result. The position was very much exposed, and Knox was in great uneasiness lest a chance shot should strike the Commander-in-chief. In a few minutes a musket ball struck the cannon in the embrasure through which Washington was watching the fight, and rolled at his feet. Knox seized him by the arm to draw him back. "My dear General," he exclaimed, "we can't spare you yet." "It is a spent ball," replied Washington, calmly; "no harm is done."

As the time for the dissolution of the army drew near, the officers who had stood by each other through the eight years of the struggle were moved with a profound regret at their approaching separation. "Prompted by such feelings, General Knox, ever noted for generous impulses, suggested, as a mode of perpetuating the friendships thus formed, and keeping alive the brotherhood of the camp, the formation of a society composed of the officers of the army." The suggestion met with the universal concurrence of the officers, and the cordial approval of Washington, and out of it grew the Society of the Cincinnati, which was organized on the 13th of May, 1783, at the headquarters of Baron Steuben.

Knox commanded the detachment of American troops which occupied the city of New York upon its evacuation by the British. At the parting of Washington from his officers, he was the first to respond to the invitation of the Commander-in-chief to bid him adieu.

In October, 1783, upon the resignation of General Benjamin Lincoln, Knox was appointed to succeed him as Secretary of War, and held that position until the close of the old government of the Confederation. Upon the organization of the Executive departments of the new government, under the Constitution, he was appointed Secretary of War by President Washington. As the Chief of Artillery of the Continental army he had made a brilliant reputation, and his administration of

the War Department was able and satisfactory. His talents fitted him to shine in the field, however, more brilliantly than in the Cabinet. "His mind," says Irving, "was ardent and active; his imagination vivid, as was his language. He had abandoned the military garb, but still maintained his soldier-like air. He was large in person, above the middle stature, with a full face, radiant and benignant, bespeaking his open, buoyant and generous nature. He had a sonorous voice, and sometimes talked rather grandly, flourishing his cane to give effect to his periods. He was cordially appreciated by Washington, who had experienced his prompt and efficient talent in time of war, had considered him one of the ablest officers of the Revolution, and now looked to him as an energetic man of business, capable of giving practical advice in time of peace, and cherished for him that strong feeling of ancient companionship in toil and danger, which bound the veterans of the Revolution firmly to each other." In the quarrel between the Secretaries of State and the Treasury, Knox sided with his old friend Hamilton, and was consequently no favorite with Jefferson, whose strong feeling led him to do injustice to the abilities and character of the Secretary of War.

In December, 1794, General Knox resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and retired to private life. "After having served my country nearly twenty years," he wrote to Washington, "the greatest portion of which under your immediate auspices, it is with extreme reluctance that I find myself constrained to withdraw from so honorable a station. But the natural and powerful claims of a numerous family will no longer permit me to neglect their essential interests. In whatever situation I shall be, I shall recollect your confidence and kindness with all the fervor and purity of affection of which a grateful heart is susceptible."

"I cannot suffer you," wrote Washington in reply, "to close your public service, without uniting with the satisfaction which must arise in your own mind from a conscious rectitude, my most perfect persuasion that you have deserved well of your country. My personal knowledge of your exertions, whilst it authorizes me to hold this language, justifies the sincere friendship which I have ever borne for you, and which will accompany you in every situation of life."

Soon after resigning his office, General Knox removed, with his family, to Thomaston, on St. George's River, in the district of Maine, about two hundred miles from Boston. He was the owner of large tracts of land in that region which had come to him from General Waldo, the maternal grandfather of his wife. He was appointed a member of the Council of Massachusetts, and filled this position for several years. He was very much beloved by his fellow citizens for his sympathy with the poor, his ready aid to those in distress, and his genial and courteous bearing to all persons could not fail to receive their reward. He was a sincere and unassuming Christian, and his virtues were in keeping with his profession. He lived to see his country fairly on the way to prosperity and power. His death was occasioned by the accidental swallowing of the bone of a chicken. He died at Thomaston on the 25th of October, 1806, at the age of fifty-six years.

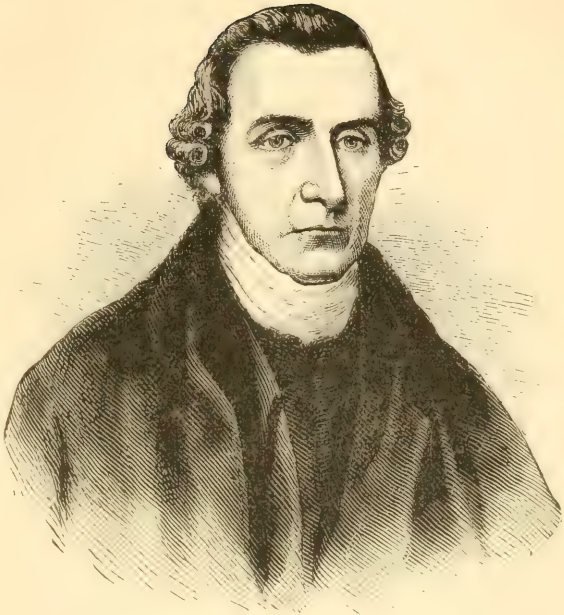


PATRICK HENRY.

SOMETIME previous to the year 1730, John Henry, a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, emigrated to the Colony of Virginia. He was a man of liberal education and fair abilities, and is said to have been a friend of Governor Dinwiddie. The Governor is said to have introduced him to Colonel Syme, of Hanover, in whose family he became domesticated. After the death of Colonel Syme, Mr. Henry married the widow of that gentleman, and continued to reside on the estate. He was a man of irreproachable integrity and exemplary piety. "It is considered as a fair proof of the merit of Mr. John Henry, that, in those days, when offices were bestowed with peculiar caution, he was the Colonel of his regiment, the principal surveyor of his county, and for many years the presiding magistrate of the county court." His brother, Patrick, a clergyman of the established Church, followed him to Virginia, and became rector of St. Paul's parish in Hanover. The wife of Colonel John Henry was a native of Hanover County, and of the family of Winstons, a family noted for its intellectual gifts and its "easy elocution."

PATRICK HENRY, the second son of this worthy couple, was born on the 29th of May, 1736, at the family seat called Studley, in Hanover county, Virginia. "His parents," says Mr. Wirt, "though not rich, were in easy circumstances; and, in point of personal character, were among the most respectable inhabitants of the Colony."

As soon as he was old enough, Patrick was sent to a school in the neighborhood, where he learned to read and write, and mastered a little of arithmetic. At the age of ten he was taken home by his father, who had opened a grammar school in his own house. Here he was taught a little Latin and a little Greek, and made some progress in mathematics. Study of all kinds was distasteful to him, and he passed the most of his time in idleness. He avoided the school whenever he



PATRICK HENRY.

could; and as his father rarely compelled his attendance, he seldom made his appearance in the school-room. He was passionately devoted to hunting and fishing, and would spend days, and even weeks, tramping over the fields gun in hand, or sitting beside his fishing rod. It mattered little to him whether he was successful in his sport or not; the principal charms which these expeditions had for him, were the opportunities they afforded him for solitude and communion with nature. He was cheerful and bright in his disposition, but never cared to mingle in the noisy gayety of children of his own age, "but sat quiet and demure, taking no part in the conversation, giving no responsive smile to the circulating jest, but lost, to all appearance, in silence and abstraction. This abstraction, however, was only apparent; for on the dispersion of a company, when interrogated by his parents as to what had been passing, he was able not only to detail the conversation, but to sketch, with strict fidelity, the character of every speaker. * * This propensity seems to have been born with him, and to have exerted itself, instinctively the moment that a new subject was presented to his view. Its action was incessant, and it became, at length, the only intellectual exercise in which he seemed to take delight. To this cause may be traced that consummate knowledge of the human heart which he finally attained, and which enabled him, when he came upon the public stage, to touch the springs of passion with a master hand, and to control the resolutions and decisions of his hearers with a power almost more than mortal."¹ This was the only mental trait that distinguished him from his fellows in childhood. He grew up idle, utterly averse to study or work, slovenly in his dress and careless in his habits, and awkward in appearance and manner. He was overflowing with good nature, and was popular with his companions.

At the age of fifteen Patrick was set to work to earn his living, as his father's family was large and his means limited. He was given a situation in a country store, and at the end of the year his father, thinking him sufficiently qualified, purchased a small stock of goods, and set his two sons, William and Patrick, up in business on their own account. It was a

¹Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 24.

helpless nrm, for William was even more idle than his younger brother, and left the management of the store entirely to Patrick, who found the drudgery of such a life insupportable. His natural kindness of heart was another obstacle to success in business. He could never refuse credit to any one who asked it, and though he foresaw that such a course would result in the failure of his enterprise, he was never able to discontinue it. His store was his prison, and he sought relief from its confinement by learning to play on the violin and flute, in which accomplishments he became quite proficient.

He also found relief from the irksomeness of his life in his favorite study of the human character. The character of every customer was subjected to the most minute scrutiny, "not," says Mr. Wirt, "with reference either to the integrity or solvency of the individual, * * but in relation to the structure of his mind, the general cast of his mind, the motives and principles which influenced his actions, and what may be called the philosophy of character. * * Whenever a company of his customers met in the store, * * and were themselves sufficiently gay and animated to talk and act as nature prompted, without concealment, without reserve, he would take no part in their discussions, but listen with a silence as deep and attentive as if under the influence of some potent charm. If, on the contrary, they were dull and silent, he would, without betraying his drift, task himself to set them in motion, and excite them to remark, collision, and exclamation. He was peculiarly delighted in comparing their characters, and ascertaining how they would severally act in given situations. With this view he would state an hypothetic case, and call for their opinions, one by one, as to the conduct which would be proper in it. If they differed, he would demand their reasons, and enjoy highly the debates in which he would thus involve them. By multiplying and varying those imaginary cases at pleasure, he ascertained the general course of human opinion, and formed for himself, as it were, a graduated scale of the motives and conduct which are natural to man. Sometimes he would entertain them with stories gathered from his reading, or, as was more frequently the case, drawn from his own fancy, composed of heterogeneous circumstances, calculated to excite, by turns,

pity, terror, resentment, indignation, contempt, pausing, in the turns of his narrative, to observe the effect; to watch the different modes in which the passions expressed themselves, and learn the language of emotion from those children of nature."

The business of the store ran its course of ruin within the year. Patrick spent the next two or three years in winding up the affairs of the concern. Undaunted by his hard experience, Patrick, at the age of eighteen, married Miss Shelton, the daughter of a plain farmer, of Hanover. By the joint assistance of their parents, the young couple were settled on a small farm which Patrick, too poor to hire laborers, was obliged to till with his own hands. His lack of agricultural skill and his idle habits, drove him, at the end of two years, to abandon his farm. He sold all his possessions, and with the proceeds opened a new store. His second mercantile venture, however, proved no more successful than the first, and he found that his old habits were too strong to permit him to devote himself to steady and persistent labor. He let the store take care of itself, and would often close it and betake himself off to the fields with his gun, or to the river with his rod and line. He gave much of his time to his books, and his reading was now of a more solid and useful character. He *studied* geography, and soon became master of it. Works of history possessed the deepest interest for him. Livy was his favorite, and he read it through at least once a year for many years. His wonderful memory and strong judgment enabled him to master and digest what he read with rapidity and ease. In a few years the mercantile venture proved a failure, and Mr. Henry found himself a ruined man, with a young family dependent upon him. It was a most pitiable situation in which he was placed, and one which sorely tried the natural manly cheerfulness of his nature. He did not despair, however, but retained his hope in the future.

At this juncture Mr. Henry made the acquaintance of Thomas Jefferson, then a youth of seventeen, on his way to the College of William and Mary. "We became well acquainted," says Mr. Jefferson, "although I was much his junior, and he a married man. His manners had something of coarse-

ness in them ; his passion was music, dancing and pleasantry. He excelled in the last, and it attached every one to him."

At last, in sheer despair, Mr. Henry seized hold of the profession to which he was best suited, and resolved to study law. None of his friends believed him capable of success in so laborious a calling, and he himself did not expect to do more than earn a bare subsistence in it. His studies embraced a period of six weeks, during which time he read Coke upon Littleton, and the Virginia laws. With this scanty preparation, he obtained a license in the winter of 1760, and at the age of twenty-four entered upon the practice of his profession. During the first two or three years of his practice he and his family resided with his father-in-law, Mr. Shelton, who kept a tavern at Hanover Court House. While there Mr. Henry assisted his father-in-law in the task of carrying on the tavern. He was too indolent to continue his legal studies with anything like vigor, and was so ignorant of the most common business of his profession that he could not draw up the simplest law paper without assistance. He obtained barely enough business during these years to supply the most ordinary wants of his family, and their poverty and distress were very great. The affectionate nature of Mr. Henry was subjected to constant suffering in consequence of this; but he retained his serenity and cheerfulness, and struggled on in the firm conviction that he would yet win comfort and ease for his dear ones. It was not until he had been at the bar three years that an opportunity to display his natural powers occurred.

The lawful currency of the Colony of Virginia was tobacco. The price of this commodity varied so much from year to year that payments in tobacco were often very burdensome. In the winter of 1758 the Legislature passed a law authorizing the people of the province to pay their taxes and other public dues in money at the rate of two pence per pound for the tobacco due. As the clergymen of the Established Church had each a fixed salary due in so many pounds of tobacco, which at this time commanded a high price, this law inflicted such heavy losses upon them that they refused to submit to it, and urged the Bishop of London to persuade the King to refuse the law his signature. The Bishop complied with the request, and the

royal assent being refused, the law became inoperative. It had already been carried into effect in Virginia, however, and the clergy found themselves unable to collect their salaries in tobacco. They resolved to bring the matter to a judicial test, and this was made in a suit instituted by the Rev. James Maury, of Hanover, against the Collector of that county and his sureties. Mr. Maury based his claim upon the Act of Assembly assigning salaries to the clergy. The defendants pleaded specially the Act of 1758, which commuted the salary into money at two pence per pound of tobacco. The plaintiff demurred to this plea, on the grounds that the act having failed to receive the royal assent was inoperative, and that it had been declared by the King, in Council, null and void. The case was argued on the demurrer at the November term, 1763, of the County Court, by Mr. Lyons for the plaintiff, and Mr. John Lewis for the defendants. It was popularly known as "The Parsons' Cause," and excited the most profound interest throughout the Colony. The Court, faithful to its sense of justice, sustained the demurrer, and there was nothing left but to argue the question of damages. Mr. Lewis, feeling that the case was lost, retired from it, and the defendants, in despair, applied to Patrick Henry, who agreed to argue the question at the December, 1763, term.

With many misgivings, Mr. Henry repaired to the court house on the 7th day of December. He found it crowded, for people had come from all the surrounding counties to hear the arguments in a case in which all were deeply interested. The clergy, believing their triumph assured, were present in large force.

The case was called soon after the opening of the court. Mr. Henry had never before spoken in public, and the scene before him was enough to appall even his stout heart. On the bench sat more than twenty clergymen, the most learned men in the Colony, and the most capable, as well as the severest critics before whom it was possible for him to have made his *debut*. The court house was crowded with an overwhelming multitude, and surrounded with an immense and anxious throng, who, not finding room to enter, were endeavoring to listen without in the deepest attention. But there was something still

more awfully disconcerting than all this; for in the chair of the presiding magistrate, sat no other person than his own father. Mr. Lyons opened the cause very briefly; in the way of argument he did nothing more than explain to the jury, that the decision upon the demurrer had put the act of 1758 entirely out of the way, and left the law of 1748 as the only standard of their damages; he then concluded with a highly wrought eulogium on the benevolence of the clergy.

When it came Patrick Henry's turn to speak, he rose awkwardly, amid a profound silence. No one had ever heard him speak, and all were anxious to see how he would acquit himself. He clutched nervously at his papers, and faltered out his opening sentences with a degree of confusion which threatened to put a speedy end to his effort. The people watched their champion in sorrow and indignation; the clergy exchanged glances of triumph, and eyed the speaker with contempt; while his father hung his head in shame. But suddenly a change came over the young advocate. Warming with his subject, he threw off his embarrassment and awkwardness, and stood erect and confident. His look of timidity gave place to one of command; his countenance glowed with the fire of genius, and startled the gazers by the aspect of majesty which it assumed for the first time. His tones grew clear and bold, his action graceful and commanding, and the astounded jury and audience were given a display of eloquence without a parallel in the history of the province. Henry knew that the case was against him, but he pleaded the natural right of Virginia to make her own laws, independently of the King and Parliament. He proved the justness of the law; he drew a striking picture of the character of a good King, who should be the father of his people, but who becomes their tyrant and oppressor, and forfeits his claim to obedience when he annuls just and good laws. At this bold declaration, the opposing counsel cried out, "He has spoken treason," but was silenced by the excited throng.

"They say," says Mr. Wirt, "that the people, whose countenances had fallen as he arose, had heard but a very few sentences before they began to look up; then to look at each other in surprise, as if doubting the evidence of their own

senses ; then, attracted by some gesture, struck by some majestic attitude, fascinated by the spell of his eye, the charm of his emphasis, and the varied and commanding expression of his countenance, they could look away no more. In less than twenty minutes they might be seen in every part of the house, on every bench, in every window, stooping forward from their stands, in deathlike silence ; their features fixed in amazement and awe, all their senses listening and riveted upon the speaker, as if to catch the last strain of some heavenly visitant. The mockery of the clergy was soon turned into alarm, their triumph into confusion and despair ; and at one burst of his rapid and overwhelming invective, they fled from the bench in precipitation and terror. As for the father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting where he was, and the character which he was filling, tears of ecstasy streamed down his cheeks without the power or inclination to repress them."

The jury brought in a verdict of one penny damages for the "parsons," and the court overruled the motion of their counsel for a new trial.

This remarkable effort was the commencement of a new era in the life of Patrick Henry. It placed him in the front rank of his profession in the part of the Colony in which he practiced. His eloquence was the common topic of conversation. The people were proud of their champion ; but the aristocratic portion of the Colony from the first regarded him with coldness, recognizing, by an intuitive perception, their natural enemy. Mr. Henry's evenness of disposition was not disturbed by his triumph. He entertained no extravagant hopes of the future, and was wise enough to see that his chances of permanent success rested upon the people's favor. He never, in all his career, forgot that he was sprung from the great body of the people, and he adhered to them with fidelity. When his fame had filled two continents, he was the same simple, unaffected man of the people as on the day when he rose to defend them in the Parsons' Cause. He dressed plainly, lived simply, and mingled with the humblest, on a footing of the most unaffected equality. He was the natural enemy of aristocracy in every form. Government he regarded as rightfully proceeding

from the people, and existing for their benefit, and he scouted the idea that any particular class had the right to rule—very radical opinions for a lawyer in the aristocratic Colony of Virginia. He made no secret of his views, and openly declared that he “bowed to the majesty of the people.” “Nor did the people, on their part, ever desert him. He was the man to whom they looked in every crisis of difficulty, and the favorite on whom they were ever ready to lavish all the honors in their gift.”

Mr. Henry's business increased rapidly, and now he began to pay the penalty of his habits of idleness and neglect of his early opportunities. His aversion to steady labor was unconquerable, and he never acquired a thorough knowledge of the law. He was therefore compelled to make special studies of the law for each particular case, and even then was at the mercy, on points of law, of his more learned competitors. “The reasoning of the law,” says Mr. Wirt, “was too artificial and too much cramped for him. While unavoidably engaged in it, he felt as if manacled. His mind was perpetually struggling to break away. His genius delighted in liberty and space, in which it might roam at large, and feast on every variety of intellectual enjoyment. Hence he was never profound in the learning of the law. On a question merely legal, his inferiors, in point of talent, frequently embarrassed and foiled him; and it required all the resources of his extraordinary mind to support the distinction he had now gained.”

In the year 1764 he removed to the county of Louisa, hoping to better his condition. He still kept up his fondness for hunting, and would often appear in court in his rough hunting costume, and take up his cases.

In the fall of 1764 he repaired to Williamsburg as counsel for Mr. N. W. Danbridge, who contested the seat of Mr. James Littlepage in the General Assembly. His coarse, threadbare dress, his awkward habits and abstracted manner, caused him to be treated with almost open discourtesy by the Committee charged with the investigation of the case. The chairman, Colonel Bland, alone treated him with civility. A general smile passed around the Committee as he rose and faltered out his opening, but it was soon changed to a look of amazement as he launched

into the most brilliant argument on the great question of the right of suffrage that had ever been heard within those walls. After this he had no occasion to complain of a lack of respect from the Assembly or people of Williamsburg.

The year 1764 witnessed the opening of the great struggle between England and America by the origination, on the part of the former, of the measures which resulted in the Stamp Act, and in January, 1765, the Stamp Act itself was passed by Parliament. The measures of the Ministry produced the greatest alarm in America. The majority of the leading men were unwilling to submit to what they regarded as injustice, and at the same time feared to counsel open resistance. Only a few far-seeing ones contemplated forcible resistance to the tyranny of the Mother Country. Among these was Patrick Henry. His convictions were clear and firm from the very first, and during the year 1764 he repeatedly advised an uncompromising resistance to the Acts of the British Ministry. His opinions were eagerly repeated among the people of Virginia, and had such a marked effect upon them that Mr. Jefferson afterwards declared that "Mr. Henry certainly gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution." It was considered essential that Mr. Henry should be placed in a position which would secure to him the influence to which he was entitled in the councils of the country, and the delegate from Louisa resigned his seat to make a vacancy for him, and he was elected to the General Assembly in May, 1765.

Mr. Henry now found himself in an Assembly composed of the most brilliant men in the Colony, such as John Robinson, Peyton Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, and Richard Henry Lee. It was an Assembly with which he had little in common; for apart from the quarrel with the Mother Country, it was bent on maintaining the aristocratic constitution of the province, and perpetuating class rule—a system he hoped to destroy. The Assembly was noted for its elaborate and formal courtesy, and its members were elegant and polished men of society. Great was the outward contrast between them and the plain, unassuming, awkward, unpolished member from Louisa. He was personally unknown to the majority of the House, and few expected him to exercise much influence upon its deliberations.

Virginia had by this time entered upon the retribution which was to punish her early neglect of her true interests, and her landed gentry were nearly all, more or less, embarrassed with debt. A scheme was set on foot in the Assembly to establish a loan office, from which the public money to a certain amount might be loaned to individuals on good landed security. By means of this scheme the aristocracy of the Colony hoped to mend their broken fortunes, and the whole of that element in the House regarded it with favor. Mr. Henry at a glance saw that it would not remedy the evil, but would merely impose a new burden upon the people, and he opposed it in a bold, eloquent address which caused its defeat. The members of the upper counties voted in a body against it; and the only votes in its favor were those of the aristocratic members from the lower counties. This triumph made Mr. Henry the leader of the popular party in the Assembly, and won for him the increased confidence of the people. It also gained him the bitter and abiding hatred of the aristocracy, who were "indignant at the presumption of an obscure and unpolished rustic, who without asking the support or countenance of any patron among themselves, stood upon his own ground, and bearded them even in their den." They were forced to acknowledge his wonderful gifts, but sought to avenge themselves by ridiculing his plainness of person and awkwardness of manner.

The news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached Virginia in May, 1765. The Royalist leaders of the Assembly were amazed at the folly of the Ministry, but agreed that nothing but submission was left them. Not so with Mr. Henry. He saw in the occasion the proper time for joining the issue squarely between the King and the Colonies, and rising in his place offered his famous Five Resolutions, in which it was declared that the people of Virginia were bound to pay only such taxes as were levied by their own Assembly, and that all attempts to impose taxes upon them without their consent had "a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom." The resolutions provoked an exciting debate, in which Mr. Henry, in a magnificent oration, exposed the tyranny of the British Government, and stirred the hearts of the burgesses to resist. Closing his address with one of his loftiest flights, he

exclaimed in electric tones, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third ——" The Assembly was in an uproar. "Treason! treason!" cried the Speaker, and the cry of "treason!" was re-echoed not only from the royalists, but from others who were alarmed by the bold words. Henry never quailed, but raising himself to his full height and fixing his eye upon the Speaker, added in a tone peculiar to himself—" *may profit by their example*. If that be treason, make the most of it." Mr. Henry held his ground in the debate, and carried the resolutions by a majority of a single vote. When the result of the vote was announced, Peyton Randolph, the King's Attorney-General, left the house, exclaiming bitterly as he went, "By God, I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote!"

The next day, during Mr. Henry's absence, the timid Assembly rescinded the fifth resolution and modified the others. For daring to pass the resolves, however, it was dissolved by the Governor, but too late to prevent its action from producing its effect. Copies of Henry's resolutions as originally passed were forwarded to Philadelphia, where they were printed and circulated throughout the Colonies. They aroused the drooping spirits of the people, and gave birth to a general determination that the stamps should not be used in America.

By his bold action, Mr. Henry took the leadership of the Assembly out of the hands which had hitherto controlled it. His fame spread beyond the limits of his province, and he became known to the whole country as one of the most determined leaders of the Colonial cause.

Mr. Henry continued a member of the Assembly until the outbreak of the Revolution, and it was owing to him, more than to any other person, that that body maintained its firm, determined, but respectful tone of resistance to the King. In 1767 or 1768, Mr. Henry removed from Louisa to Hanover county, and was returned from that county to the Assembly immediately afterwards. When the Assembly was dissolved by Lord Botetourt in May, 1769, on account of its adoption of the Four Resolutions, Mr. Henry was prominent in urging the meeting of delegates in the Coffee Room of the Raleigh Tavern, and in bringing about the non-intercourse resolutions which

that meeting adopted. The same body appointed him one of the Committee of Correspondence with the other Colonies.

There was no probability that the Committee would fail in its duty with Patrick Henry on its list. He clearly perceived the issue of the struggle, and was only anxious to prepare the country for it. He had faith in her ability to make a successful resistance, and was confident of the result. Mr. Wirt relates the following instance in proof of his remarkable prescience: "I am informed by Colonel John Overton that before one drop of blood was shed in our contest with Great Britain, he was at Colonel Samuel Overton's, in company with Mr. Henry, Colonel Morris, John Hawkins and Colonel Samuel Overton, when the last mentioned gentleman asked Mr. Henry, 'whether he supposed Great Britain would drive her Colonies to extremities? And if she should, what he thought would be the issue of the war?' When Mr. Henry, after looking round to see who were present, expressed himself confidentially to the company in the following manner: 'She *will* drive us to extremities—no accommodation *will* take place—hostilities will *soon* commence, and a desperate and bloody touch it will be.' 'But,' said Col. Samuel Overton, 'do you think, Mr. Henry, that an infant nation, as we are, without discipline, arms, ammunition, ships of war, or money to procure them—do you think it possible, thus circumstanced, to oppose successfully the fleets and armies of Great Britain?' 'I will be candid with you,' replied Mr. Henry. 'I doubt whether we *shall* be able, *alone*, to cope with so powerful a nation. But,' continued he, rising from his chair with great animation, 'where is France? Where is Spain? Where is Holland?—the natural enemies of Great Britain—where will they be all this while? Do you suppose they will stand by, idle and indifferent spectators to the contest? Will Louis XVI. be asleep all this time? Believe me, *no*! When Louis XVI. shall be satisfied by our serious opposition, and our *Declaration of Independence*, that all prospect of reconciliation is gone, then, and not till then, will he furnish us with arms, ammunition and clothing; and not with these only, but he will send his fleets and armies to fight our battles for us; he will form with us a treaty offensive and defensive against our unnatural mother. Spain

and Holland will join the confederation. Our independence will be established, and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth.' Here he ceased; and Col. John Overton says he shall never forget the voice and prophetic manner in which these predictions were uttered, and which have been since so literally verified. Col. Overton says, at the word *independence*, the company appeared to be startled, for they had never heard anything of the kind before even suggested."¹

As we have related elsewhere in this work the events which preceded the Revolution, it is not necessary to repeat them here. The quarrel with England deepened rapidly, and at length a general Congress of the Colonies was summoned to meet in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. Mr. Henry had maintained his place as the leader of the cause in Virginia, and in addition to his labors as a member of the Committee to correspond with the other Colonies, had exerted himself to prepare the people of Virginia for the coming struggle. He was chosen by the Virginia Convention one of the delegates to the Congress. He made the journey on horseback, in company with Washington and Edmund Pendleton, and was in his seat at the opening of the Congress.

The session was opened with prayer, at the close of which a deep silence prevailed throughout the hall. The members looked around upon each other with anxiety, each one being unwilling to begin the proceedings which were to be so full of moment to the country. At last Patrick Henry rose slowly, and began to speak hesitatingly, "as if borne down with the weight of his subject." As he proceeded, he rose grandly to the duties of the occasion, and in his eloquent manner recited the wrongs suffered by the Colonies at the hands of Great Britain. He declared that all government in America was dissolved, and urged upon the Congress the duty of providing for the emergency by uniting the Colonies in a common system of resistance. "British oppression," he exclaimed, "has effaced the boundaries of the several Colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." The deputies were astonished at his eloquence, as well

¹ *Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.* Pp. 111-112.

as at the magnitude of the interests with which they were entrusted. "He sat down amidst murmurs of astonishment and applause; and as he had been before proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now, on every hand, admitted to be the first orator of America."

Mr. Henry was appointed a member of the Committee on the Address to the King adopted by the Congress. He gave his hearty support to the measures of the Congress, although they did not go far enough to suit him, and was rejoiced to meet with such kindred spirits as the Adamses, of Massachusetts. Congress adjourned in October, and Mr. Henry returned to Virginia. In reply to the questions of his neighbors as to who was the greatest man in Congress, he uttered the words which we have quoted elsewhere, and which shows how fully he had mastered the character of his associates in that body: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

The Virginia Convention met again at Richmond, on the 20th of March, 1775, and its sessions were held in the parish church of St. John's, the only building capable of accommodating so large a body. Mr. Henry, who had been elected a member of the Convention, repaired to Richmond to render with his colleagues a report of the proceedings of Congress, and to take part in the deliberations of the Convention. He soon found that the members were disposed to temporize, and were clinging to the hope that a peaceable settlement was yet possible. It was necessary to bring them to a realization of the situation of affairs, and to a determination to abide the consequences of their resistance. On the 23d of March, Mr. Henry rose in his place, and offered a series of resolutions, setting forth the conviction of the Assembly that a well regulated militia was the only proper defense for a free State, denouncing the employing of standing armies in America, and ordering the Colony to be put in a state of defense at once.

The resolutions were received by the Convention in profound and painful astonishment, for that body had not contemplated any more serious resistance than petition, non-importation, and

protests against the injustice of England. The resolutions were opposed by the ablest men in the Convention, such as Bland, Harrison and Pendleton, "as not only rash in policy, but as harsh and well nigh impious in point of feeling." They urged that a resort to arms was unnecessary, and declared that matters were now in such a position that a peaceful settlement was sure and close at hand. They declared that America could not hope to make even a respectable struggle against such a power as Great Britain. It was clear that the resolutions had drawn upon Mr. Henry the displeasure of the Convention, and it required more than ordinary courage to defend them.

He heard his opponents in silence, and then rose calmly, and with more self-possession than was usual with him at the first, began his reply. He commenced by saying that he highly respected the views and patriotism of the gentlemen opposed to him, but took leave to differ with them. This was not a time for ceremony, and he should speak his sentiments plainly. "He had," he said, "but one lamp by which his feet were guided; and that was the lamp of experience. He knew of no way of judging the future but by the past. And judging by the past, he wished to know what there had been in the conduct of the British Ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which the gentlemen had been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition had been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation—the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of

navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm that is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—*we must fight!* I repeat it, sir,” he continued with a calmness of tone that thrilled through the assembly, “*we must fight!* An appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us.

“They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of

those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!

“It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me,” cried he, with both arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation, “GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH!”

He sat down in the midst of a profound silence. Not a member could trust himself for a moment. Then several of the members sprang to their feet, and the cry “to arms!” seemed to quiver on every lip, and gleam from every eye. The painful silence was broken by Richard Henry Lee, who rose and supported Mr. Henry’s resolutions in a speech of polished eloquence. The members listened to him with impatience, and calls were made for the question. The resolutions were adopted, and a committee of which Mr. Henry was chairman, was appointed to prepare a plan for arming the Colony. The plan was reported, adopted, and put in force in due time.

Matters now came to a crisis in Virginia. Lord Dunmore

the Governor, seized the powder belonging to the Colony, and removed it from the magazine at Williamsburg, to an armed schooner in the James. The municipal authorities of Williamsburg protested against this act, and the citizens threatened to recover the powder by force. A few days later news arrived of the attempt of Gage to seize the military stores of Massachusetts, and of the battles of Lexington and Concord. It was plain that there was a general plan to disarm the Colonies. The volunteer companies of Virginia flew to arms in every county. Seven hundred men assembled at Fredericksburg to march to the capital, but were turned back by an express from Peyton Randolph, conveying the assurance that the Governor had promised to pay for the powder.

Mr. Henry was resolved that the matter should not end thus. The conflict must come soon, and it was better, in his judgment, to strike a blow which should put an end to the submission of the people to the royal power at once, than to wait until an armed British force should be thrown into Virginia. He therefore summoned the independent company of Hanover, and appealed to the members to sustain him. They made him their commander, and he set off at their head for Williamsburg, to compel the Governor to restore the powder. He was joined by similar organizations at every step, and it is believed that at least five thousand men were under arms and hastening to join him. The news of his approach threw Williamsburg into great alarm. Lord Dunmore tried to turn him back with a proclamation, but in vain. Captain Montague, of the Fowey, man of war, sent a detachment of marines to garrison the palace at Williamsburg, and threatened to fire upon the defenceless and unoffending town of York, if this detachment were molested. Still the force under Henry continued to advance, and the Governor, in great alarm, caused Richard Corbin, the Receiver General of the province, to meet Mr. Henry at Doncastle's Ordinary, in New Kent County, and pay him the sum of £330 for the powder that had been seized. This surrender on the part of the Governor accomplished the object of the expedition, and the volunteers dispersed to their homes. The money paid by Lord Dunmore was forwarded by Mr. Henry to the Virginia delegates in Congress. The

bold action of Mr. Henry was hailed with enthusiasm by the Virginians, and resolutions of thanks came pouring in upon him from every county.

Mr. Henry attended the Second Congress which met in May, 1775, but his presence being necessary in Virginia, he soon returned to his native province. The Convention, after the flight of Lord Dunmore, proceeded to put the Virginia forces in the field. Two regiments of regulars were raised, and Mr. Henry was elected by the Convention "Colonel of the First Regiment, and commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defence of the Colony." Mr. William Woodford was made Colonel of the Second Regiment. Williamsburg was selected as the place of rendezvous, and Col. Henry was at his post by the 20th of September. The Virginians were delighted with the prospect of having him for a commander, and his popularity enabled him soon to fill up the regiments. He had been so active in bringing the Colony to resistance that he was anxious to make good his words by serving his country in the field. The Committee of Safety, however, manifested a most singular distrust of his military capacity, and treated him with the most undeserved and annoying slights. When the Virginia troops were taken by Congress as a part of the Continental army, Mr. Henry, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia forces, had the mortification of seeing several of his juniors promoted over his head. He thereupon resigned his commission. His resignation produced an uproar in the camp, as the troops were devoted to him, and resented the shameful manner in which he had been treated. Serious consequences might have ensued, but he begged them to remain faithful to their cause, and to refrain from resenting his wrongs, and succeeded in inducing them to continue in the service.

Immediately upon resigning his command, Mr. Henry was elected to the Virginia Convention from Hanover county. On the 29th of June, 1776, Virginia adopted a State Constitution, and on the same day Patrick Henry was elected by the Convention Governor of the State of Virginia. The palace at Williamsburg was refurnished and prepared for his use, and on the fifth of July Governor Henry took the oath of office, and entered upon the discharge of his duties. On the 30th of May,

1777, he was unanimously re-elected Governor by the Legislature, and again unanimously elected in the spring of 1778. These repeated proofs of the confidence of his fellow citizens were most gratifying to him, and were well deserved. The three years of his administration extended over one of the most trying periods of the war, and he could do little more than endeavor to keep up the courage of his fellow citizens, and strengthen the hands of Washington. In 1778 he received a letter from an anonymous writer, the object of which was to win him over to the plot against the Commander-in-Chief of the army. He at once forwarded the letter to Washington, with one from himself expressing his friendship for and trust in him and warning him of his danger.

The Constitution rendered the Governor ineligible for a fourth term, and in May, 1779, Mr. Henry retired from office with increased popularity, having given universal satisfaction in the discharge of his duties.

In 1875, Mrs. Henry died after having suffered from ill health and loss of mind for several years; and after this Mr. Henry sold his farm called Scotch Town, in Hanover, and purchased eight or ten thousand acres of valuable land in Henry county, which had been so called in honor of him. In 1777 he married Dorothea, the daughter of Mr. Nathaniel W. Dandridge, and at the expiration of his term of office removed to his new estate, and resumed the practice of law. In 1780 he was elected to the lower house of the Legislature, and proved one of the most active and useful members of that body.

As Governor of Virginia Mr. Henry gave a hearty support to the reforms which Jefferson and Wythe and their fellow workers carried through the Legislature, and as a member of that body he was governed by the same wise and liberal principles. "He had a rooted aversion," says Mr. Wirt, "and even abhorrence, to every thing in the shape of pride, cruelty, and tyranny; and could not tolerate that social inequality from which they proceeded, and by which they were nourished. The principle which he seems to have brought with him into the world, and which certainly formed the guide of all his public actions, was, that the whole human race were one family, equal in their rights, and their birth-right liberty."

On the 17th of November, 1784, Mr. Henry was again elected Governor of Virginia, to commence his service on the 30th of the same month. His style of living was simple and temperate, but the salary of the office was inadequate to the support of his family; and he found himself so much involved in debt at the end of two years, that he resigned the office in 1786. He then removed to Prince Edward County, and at the age of fifty, was compelled to resume the practice of law to rid himself of debt. His pecuniary difficulties prevented him from accepting the post of delegate from Virginia to the Federal Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He did not approve the work of the Convention, and regarded the Constitution as dangerous to the liberties of the States. He therefore consented to represent the County of Prince Edward in the Virginia Convention, in the hope of defeating the ratification of the Constitution by the State.

The Convention met at Richmond in June, 1788. It was the weightiest body in point of intellectual ability that ever assembled in Virginia. Mr. Henry found himself matched against the ablest men of the State, many of whom were his fellow-workers in the Revolution. He fully sustained his splendid reputation as a master of debate, and his speeches against the Constitution are among his best efforts. His labors were in vain, however. The Convention ratified the Constitution, and he submitted to its decision. His opposition had not cost him any of his popularity, and he was able to secure the election of the gentlemen nominated by him to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Henry continued the practice of his profession some years longer, but would not engage in unimportant cases, or for the ordinary fees. In 1794, he retired from his practice, and gave up the remainder of his life to domestic enjoyment. He had spent thirty years in public, and had been always open and independent in his conduct and the expression of his convictions. His countrymen had been able to read his very heart, and he retired to private life with a character untarnished, and carrying with him the devoted affection of the people. He had paid his debts, had acquired a comfortable

fortune, and was in a fair condition to pass the remainder of his days in peace. In 1796, he was a third time elected Governor of Virginia, but declined the office. In 1799, having become alarmed by the controversy which was going on between the Federalists and the Democrats, he determined to return to the Legislature, and throw the weight of his influence in that body in behalf of Mr. Adams's administration. He was triumphantly elected, but never took his seat.

"It was in the bosom of his own family," says Mr. Wirt, "where the eye of every visitor and even every neighbor was shut out—where neither the love of fame, nor the fear of censure, could be suspected of throwing a false light on his character—it was in that very scene in which it has been said that 'no man is a hero,' that Mr. Henry's heroism shone with the most engaging beauty. It was to his wife, to his children, to his servants, that his true character was best known; to this grateful, devoted, happy circle, were best known the patient and tender forbearance, the kind indulgence, the forgiving mildness and sweetness of his spirit, those pure and warm affections, which were always looking out for the means of improving their felicity, and that watchful prudence and circumspection which guarded them from harm. What can be more amiable than the playful tenderness with which he joined in the sports of his little children, and the boundless indulgence with which he received and returned their caresses? 'His visitors,' says one of my correspondents, 'have not unfrequently caught him lying on the floor with a group of these little ones climbing over him in every direction, or dancing around him with obstreperous mirth, to the tune of his violin, while the only contest seemed to be who should make the most noise.'"

Mr. Henry was an unassuming, but sincere Christian. "Amongst other strange things said of me," he wrote to his daughter, Mrs. Aylett, a few years before his death, "I hear it is said by the deists that I am one of their number; and indeed that some good people think I am no Christian. This thought gives me much more pain than the appellation of Tory, because I think religion of infinitely higher importance than politics; and I find much cause to reproach myself that I have lived so long, and have given no decided and public proofs of

my being a Christian. But indeed, my dear child, this is a character which I prize far above all this world has or can boast. And amongst all the handsome things I hear said of you, what gives me the greatest pleasure, is to be told of your piety and steady virtue."

In the year 1797 Mr. Henry's health began to fail, and continued to decline gradually until the day of his death. Towards the close of the spring of 1799, the disease from which he had been suffering for the past two years hastened to a crisis, and he died, surrounded by his family, on the 6th of June, 1799.



ISRAEL PUTNAM.

(O)F all the generals of the Revolution, Putnam is *par excellence* the hero of romance, and was next to Washington the most popular with the army and people.

ISRAEL PUTNAM was born at Salem Village, now Danvers, in Massachusetts, on the 7th of January, 1718. His parents were in plain but comfortable circumstances, and were able to give him the ordinary education afforded by the New England common schools of the day. He grew up on the farm and became a stout, hearty, active boy, noted for his sturdy independence, his unflinching courage, and his generous and impulsive character. He was frank and manly, full of the love of fun, and very affectionate. He was quick to resent an affront to himself, and as prompt in the defense of others.

When a very young lad, he visited Boston for the first time. As he passed along the street he was taunted by a boy twice his size, and much older, because of the awkward and country-fied appearance of his clothes. He bore these taunts patiently for a while, but finally turned upon his tormentor, and, in the presence of a crowd of delighted spectators, gave him a sound thrashing. When he was nearly grown, he chanced to hear a neighbor's son speak most insultingly of a young girl of the village. He at once demanded of the speaker proof of his assertion, but the latter refused to comply with his demand, saying, "It's none of your business." "It's anybody's business to defend a good girl," cried young Putnam, indignantly, as he confronted the defamer. "I *know* you have slandered Nelly P——. You think because she is a poor girl, and has no father, that you may say what you please about her. Twice you've done the same thing. Now own to Charley D——, here, that you've lied about Nelly, or I'll thrash you."

Before he had attained his majority, Putnam married a daughter of John Pope, of Salem. She bore him ten children, and died just as the troubles which led to the Revolution were



ISRAEL PUTNAM.

beginning. Soon after his marriage he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, and settled on a tract of land he had purchased. He set to work to clear it up, and labored manfully to overcome the difficulties in his way. He was successful, and in the course of a few years brought his rough land under control, and had converted it into a smiling and pleasant home for his little family. He was accounted one of the best, as well as one of the most thrifty and prosperous farmers in his neighborhood.

He was much annoyed, and put to considerable loss, by the depredations of a she-wolf and her young, which for several years infested the neighborhood. In a single night in the spring of 1743, seventy sheep and goats belonging to Putnam were killed by these animals. The whelps were destroyed by the hunters, and the dam was at last chased by the hounds into a deep rocky cavern about three miles from Putnam's house. The neighbors collected about the cave, and endeavored to drive out the wolf with smoke and the fumes of sulphur; but in vain. The dogs were then sent in after her, but were driven out, maimed and howling. Finding that no one would venture into the cave, Putnam, gun in hand, descended into it, shot the wolf, and brought her out in triumph. From this time he was the hero of his community.

When the New England Colonies became engaged in the French War, Putnam was among the first to volunteer for service in the army. He was given a captain's commission by General Lyman, with orders to raise a company. This was an easy task for him, and he was soon on his way to Fort Edward with a company of rangers, composed of the flower of the young men of his neighborhood. His company was from the first employed on detached duty, and was constantly engaged in reconnoissances and similar expeditions. Putnam performed many daring and perilous exploits, and several times narrowly escaped with his life. After the defeat of Dieskau, Johnson built Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, garrisoned that work and Fort Edward, and dismissed the rest of the troops to their homes. Putnam returned to Pomfret.

In May, 1756, England formally declared war against France, and in the spring of this year Putnam was again in the field.

His company formed a part of General Webb's command, in Abercrombie's army. On one occasion, while reconnoitring near Ticonderoga, with a single companion, Putnam found himself far within the French lines before either he or his companion were aware of it. They were discovered and fired upon by the French sentinels, who slightly wounded Putnam's companion. They made their escape in the darkness, followed by a shower of bullets, one of which cut a hole in Putnam's canteen, and fourteen of which passed through the blanket he wore strapped to his back. He was engaged in several hard-fought skirmishes during the year. In the winter of 1756 the Connecticut troops returned home, and Putnam was rewarded by the Assembly of Connecticut with a major's commission.

In the spring of 1757 he returned to Fort Edward, and was once more under Webb's command. The latter had with him a force of 7,000 efficient troops, and when Montcalm laid siege to Fort William Henry, Putnam was anxious to go to the relief of that post. He was prevented by the cowardly Webb, who despatched a letter to Colonel Monroe, advising him to surrender to the French. Putnam was indignant at the dastardly conduct of his commander, and a few days later, when visiting the ruins of Fort William Henry, which had been destroyed by the French, he wept like a child on beholding the bodies of the garrison and the women and children that had been massacred by the Indians.

Late in August Webb was succeeded in the command at Fort Edward by General Lyman, an officer more to Putnam's liking. Putnam's command was stationed on an island in the Hudson, known as Rogers's Island. He was engaged in several sharp encounters with the Indians. One of these was fought in disobedience of Lyman's orders, for the purpose of saving a detachment of British regulars. He accomplished his object, and Lyman was too true a soldier to reprimand him. He spent this winter with his command on the island. Early one morning in February, 1758, a fire broke out in Fort Edward, and made considerable progress before it was discovered. The garrison turned out and endeavored to check the flames, but without success. Putnam and a detachment of his men crossed the river on the ice as soon as they saw the fire, and reached

the fort just as the flames were nearing the magazine. The water gate was thrown open, and the men formed a line to pass up buckets of water from the river. Putnam mounted to the roof, and as the buckets were passed up to him dashed them upon the flames. His position was one of imminent danger, but he held it until ordered down by the commander of the fort. He leaped to the ground just as the roof fell in with a crash.

The fire was now but a few feet from the magazine, and the danger of an explosion was imminent. Unmindful of it, Putnam sprang between the flames and the magazine, which was already charred by the heat, and dashed bucketful after bucketful of water upon the magazine. The example of his splendid courage was contagious. The garrison joined him heartily in the effort to save the magazine, and Colonel Haviland, the commander, exclaimed: "If we must be blown up, we will go all together." At last the flames were subdued, and the fort saved from destruction. When the danger was over Putnam withdrew, amid the cheers of the garrison, to have his severe burns dressed. His injuries were so serious that he was confined to the hospital for a month.

Putnam was with Abercrombie's army in the advance upon Ticonderoga, in the spring of 1758, and commanded the detachment engaged on the side of the English in the skirmish in which Lord Howe lost his life. He and his Rangers performed gallant service in this campaign, and after the return of the army from Lake Champlain, moved back to their camp on Rogers's Island, at Fort Edward.

A few days after his return, Major Putnam went on a visit to Fort Miller, on the Hudson, about nine miles below Fort Edward. He crossed the river in a bateau, and was about to land, when he was surprised by a large number of Indians, some rushing along the shore, and others bearing down upon him in canoes. He saw that to attempt to cross the river would be to fall into their hands, and that his only chance of escape lay in trusting himself to the mercy of the rapids, which were roaring over the rocks a short distance below him. He did not hesitate, but headed his boat at once for the rapids, down which it shot in safety, to the amazement of the savages, who had never ventured to descend them in their canoes.

Arrived at the foot of the rapids, Putnam made for the shore, and effected his escape. The Indians, believing that he was under the especial protection of the Great Spirit, abandoned the chase.

Early in August Putnam and Rogers, with their commands, amounting to about 500 men, were sent to South Bay to watch the enemy. Learning that a French and Indian force under Molang was trying to cut them off, they fell back towards Fort Edward. Near Fort Ann they fell into an Indian ambushade, and a desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued. Putnam became separated from his men, and slew several Indian warriors with his own hand. At length he encountered a stalwart savage, and presented his musket to his breast. The gun missed fire, and the savage, seizing Putnam, bound him to a tree, and in this perilous situation he remained exposed to the fire of both parties until the close of the engagement. Several balls went through his clothing and a number struck the tree.

The French and Indians were finally repulsed, and retreated, carrying Putnam with them. On the march he suffered many insults and cruelties from the Indians. At length, the savages prepared to put their prisoner to death with cruel torments. They tied him to a tree, and heaping dried fagots around him, set fire to the pile. Just at this moment the flames were extinguished by a sudden shower of rain, accompanied with severe thunder and lightning. The savages for a moment hesitated whether to continue the murder of one who seemed to be protected by the Great Spirit; but their ferocity got the better of their superstition, and the pile was lighted again. Putnam now believed his fate inevitable, and resigned himself to it, but rescue came from a sudden and unexpected quarter. Molang, the French commander of the party, having been informed by an Indian of the intended execution of Putnam, hastened to prevent it. He dashed into the throng of savages, knocking them right and left, and, tossing away the burning fagots, cut the cords of the prisoner, and rescued him from the horrible death that had been his fate had Molang been a few moments later. He severely rebuked the savages for their cruelty, and taking Putnam under his protection, sent him to Ticonderoga, where he was kindly treated by Montcalm, who forwarded him to

Montreal. Upon his arrival at that place, he was in a wretched plight. His coat, vest and stockings were gone, what little clothing he had was dirty and ragged, and he was cut and gashed with wounds, and swollen from his numerous bruises. His most pressing necessities were relieved by Colonel Peter Schuyler, a fellow prisoner, and he was soon after exchanged and permitted to return home.

The spring of 1759 found him with the army again, and as Lieutenant-Colonel he accompanied Amherst in his campaign against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The next year he was with him in the invasion of Canada, and was considered by the Commander-in-Chief his most reliable officer. Upon the approach of the English army to Fort Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg), they found the river which they must pass before reaching the fortress, defended by two armed French vessels. Amherst was in great perplexity, as he could see no means at hand of overcoming this formidable obstacle. At this juncture Putnam volunteered to capture the vessels, and was placed in command of a thousand men in fifty bateaux. He led the way with his boat, manned by a picked crew, provided with wooden wedges and mallets. His plan was first to disable the vessels by fastening their rudders with the wooden wedges, which would prevent them from manœuvring so as to bring their broadsides to bear upon the boats. The French were seized with alarm at the approach of the boats, and one of the vessels surrendered. The other was driven ashore and deserted by her crew. The passage of the river was thus left free, and the army crossed over, and in a few days compelled the surrender of the fort. Montreal and the other French posts in Canada were forced to surrender, and the power of France in America was forever ended.

After the surrender of Montreal Putnam returned home. In 1762, Great Britain having declared war against Spain, a powerful armament of regular and provincial troops sailed from the Colonies to attack Havana. Putnam accompanied this expedition as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Connecticut forces. When General Lyman was given the chief command of the provincial forces, Putnam became the commander of all the Connecticut troops. He bore himself gallantly in the siege of

Havana, and especially distinguished himself by his gallant conduct during a storm, which wrecked a large part of the fleet. He returned home at the close of the campaign, having greatly added to his well-earned reputation. He also took part in Pontiac's War as Colonel of the Connecticut forces, but had very little opportunity to distinguish himself.

His nine years of military service had made him one of the most noted and deservedly popular men in Connecticut, and soon after his return home he was chosen a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut. He became noted in this body as one of the boldest and most independent of its members, as well as for his strong good sense and sound judgment. He was one of the first in his province to propose measures of resistance to the injustice of Great Britain, and when the Stamp Act was passed in 1765 urged his neighbors not to submit to it, and to prevent the stamps from being used. At his instigation the people of the eastern counties of Connecticut assembled, and marched to Hartford, where they compelled Mr. Ingersoll, who had been appointed to distribute the stamps, to resign his office. Putnam was not able to take part in this enterprise, but sympathized heartily with it. He continued his efforts to prepare the people of his province for resistance, and his opinions were eagerly sought by them, and deeply influenced them throughout the whole controversy which preceded the Revolution.

During this time he frequently visited Boston, where he had many old friends among the British officers, who had served with him in the French war. On one occasion, during a conversation with General Gage, Lord Percy and others, he was asked what he intended doing if the controversy should result in the armed resistance of the people to the authority of the King. Putnam answered promptly that he would be found on the side of the people. They expressed their surprise that one so well acquainted with the power and resources of Great Britain should be willing to embrace a cause doomed to certain defeat. "Well," said Putnam, coolly, "if the united forces of Great Britain and the Colonies required six years to conquer Canada, it would not be easy for British troops alone to subdue a country with which Canada bears no comparison." General

Gage scouted such an idea, and declared that five thousand veteran troops might march from one end of the continent to the other unharmed. "So they might," answered Putnam, "if they behaved themselves properly, and paid for what they wanted; but should they attempt it in a hostile manner, the American women would knock them on the head with their ladles."

When Gage seized the Massachusetts powder at Quarry Hill on the 1st of September, 1774, the news spread rapidly through New England, and the people everywhere got under arms to go to the assistance of Boston. When the news reached Connecticut it was accompanied by a rumor that the people of Boston had been fired upon by the royal troops and shipping. Putnam at once summoned the militia of his neighborhood to accompany him to Boston. His call was answered by thousands, but the march was prevented by the arrival of more accurate information from Massachusetts. "But for counter intelligence," wrote Putnam to the patriot leaders at Boston, "we should have had forty thousand men, well equipped and ready to march this morning. Send a written express to the foreman of this Committee when you have occasion of our martial assistance; we shall attend your summons, and shall glory in having a share in the honor of ridding our country of the yoke of tyranny which our forefathers have not borne, neither will we. *And we much desire you to keep a strict guard over the remainder of your powder, for that must be the great means, under God, of the salvation of our country.*"

Putnam had now removed from Pomfret, and was residing at Brooklyn, a short distance south of that place, and on the eastern border of Connecticut. On the morning of the 20th of April, 1775, he was ploughing in his fields preparatory to planting his wheat and Indian corn. Towards noon a messenger dashed up at full speed to the farm, and informed him of the conflicts on the previous day at Lexington and Concord. The news was not unexpected to Putnam. He had constantly urged others to be ready at a moment's warning, and he did not hesitate for an instant as to his own course. Unyoking the cattle from the plough, he called to the lad who had been driving them, "Run to the house for my coat," and hastened

to the stable and saddled his fleetest horse. Without stopping to change his clothes, he mounted and rode to Cambridge, where he arrived late that night. The next day he took part in a council of war presided over by General Ward, at which the plan of campaign was arranged.

The Assembly of Connecticut at once recalled Putnam from Cambridge, in order to have the benefit of his skill and experience in putting the troops from that Colony in the field. He was commissioned a brigadier-general, and measures were set on foot to raise troops for the army before Boston. Putnam was too impatient to await the slow process of recruiting, but returned at once to Cambridge, where he was soon joined by three thousand Connecticut troops.

When the detachment sent to occupy Breed's Hill marched from Cambridge, Putnam followed them during the night, and though the senior officer present, did not assume the command. His object was simply to encourage the Connecticut troops by his presence, and he took his position with them at the rail fence breastwork on the morning of the 17th of June. As the British advanced to their first attack, Putnam called to the men in the breastwork, "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes; aim at their waistbands; pick off the handsome coats." Upon the repulse of the enemy, Major Small, a British officer with whom Putnam had formerly been intimate, was left alone by his men exposed to the fire of the Americans. A score of guns were levelled at him, when suddenly Putnam, seeing his danger, sprang upon the breastwork and called out, "Don't fire; he's a friend of mine." Every gun was lowered, and Small, raising his hat in acknowledgement of the act, walked down the hill.

Putnam now hurried off to the rear to collect reinforcements and hasten them to the line on Breed's Hill. On his return he met the retreating Americans, who had been driven from their position, passing over Bunker Hill. He at once endeavored to rally them. Seizing the Connecticut flag in one hand and waving his sword in the other, he shouted, "Make a stand here; we can stop them yet. In God's name, fire; give them one shot more!" His efforts were in vain; he shouted, he commanded, he pleaded, he cursed the men, and swore at them

like a madman, but he was unable to bring them to a stand. He was the last man to leave Bunker Hill, and finally succeeded in rallying a part of the troops, and uniting them with a detachment which had arrived from Cambridge too late to take part in the battle, took position at Prospect Hill and fortified it. At the close of the war the old hero, then an invalid on crutches, rose in the little church of Brooklyn, of which he was a member, and made a public confession of his profanity at Bunker Hill. "But," he added naively, "it was almost enough to make an angel swear to see the cowards refuse to secure a victory so easily won."

On the 19th of June, two days after the battle, Putnam was appointed by Congress one of the four major-generals of the Continental army. He did not receive the commission until the 3d of July. In the meantime, General Gage, through his friend, Major Small, had conveyed to Putnam the assurance that if he would embrace the royalist cause he should receive a major-general's commission in the British army, and a considerable reward in money. The offer was indignantly refused.

General Putnam bore an important part in the siege of Boston, and commanded the centre of the Continental army, which was at Cambridge. No works on the line were thrown up with such rapidity as those under his superintendence. "You seem, general," said Washington to him, "to have the faculty of infusing your own spirit into all the workmen you employ." Towards the close of the year 1775 one of the officers, writing from Boston, observed, "Everything thaws here except old Put. He is still as hard as ever, crying out for powder, powder, powder. Ye gods, give us powder!"

After the evacuation of Boston, General Putnam was placed by Washington in command of New York, and put the city under rigid military rule. He effectually stopped the communication that had been going on between the British fleet in the harbor and the city. Two days before the battle of Long Island he was placed in command of the American force on that island, in place of General Greene, who had been taken ill. "He was made happy," says Colonel Reed, "by obtaining leave to go over. The brave old man was quite miserable at being kept here." Putnam, new to the command, did not have

time to acquaint himself with the position before the British made the attack which resulted in the disastrous defeat of Lord Stirling's command, and the loss of the fortified posts beyond the lines. After the retreat from Long Island, Putnam was in favor of abandoning New York at once. He was overruled, however, and was left with five thousand men to hold the city, while the army withdrew to the upper part of the island. On the 15th of September, the enemy having landed on the upper part of the island, he was ordered by Washington to evacuate New York at once. He conducted the difficult retreat of his division with success. "It was a forced march, on a sultry day, under a burning sun and amid clouds of dust. His army was encumbered with women and children, and all kinds of baggage." "Without his extraordinary exertions," says Col. Humphreys, "the guards must have been inevitably lost, and it is probable the entire corps would have been cut in pieces."

In November, 1776, General Putnam was sent by Washington to take command at Philadelphia, and was ordered to fortify that city, the retention of which was of the highest importance to the Americans. He was also charged to overawe the Tories of that region, who were becoming dangerous. He performed his duties with his customary zeal and with success. While he was thus engaged the battles of Trenton and Princeton were fought. He rejoined the army after it went into winter quarters at Norristown, and was stationed by Washington at Princeton, on the extreme right of the line. His position was perilous, but he induced the enemy to think his force was much stronger than it was. "A British officer, Captain Macpherson, was lying desperately wounded at Princeton, and Putnam, in the kindness of his heart, was induced to send in a flag to Brunswick in quest of a friend and military comrade of the dying man, to attend him in his last moments and make his will. To prevent the weakness of the garrison from being discovered, the visitor was brought in after dark. Lights gleamed in all the college windows, and in the vacant houses about the town; the handful of troops capable of duty were marched hither and thither, and backward and forward, and paraded about, with such effect that the visitor, on his return to the British camp, reported the force under the old general to be at least five thousand strong."

The passes of the Highlands of the Hudson were of the utmost importance to the Americans, as upon their retention depended the hold of the Americans upon the river and the preservation of the communication between the Eastern and Southern States. It was essential that the command of this important region should be given to an officer on whose fidelity and abilities the Commander-in-chief could absolutely rely. Washington, therefore, conferred the post upon General Putnam, who, in the summer of 1777, established his headquarters near Peekskill.

During this summer the Tories of the region in which Putnam was encamped were especially active, and gave the general considerable trouble. One of them, a lieutenant in a Tory company, was caught in Putnam's camp, and was tried and condemned as a spy. As he was connected with the most respectable families of that region, great efforts were made to save his life, but Putnam, believing that a stern warning was needed, refused to interfere with the sentence of the court. Sir Henry Clinton sent a flag to Putnam on the morning of the day appointed for the execution, claiming the spy as a British officer, and threatening vengeance if he was not surrendered. Putnam returned him the following answer:

HEADQUARTERS, August 7th, 1777.

SIR:—Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy, lurking within our lines. He has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy; and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

“ISRAEL PUTNAM.

“P. S. He has been accordingly executed.”

Putnam was not troubled with spies after that.

On the 6th of October Sir Henry Clinton, who had ascended the Hudson with a considerable force, captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery at the entrance to the Highlands. At the commencement of the attack a messenger was despatched to General Putnam for aid; but he proved treacherous, and Putnam knew nothing of the attack until the forts had fallen. The loss of these forts compelled Putnam to withdraw from the mountains and leave the Hudson open to Clinton. Finding that the latter did not venture to improve his success, he recrossed the mountains with reinforcements and again occupied the Highland passes, while Clinton, having learned of Burgoyne's sur-

render, fell back to New York. Putnam was soon strongly reinforced from Gates's army.

While thus engaged, General Putnam was informed of the death of his second wife, to whom he was devotedly attached. She had died at the house of Beverly Robinson, and he hastened there at once, saw her buried, and stifling his grief went back promptly to his post. He was not the man to let his private woes interfere with his public duties.

Early in January, 1778, Putnam was ordered by Washington to fortify the Highlands securely, and to push the work with vigor. He selected West Point as the most suitable place for the proposed works. Forts Clinton and Putnam were built under the direction of Kosciusko. The greater part of the work was done after Putnam's removal from his command.

The loss of the Highland forts had given rise to such a strong demand for the removal of Gen. Putnam, that Washington felt obliged to comply with it. He wrote to the veteran, "General McDougall is to take the command of the army in the Highlands. My reason for making this change is owing to the prejudices of the people, which, whether well or ill-grounded, must be indulged; and I should think myself wanting in justice to the public, and candor toward you, were I to continue you in a command after I have been in almost direct terms informed that the people of New York will not render the necessary support and assistance while you remain at the head of that department."

Putnam cheerfully submitted to the decision of the Commander-in-chief, and returned to Connecticut, where he passed the spring of 1778 in raising and forwarding the new levies which enabled Washington to follow Clinton on his withdrawal from Philadelphia, and to fight him at Monmouth. In the summer of 1778, Putnam returned to the army, and resumed the command of the right wing.

The winter of 1778-79 was passed by the Connecticut and New Hampshire troops at Reading, in Connecticut. It was a season of trial and suffering, and at last the fortitude of the Connecticut men gave way. They rose in open mutiny, and resolved to march to Hartford and compel the Assembly of their State to supply their wants. As soon as Putnam heard

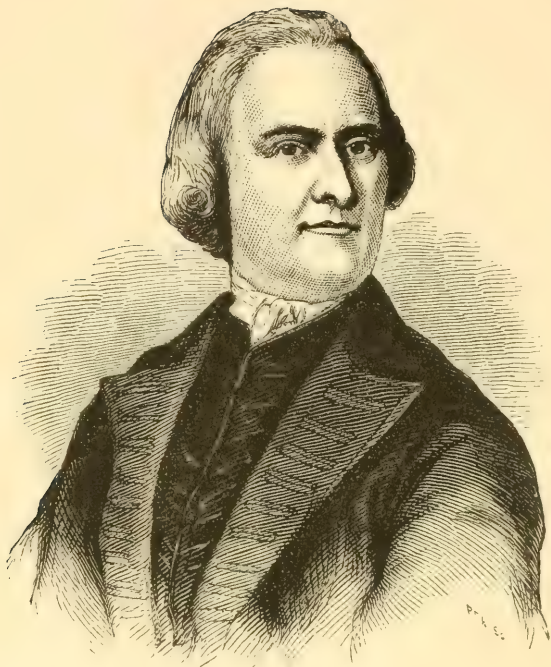
of the mutiny, he sprang on his horse, and galloped to the scene. He arrived in the camp just as the men were assembling under arms. Reining in his horse, he addressed them earnestly. "My brave lads," he exclaimed, "where are you going? Do you intend to desert your officers, and to invite the enemy to follow you into the country? Whose cause have you been fighting and suffering so long in? Is it not your own? Have you no property, no parents, wives, or children? You have behaved like men so far; all the world is full of your praise, and posterity will stand astounded at your deeds. But not if you spoil all at last. Don't you consider how much the country is distressed by the war, and that your officers have not been better paid than yourselves? But we all expect better times, and that the country will do us ample justice. Let us stand by one another, then, and fight it out like brave soldiers. Think what a shame it would be for Connecticut men to run away from their officers." The sight of their old general, and his rough eloquence, completely conquered the men. They gave him three hearty cheers, and dispersed to their quarters, resolved to bear their sufferings with patience.

During the same winter General Putnam was visiting at the house of a friend near Horseneck, now West Greenwich. He had just dressed himself, and was standing at the mirror in his room, shaving himself. While thus engaged he saw reflected in the glass a body of British dragoons marching up the road. He dropped his razor, seized his sword, and mounting his horse, hastened to prepare his small escort to meet the enemy. The British force consisted of a body of about 1500 men, under General Tryon, on their way to destroy the salt works at Horse-neck Landing. Putnam endeavored to check them with one hundred and fifty men, but his little band was soon routed, and he was obliged to put spurs to his horse and fly towards Stamford. He was closely pursued by a party of British dragoons. Perceiving that they were gaining upon him, he wheeled his horse, and dashed at a full gallop down a rocky declivity, reached the bottom in safety, and escaped. The dragoons did not dare to follow him down such a breakneck precipice, but sent a volley of bullets after him. Reaching Stamford, he collected a party of militia, pursued Tryon, captured forty of his men, and recovered a large part of the plunder he was carrying away

In the summer of 1779, Putnam rejoined the army and again commanded the right wing. When the army went into winter quarters he paid a visit to his family at Brooklyn, in Connecticut. In December, 1779, he set out on his return to camp, and, while on his journey, was seized at the house of his friend Colonel Wadsworth, in Hartford, with a paralysis of the right side. All attempts to conquer the disease being in vain, the old soldier was obliged to bid adieu to the army and retire to his home. Fortunately he was sufficiently well off in worldly goods to be able to pass the rest of his days in comfort. His activity, as well as his military life, was at an end, however, and the balance of his life was spent in peaceful retirement.

General Putnam lived for eleven years after his retirement from the army, receiving many gratifying evidences of the affection of his countrymen. On the 27th of May, 1790, he was seized with an acute inflammatory disease, and on the 29th expired peacefully. He was buried in the cemetery of the town of Brooklyn, and was followed to the grave by a vast concourse of the people of the surrounding country. A simple monument marks his grave, bearing this inscription: "This monument is erected to the memory of the Honorable Israel Putnam, Esq., Major General in the Armies of the United States of America, who was born at Salem, in the province of Massachusetts, on the 7th of January, 1718, and died at Brooklyn, in the State of Connecticut, on the 29th day of May, A. D., 1790."

To this brief inscription nothing better can be added than the brief but eloquent tribute of Irving: "A yeoman warrior fresh from the plow, in the garb of rural labor; a patriot brave and generous, but rough and ready, who thought not of himself in time of danger, but was ready to serve in any way, and to sacrifice official rank and self-glorification to the good of the cause. He was eminently a soldier for the occasion. His name has long been a favorite one with young and old; one of the talismanic names of the Revolution, the very mention of which is like the sound of a trumpet. Such names are the precious jewels of our history, to be garnered up among the treasures of the nation, and kept immaculate from the tarnishing breath of the cynic and the doubter."



SAMUEL C. ADAMS.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

IF the Revolution could have been the work of one man, that one would have been Samuel Adams. He was the first man in America to conceive of national independence, the first to propose it openly, and the first to labor and scheme for its accomplishment.

SAMUEL ADAMS was born at Boston on the 22d of September, 1722. His ancestors were among the first settlers of New England, and his family one of the most respectable in the province. His father was a man of means, and represented the town of Boston in the lower house of the General Court for many years, and until his death.

Young Adams was carefully educated, and after leaving the grammar school entered Harvard College, where he became noted as one of the most diligent and laborious students in the establishment. He became proficient in classical learning, logic and natural philosophy. Being destined for the ministry, his studies were particularly directed to systematic divinity. In 1740 he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1743 that of Master of Arts. On the latter occasion he chose for discussion the significant question, "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved?" and maintained the affirmative of this proposition.

For some reason unknown, Mr. Adams did not carry out his intention of entering the ministry, and upon leaving school was apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Cushing, a leading merchant of Boston. He was not suited to mercantile life, however, and gave but little attention to it. The study of politics was his delight, and he began the practice of contributing articles on political subjects to the newspapers of Boston. His father now set him up in trade for himself with a considerable capital, but his imperfect knowledge of business brought him to a failure in the course of a few years. When he was twenty-five years

old his father died, and, as he was the oldest son, the care of the family and management of the estate devolved upon him. He gave signal proof of his ability now by saving the estate from the loss of a troublesome suit in which it had become involved.

About this time Mr. Adams was elected to the office of tax gatherer, and in this capacity made his formal entrance upon public life. His political adversaries humorously called him "Samuel the Publican." The office was one which required considerable financial ability, which he did not possess, and he did not hold it long. He gave most of his time to political discussion, and was recognized as one of the most powerful writers and speakers on the popular side. By devoting himself so much to these matters, he became embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and his friends were obliged to assist him.

Samuel Adams was a true New Englander, and therefore was a firm believer in the power of association. His plan from the first was to combine the Colonies in a powerful organization for the protection of their rights, and he began by forming a private political club in Boston, of which he was the ruling spirit. This club became the secret source from which proceeded the steady and persistent resistance to British aggression, which, beginning in Boston, soon embraced all New England, and finally the whole country. Under his influence the club determined to resist every act of British injustice. Mr. Adams was well fitted to be the leader of such a movement. "His vigorous and manly will resembled in its tenacity well-tempered steel, which may ply a little, but will not break. In his religious faith he had from childhood been instituted a Calvinist of the strictest sect; and his riper judgment and acuteness in dialectics confirmed him in its creed. In his views on Church government he adhered to the Congregational forms, as most friendly to civil and religious liberty. He was a member of the Church, and in a rigid community was an example in severity of morals and the scrupulous observance of every ordinance. Evening and morning his house was a house of prayer; and no one more revered the Christian Sabbath. The austere purity of his life witnessed the sincerity of his profession. He was a tender husband, an affectionate parent, and relaxing from severer

cares, he could vividly enjoy the delights of conversation with friends; but the walls of his modest mansion never witnessed dissipation, or levity, or frivolous amusements, or anything inconsistent with the discipline of the man whose incessant prayer for his birthplace was, that 'Boston might become a Christian Sparta.'

"He was at this time near two and forty years of age; poor, and so contented with poverty, that men censured him as 'wanting wisdom to estimate riches at their just value.' But he was frugal and temperate; and his prudent and industrious wife, endowed with the best qualities of a New England woman, knew how to work with her own hands, so that the small resources, which men of the least opulent class would have deemed a very imperfect support, were sufficient for his simple wants. Yet such was the union of dignity with economy that whoever visited him saw around him every circumstance of propriety. Above all, he combined with poverty a stern and incorruptible integrity.

"His nature was keenly sensitive, yet he bore with magnanimity the neglect of friends and the malignity of enemies. Already famed as a political writer, employing wit and sarcasm, as well as eulogy of language and earnestness, no one had equal influence over the popular mind. No blandishments of flattery could lull his vigilance, no sophistry deceive his penetration. Difficulties could not discourage his decision, nor danger appal his fortitude. He had also an affable and persuasive address, which could reconcile conflicting interests and promote harmony in action. He never, from jealousy, checked the advancement of others; and in accomplishing great deeds he took to himself no praise. Seeking fame as little as fortune, and office less than either, he aimed steadily at the good of his country and the best interests of mankind. Of despondency he knew nothing; trials only nerved him for severer struggles; his sublime and unfaltering hope had a cast of solemnity, and was as much a part of his nature as if his confidence sprung from insight into the divine decrees, and was as firm as a sincere Calvinist's assurance of his election. For himself and for others he held that all sorrow and losses were to be encountered, rather than liberty should perish. Such

was his deep devotion, such his inflexibility and courage, he may be called the last of the Puritans.”¹

When the Stamp Act was proposed it was resolved by Mr. Adams and his associates to oppose it. A town meeting was held in Boston in May, 1764, at which the matter was discussed, and at his motion resolutions were adopted denying the right of Great Britain to impose taxes upon the Colonies, and urging all the Colonies to unite in opposing the measures of Parliament. “If our trade may be taxed,” said the meeting in the words of Samuel Adams, “why not our lands and everything that we possess? If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves? This annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. We claim British rights not by charter only; we are born to them.”

Mr. Adams, in September, 1765, was elected to the house of Assembly of the General Court as a representative from the town of Boston. In October of the same year he prepared the answer of the Assembly to Governor Bernard, in which the position of Massachusetts was formally taken in opposition to the injustice of the Crown. Mr. Adams did not confine his opposition to the Stamp Act to resolutions and protests, however. He heartily endorsed the course of the people in destroying the stamps and stamp office in Boston, but severely condemned the riots and public disturbances which followed, and gave his personal assistance to the civil authorities in their efforts to suppress them.

He opposed the taxes upon tea, oil, colors, etc., as even more objectionable than the Stamp Act, and as a clearer evidence of the design of England to reduce the Colonies to abject subjection. He was elected clerk of the Assembly shortly after his entrance into that body, and his influence over it soon became all-powerful. He remained a member of the Colonial Legislature for nearly ten years, and was regarded by the people as their especial champion, whose business it was to begin and to lead the opposition to the acts of the Crown. They were not disappointed in him. He was bold, ardent, and determined

¹ *History of the United States.* By George Bancroft. Vol. V., pp. 195-197.

in their behalf, and at the same time so prudent that he risked nothing by undue haste. He met the imposition of duties upon the articles enumerated above, which occurred in 1767, by proposing a non-importation agreement of the merchants. The measure was at once accepted and the agreement signed by nearly all the merchants in the province, who bound themselves not to import or order any but certain specified articles from England, after the 1st of January, 1769, until the duties were repealed. These associations spread rapidly throughout the other Colonies, and thus another step was made towards the union so ardently desired by Mr. Adams.

It was very plain to him that the scheme of the Ministry could not be enforced without the assistance of the troops provided for by the Quartering Act. He had studied the question too deeply, and his instincts were too true, not to be convinced that the employment of force must result in the total enslavement of the Colonies if not resisted; and he saw too clearly into the future not to know that successful resistance must end in American independence. From this moment he set himself to work diligently and unremittingly to bring about that glorious end. "To promote that end he was ready to serve, and never claim a reward for service; to efface himself and put forward others; seeking the greatest things for his country, and the humblest for himself." He was quick to detect the purpose of the Governor and Commissioners of Customs to employ force, and urged the people of Boston to resist the troops when they should come. He was not content with addressing the people at the public meetings; he sought them out at their places of business, in their homes, and stopped them on the streets to converse with them upon the subject. He declared that every soldier who set foot in Massachusetts ought to be shot down. "The King," he said, "has no right to send troops here to invade the country; if they come, they will come as foreign enemies." "We will not submit to any tax," he declared, "nor become slaves. We will take up arms and spend our last drop of blood before the King and Parliament shall impose on us, or settle Crown officers independent of the Colonial Legislature to dragoon us." He boldly asserted that the institutions of the Colony of Massachusetts were superior

to those of Great Britain, and reminded his hearers that their ancestors had fled from England to escape kings and bishops, and looked up only to the King of Kings. "We are free, therefore, and want no king. * * The times were never better in Rome than when they had no king and were a free State." No wonder that Hutchinson should style this man "the all in all" of the Patriot party; or that the cold-blooded Bernard should pronounce him "one of the principal and most desperate chiefs of the faction."

The troops arrived at Boston on the 1st of October, 1768. Their presence was bitterly resented by the people, and it required considerable tact and forbearance on the part of the patriot leaders to delay a conflict. It came at last, in the affair of the 5th of March, 1770, known as "the Boston massacre." The excitement was intense. On the morning of the 6th a town meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, and was addressed by Samuel Adams and others. A Committee was appointed to wait on the Governor and demand the removal of the troops from the town. At the head of this Committee was Samuel Adams. As Faneuil Hall was too small to hold all the citizens present, the meeting adjourned to the Old South Church, and overflowed it, and thronged the street between the church and the State House. Hutchinson endeavored to evade the demand. "The people," said Samuel Adams sternly, "not only in this town, but in all the neighboring towns, are determined that the troops shall be removed." "An attack on the King's troops," replied Hutchinson, "would be High Treason, and every man concerned would forfeit his life and estate." The Committee paid no attention to this warning, and repeated their peremptory demand. The Governor, thereupon, replied that the Twenty-Ninth Regiment, which was chiefly concerned in the affair of the previous night, should be removed at once to the Castle, but that the Fourteenth must remain in the city. He then cut short the interview by adjourning the Council to the afternoon.

As Adams and his associates left the State House, there was a shout from the throng in the street, "Make way for the Committee!" He, "baring his head, which was already becoming gray, moved through their ranks, inspiring heroic confidence."

Proceeding to the church, he made the report of the Committee to the meeting, and declared the answer of the Governor insufficient. In a speech of solemn earnestness, he urged the meeting to persist in its demand. A new Committee, composed of Adams and six others, was appointed to wait on the Governor and bear the final demand of the people.

The Committee repaired to the State House, and were admitted to the presence of Governor Hutchinson. He was surrounded by his Council, and by the commanding officers of the British land and naval forces on the station. Hutchinson had exerted every means in his power to have Samuel Adams arrested as a traitor, and sent to England for trial. It required, therefore, no ordinary intrepidity in the latter to head the Committee on this occasion. Looking his adversary calmly in the face, Mr. Adams said, with dignity: "It is the unanimous opinion of the meeting that the reply made to the vote of the inhabitants in the morning is unsatisfactory; nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of all the troops."

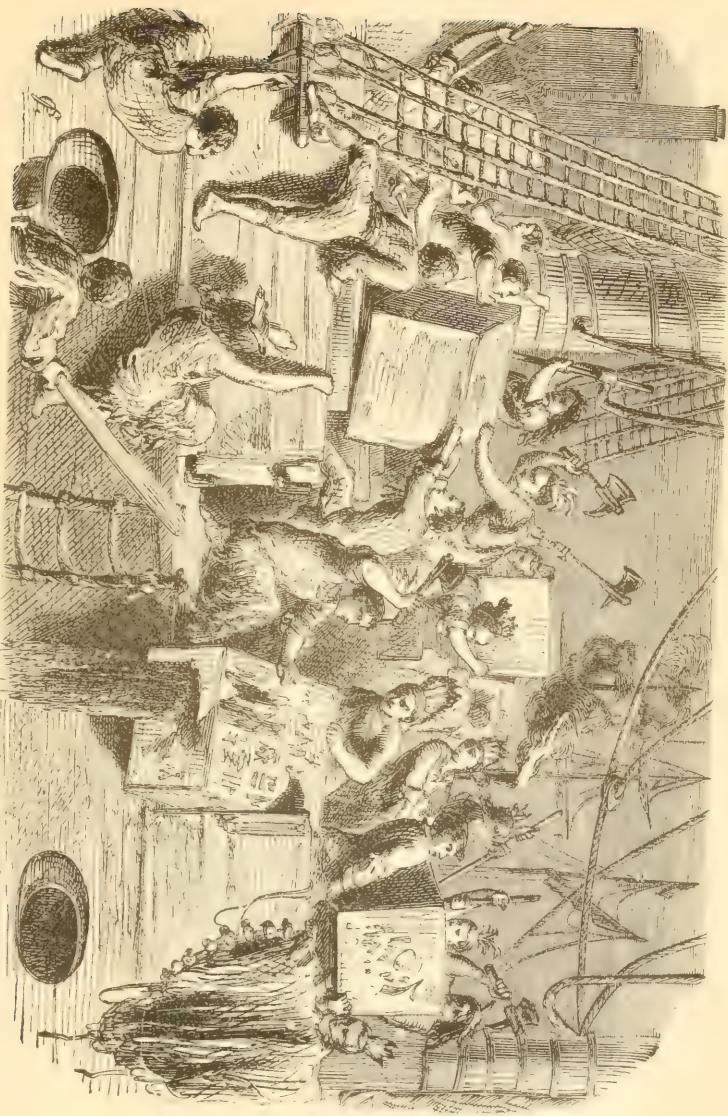
"The troops are not subject to my authority," answered Hutchinson. "I have no power to remove them."

Mr. Adams' indignation was aroused by the Governor's falsehood. Fixing his eyes sternly upon him, and stretching forth his arm, which "trembled at the energy of his soul," he said firmly and distinctly: "If you have power to remove one regiment you have power to remove both. It is at your peril if you do not. The meeting is composed of three thousand people; they are become very impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the country is in general motion. Night is approaching; an immediate answer is expected."

Hutchinson quailed before those calm, stern eyes, which never left his face, and when the Committee withdrew from the room, asked the advice of his Council. That body knew better than he that the people were ready to enforce their demand, and that the first shot fired in Boston would arouse all New England in revolt. The Council therefore advised the Governor to comply with the demand of the people. He did so, and the Committee were assured that the troops should be removed to the Castle the next morning.

We have stated that Mr. Adams' plan of resistance looked to a union of the Colonies. As a means of accomplishing that end, he at an early period of the contest became convinced of the necessity of establishing in each Colony a Committee, the duty of which it should be to correspond with the other Colonies with respect to the wrongs complained of and the best means of redress. As early as 1766 he suggested such a plan to a friend in South Carolina, but it was not possible to carry it out then, and he did not return to it until 1771. It was then not only more feasible, but a necessity. He did not venture to propose it to his associates until October 1772, and even then they attempted to dissuade him from it. Hancock pronounced the measure rash and insufficient. Adams persisted, however, and at a town meeting at Boston on the 2d of November, 1772, moved that a Committee of Correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to correspond with the other towns of the province. His plan was to engage all the towns in this correspondence, and then to get the Assembly to confirm the scheme and invite the other Colonies to join in it. The resolution was adopted, and a Committee appointed, which began its labors the next day under the guidance of Samuel Adams. Before the plan of Mr. Adams could be endorsed by the Provincial Assembly, the General Assembly of Virginia on the 12th of March, 1773, adopted a resolution proposing a general correspondence between the Colonies, thus carrying out the design which Mr. Adams had intended to effect through Massachusetts. The plan was put in execution at once, and in the spring of 1773 Committees of Correspondence were established in each Colony. Samuel Adams was enabled through these Committees to speak to all the Colonies as well as to his own province, and the Massachusetts Committee sent forth the stirring appeals to the other Colonies to be prepared to defend their rights to the utmost and to be satisfied with no half-way settlement.

Mr. Adams took an active part in the resistance of Boston to the landing of the taxed tea, and gave the signal for its destruction on the 16th of December, 1773. He then drew up an account of the proceeding which was forwarded by the Committee of Correspondence to the other Colonies.



DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

Repeated efforts were made by the royal authorities to induce Mr. Adams to abandon the cause of his country. He was threatened with especial punishment, and it was intimated to him that the royal favor and considerable pecuniary advantage would reward his desertion to the side of the King; but neither threats nor bribes could shake his fidelity. Soon after General Gage was made Governor of Massachusetts, he was authorized to make an effort to draw Mr. Adams from the popular cause. Colonel Fenton waited upon Mr. Adams, and expressed to him the great desire of the British Government to settle the troubles in the Colonies peacefully. He said to him that he had been authorized by Governor Gage to assure him that he was instructed by the home government to confer upon him such rewards as would be satisfactory, on condition that he would engage to cease his opposition to the measures of the government. He added, that it was the advice of Governor Gage to Mr. Adams not to incur the further displeasure of the King, as his conduct had already made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry the Eighth, by which offenders could be sent to England for trial of treason, or misprision of treason, at the discretion of the governor of a province; but if he would change his political course he would not only receive great personal advantage, but would make his peace with the King.

Mr. Adams listened quietly, and then asked the Colonel if he would report his answer literally to Governor Gage. The Colonel gave his word of honor that he would. Mr. Adams thereupon rose from his chair, and said to him impressively: "I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of Kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage it is the advice of Samuel Adams to him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

The Ministry resolved to punish Boston severely for the destruction of the tea. On the 30th of March, 1774, the Boston Port Bill was passed, by which that harbor was closed to commerce of all kinds. Gage was given a force sufficient to enable him to execute his orders, and was informed by the Ministers that acts of High Treason had been committed in Boston, and

was ordered to take measures to bring the leaders to condign punishment. Samuel Adams was especially designated as one who should be speedily apprehended and punished. Gage did not think it prudent to attempt to seize him just yet, and the unjust measures with which the closing of the harbor of Boston was connected roused the stern patriot to fresh exertions in behalf of his country.

Mr. Adams was anxious for a meeting of the Colonies in a General Congress, and when such a meeting was proposed by Virginia, threw all his influence in favor of the coöperation of Massachusetts in the scheme. The Assembly met at Salem in June, and its first act was to protest against the arbitrary order which had removed it from Boston. Mr. Adams was resolved that the Assembly should at once accept the invitation to join in the Congress and appoint delegates to it. Philadelphia was the place proposed for the Congress. It was central to all the Colonies, and there was no army there to overawe the delegates. The plan suited him admirably. He sounded the members of the Assembly privately, and found a sufficient number favorable to the scheme.

On the morning of the 17th of June, 129 members being present, he caused the house to give orders to the doorkeeper to lock the door and to let no one pass in or out without permission of the house. He then offered a series of resolutions appointing delegates to a general Congress to be convened at Philadelphia in September to consult upon the safety of the country. The resolutions were received with surprise and dismay by the administration members. The doorkeeper became alarmed, and seemed on the point of disobeying the orders of the House. The moment was critical in the extreme. Mr. Adams, seeing the hesitation of the doorkeeper, walked over to him, took the key from him, and put it in his own pocket. The resolutions were adopted, and Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin were appointed delegates to the Congress, and provision was made for defraying their expenses.

Before the business of the House was concluded, a member obtained leave to withdraw on plea of illness. He went at once to Governor Gage, and informed him of the action of the

Assembly. Gage immediately despatched his Secretary with an order dissolving the Assembly. The Secretary found the door of the hall locked. He knocked and demanded admittance, but was refused. Finding it impossible to enter the hall, he read the message of dissolution on the stairs. Without heeding this, the House proceeded with its business, at the close of which it quietly submitted to the fiat of the Governor.

Mr. Adams took part in the Congress at Philadelphia. He found congenial spirits there in Patrick Henry and the Lees of Virginia. He was under the necessity that we have spoken of in our account of his relative, John Adams, of appearing to give up the leadership to others, in order to win them over to a support of New England. Yet his influence in the Congress was marked. "He was," says Galloway, "the man who, by his superior application, managed at once the faction in the Congress at Philadelphia and the faction in New England." The main thing was to secure the support of the whole country for New England; that gained, he could afford to wait, for he knew the rest of his desires were sure of accomplishment.

Returning home, Mr. Adams gave himself with more than his usual energy to the work of preparing his native province for the struggle which was now close at hand. In October the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts met, and that body took measures for the formation of a New England army, and companies of Minute Men were organized. Mr. Adams was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety, charged with the conduct of the defense of the Colony. It was deemed best for John Hancock and himself, who had been marked as the especial objects of British vengeance, to remain absent from Boston during the winter and spring. In April, 1775, they were lodging at Lexington.

On the night of the 18th of April, 1775, Gage despatched a column of troops to Lexington and Concord, for the purpose of seizing the persons and papers of Adams and Hancock at Lexington, and of destroying the stores at Concord. He supposed the movement to be secret, but it was detected by the patriot leaders in Boston, and messengers were despatched to warn Adams and Hancock of their danger, and to rouse the country.

The message reached the patriot leaders at Lexington about one o'clock on the morning of the 19th of April. The alarm was at once given, and the messenger sped on to Concord. Adams and Hancock tarried to watch the Minute Men assemble on the Common, and then set out across the fields to Woburn, accompanied by several friends. A couple of hours later a British volley at Lexington began the Revolution for which Adams had toiled so long. It was a lovely morning. The day dawned brightly and peacefully, the air was heavy with the scent of the growing grass and the sweet spring flowers, and not a cloud obscured the sky above. The notes of birds were heard in the budding trees, and the morning breeze was soft and balmy. As Adams and his companions walked across the fields, the former was thoughtful, but not cast down. "It is a fine day," he said at length. "Very pleasant," replied one of his companions, thinking that he referred to the beauty of the morning. "I mean," said Mr. Adams, earnestly, "*that this is a glorious day for America.*"

He was satisfied as to what would be the result of Gage's ill-advised expedition. The Revolution had come. He did not expect that it would be an easy struggle, and he knew that it would bring with it hardship and suffering for the whole country; but he was convinced that the Americans would succeed if they but remained true to the cause. The end would be worth any sacrifice. "For my own part," he had written long before this, "I have been wont to converse with poverty; and however disagreeable a companion she may be thought to be by the affluent and luxurious, who never were acquainted with her, I can live happily with her the remainder of my days, if I can thereby contribute to the redemption of my country."

Immediately after the battles of Lexington and Concord, Mr. Adams hastened to Philadelphia and took his seat in the Continental Congress, which met on the 19th of May, 1775. His services in this body were important. He supported the proposal of his relative and colleague, John Adams, to appoint Washington Commander-in-chief of the Continental army. On the 12th of June, 1775, he had the honor, together with John Hancock, of being exempted by Gage from the general

pardon offered by that commander to the people of Massachusetts on condition of their submission. Mr. Adams was firm in his belief that the Colonies ought to declare their independence of Great Britain, and was consequently regarded with distrust by the more conservative members, who still hoped for a peaceful settlement. He came in for his share of the odium from which, as we have seen, John Adams suffered, but he did not possess the sensitiveness of his kinsman, and continued his course unmoved. He believed that the Declaration of Independence "should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775," and when that measure was proposed in Congress, gave it his hearty and powerful support. He had the happiness of signing the Declaration on the 4th of July, 1776.

Mr. Adams remained in Congress throughout the war, and was one of the most influential and active members of that body. He was also one of the most hopeful. Even amidst the gloom which marked the close of the year 1776, he did not despond. He opposed the resolution of Congress on the 12th of December to adjourn from Philadelphia to Baltimore. "I do not regret," he wrote in one of his letters at this time, "the part I have taken in a cause so just and interesting to mankind. The people of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys seem determined to give it up, but I trust that my dear New England will maintain it at the expense of everything dear to them in this life." His sole mistake lay in his hasty condemnation of the cautious policy of Washington, into which he was led by his ardent temperament. He did not at the time make sufficient allowance for the difficulties of the Commander-in-Chief, but afterwards did him full justice.

In 1779, Mr. Adams was a member of the Convention of Massachusetts, and was appointed one of the Committee to prepare a State Constitution. This Committee appointed Samuel and John Adams a sub-committee to draft the Constitution. Their report was accepted by the Convention, with some amendments.

In 1787 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution. He was not altogether satisfied with the Constitution, which he

feared would destroy the independence of the States, and consented to support it only on condition that certain amendments, which he prepared, should be proposed by the Convention to the other States. His amendments were accepted with some slight changes by the Convention, and some of them have been adopted by Congress and the States, and form a part of the "fundamental law of the nation."

In 1789 Mr. Adams was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Massachusetts, and was regularly chosen to that office until 1794, when he was elected Governor of the State. He was re-elected annually until 1797, when, feeling himself too old and feeble to continue in public life, he declined a reëlection, and retired to private life.

His last years were passed in great pecuniary distress. He had the patriotic satisfaction of seeing his country free and entering upon its great success, and he met with what is too often a patriot's reward, in being left in his old age to bear hardships which he might have avoided had his love of country been less ardent. He died in Boston on the 3d of October, 1803, in the 82d year of his age.

At the close of the first century of the independence he did so much to win, his native State has sought to commemorate his services by placing his statue in the Capitol of the Republic. His countrymen have not been so tardy in doing him justice, but have long since carried out the injunction of Clymer, of Pennsylvania, who declared, a century ago, that "All good Americans should erect a statue to him in their hearts."





ANTHONY WAYNE.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

ANTHONY WAYNE was one of the most brilliant generals of the Revolution. He was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the 1st of January, 1745. His father was a respectable farmer, and represented the county of Chester in the Assembly of the Province for many years before the Revolution, and his grandfather had distinguished himself as a captain in King William's army at the battle of Boyne. Anthony Wayne passed his early life on his father's farm, and received a fair common school education. He succeeded his father as representative from Chester in the Provincial Assembly, to which he was elected in 1773. He warmly espoused the cause of his country, and took a prominent part in the decisive measures with which Pennsylvania met the injustice of the Mother Country and placed herself on the side of freedom.

At the commencement of hostilities Wayne was appointed a Colonel of the Pennsylvania forces with authority to raise a regiment. This he speedily accomplished, as his influence in his native county was very great. He joined the Continental army with his regiment, and was sent with it, as a part of General Thompson's force, to Canada. He distinguished himself by his gallantry and good conduct in this expedition, and was wounded in the disastrous engagement in which General Thompson was defeated and taken prisoner. In spite of his wound, Colonel Wayne remained on the field, and by his exertions collected and brought off in safety the broken and scattered fragments of the troops.

In the campaign of 1776, his regiment formed a part of the force under Gates at Ticonderoga. That commander regarded him as one of his most efficient officers, and had a high opinion of his engineering skill. At the close of the campaign he was rewarded by Congress with the commission of Brigadier-general in the Continental army. He was assigned to duty with the army under Washington, and remained with it through-

out the war. He soon became noted among the troops for his daring bravery, which won him the name of "Mad Anthony," by which he is popularly known. Captain Graydon, who visited the army in the summer of 1777, thus speaks of him: "He entertained the most sovereign contempt for the enemy. In his confident way he affirmed that the two armies had interchanged their original mode of warfare. That for our part, we had thrown away the shovel, and the British had taken it up; as they dared not face us without the cover of an intrenchment. I made some allowance for the fervid manner of the General, who, though unquestionably as brave a man as any in the army, was nevertheless somewhat addicted to the vaunting style of Marshal Villars, a man who, like himself, could fight as well as brag."

The army at this period suffered greatly from lack of clothing, and Graydon testifies that Wayne endured the privations of his men. "Even in General Wayne himself," he says, "there was in this particular a considerable falling off. His quondam regimentals as Colonel of the 4th battalion were, I think, blue and white, in which he had been accustomed to appear with exemplary neatness; whereas he was now dressed in character for Macheath or Captain Gilbert, in a dingy red coat, with a black rusty cravat and a tarnished hat."

At the battle of the Brandywine, Wayne's brigade, with Proctor's artillery, was stationed in the centre to dispute the passage of the river by the enemy at Chadd's Ford. The British made no serious effort to pass the river at this point until their attack on the American right flank had fairly begun. As soon as the turning movement was discovered, Wayne was left to hold Knyphausen in check, while Greene, with the reserve, was sent to save the right wing. When Knyphausen heard the sound of Cornwallis' guns on the American right, he made a determined effort to force the passage of Chadd's Ford. He was held in check by Wayne until the latter was informed of the defeat of the right wing. Wayne then withdrew his troops and retreated to Chester. Profiting by the delay of the British, Washington withdrew beyond the Schuylkill, and took position near Philadelphia.

As it was the intention of Washington to attack the enemy

as soon as a favorable opportunity should offer, he detached Wayne, with his division, to get in the rear of the British and harass them as much as possible, and cut off their train should an occasion for doing so present itself. Wayne set off in the night, and by a circuitous march reached a point within three miles of the left wing of the British encamped at Tredyffrin. Here he halted and concealed his men in the wood to await the arrival of Smallwood and his militia, who had been ordered to join him. The weather was severe, and the British army continued in camp. Wayne remained all day in his place of concealment, his force being too weak to attack the enemy. He was in a country abounding in Tories, and information of his presence was conveyed by some of these to Sir William Howe. On the afternoon of the 20th of September, a strong detachment of picked troops, under Major General Grey was sent to surprise him. Grey deferred his attack until after nightfall. Wayne was warned by a countryman of the intended attack, but doubted the accuracy of the information. Nevertheless he doubled his pickets and patrols, and ordered his men to sleep on their arms. At eleven o'clock that night Grey made his attack, his men advancing in column with unloaded guns, trusting to the bayonet to do their work. Col. Humpton, Wayne's second in command, foolishly exposed his men, instead of retreating promptly in accordance with Wayne's orders, and the British charged him silently and with fury. The bayonet and the cutlass did their deadly work, and nearly three hundred of Humpton's men were killed and wounded. The rest were routed. Wayne poured a few well directed volleys into the enemy's ranks, and then retreating a short distance, reformed his line. The British did not advance upon him, however, but, satisfied with their night's work, retired, taking with them about eighty prisoners and eight baggage-wagons heavily loaded.

General Wayne was keenly mortified at the result of this affair, and as he was sharply criticised for it by some of the officers of the army, he demanded a court martial. The court acquitted him of all blame for the disaster, and pronounced his conduct all that could be expected of a brave and vigilant officer.

On the 4th of October, Washington attacked the British army at Germantown. Wayne's division formed a part of the right wing, and opened the battle by a sharp attack upon the British light infantry, which it drove steadily before it. After a stubborn resistance the light infantry broke and ran, hotly pursued by Wayne's division. The massacre of their comrades on the night of the 20th of September was fresh in the minds of Wayne's men. They remembered how the British had turned a deaf ear to the cries of their victims for mercy, and "they pushed on with the bayonet," says Wayne, "and took ample vengeance for that night's work." Their officers tried to save those of the enemy who cried for mercy, but the men were determined to give no quarter.

General Wayne won great credit by his gallant conduct in this engagement. He had two horses shot under him, and was wounded in the left foot and left hand.

In the council of war called by Washington previous to the battle of Monmouth, Wayne warmly urged an attack upon Clinton. It was a matter of principle with him always to support the most active and daring measures. In the battle which ensued, Wayne's division was especially distinguished, and bloodily repulsed the bayonet charge of the British grenadiers, led by the veteran Colonel Monckton. In his report of the battle to Congress, Washington said: "The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brigadier-general Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, throughout the whole action, deserve particular commendation."

The capture of the Highland forts by the British put the Americans to considerable inconvenience, and Washington resolved to attempt their recapture. He reconnoitred the works at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point in person; spies were sent into them, and information was collected from deserters. It was ascertained that the enemy had rendered the fort at Stony Point the more important work of the two. It was built on a rocky promontory, jutting far out into the Hudson, which bounded it on three sides. Between it and the mainland was a morass, covered at high water, which could be

crossed at low tide by a low causeway and a bridge. The fort was built on the summit of the promontory, and was armed with heavy guns, which commanded the morass and the causeway. The shore at the foot of the hill could be swept by the fire of the vessels of war anchored in the river. The fort was held by a garrison of 600 men, under Lieutenant-colonel Johnson.

There was only one way in which this strongly fortified post could be taken, and that was by a surprise. Washington, after weighing well the dangers and difficulties of the undertaking, proposed it to General Wayne. It was an enterprise well suited to this daring commander, and he is said to have replied to the Commander-in-Chief, "General, I'll storm hell itself if *you'll* only plan the assault."

The plan was soon arranged. The attack was to be made at night by a force of twelve hundred men in two columns, each of which was to be preceded by a storming party of between one and two hundred picked men of the light infantry. In advance of the whole was to move a forlorn hope of forty men—twenty in front of each column—commanded by officers of resolution and experience, who were to secure the sentries, drive in the guards and remove obstructions. The whole force was to advance with unloaded muskets, and to trust to the bayonet for success. The storming party was to be followed at a short distance by a strong reserve, to support it in case of need and to cover its retreat in the event of a defeat. "The usual time for exploits of this kind," wrote Washington to Wayne, "is a little before day, for which reason a vigilant officer is then more on the watch. I therefore recommend a midnight hour."

After securing the works at Stony Point, Wayne was to turn the guns of the fort upon Fort Lafayette at Verplanck's Point, on the opposite side of the river, which was also to be assaulted at the same moment by a force to be sent down from Peekskill.

For several days the fort at Stony Point was carefully watched, and every dog in the neighborhood was privately killed, lest the barking of one of these animals should betray the march of the detachment.

About midday on the 15th of July, 1779, Wayne began his march across the mountains to Stony Point. At eight o'clock in the evening the troops halted within a mile and a half of the fort, and Wayne and his principal officers cautiously advanced nearer, and carefully reconnoitred the works and their approaches. At half-past eleven o'clock the order was given to advance. The troops were guided by a negro man, who was well known to the garrison, to which he was in the habit of selling fruit, and who had for some time acted as a spy of the Americans. He was accompanied by two soldiers disguised as farmers. The first sentinel was encountered on the high ground west of the morass. The countersign was given by the negro, and while he talked with the sentinel, the soldiers seized the man and gagged him. The next sentinel was met at the head of the causeway, and was served in the same manner. The tide was in, however, and it did not ebb sufficiently to allow a passage of the causeway until after twelve o'clock. Three hundred men were left as a reserve under General Muhlenberg, on the western side of the causeway, and the remainder crossed the morass and gained the foot of the promontory in safety.

Wayne now divided his men into two columns, for simultaneous assaults upon opposite sides of the fort. One hundred and fifty volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Posey formed the advance of the right column, and an equal force under Major Stewart the advance of the left column. In advance of the first moved a forlorn hope of twenty men, led by Lieutenant Gibbon; and an equal force under Lieutenant Knox preceded the left column. Wayne led the right column in person.

The troops mounted the hill in silence, and were close upon the outworks before they were discovered. A sharp struggle took place there with the pickets, who discharged their muskets. The garrison, aroused by these reports, turned out promptly, the works were manned, and a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry was opened upon the advancing column. The Americans never paused, but pressed forward steadily, and forced their way into the work at the point of the bayonet. Colonel Fleury was the first man within the works, and pulled

down the British flag with his own hands. Wayne, moving at the head of the right column, was struck on the head by a musket ball. His aid-de-camp caught him as he was falling. Thinking for the moment that the wound was mortal, he exclaimed to them, "Carry me into the fort, and let me die at the head of my column." He was borne into the work between his aids, and soon regained his self-control. The two columns, sweeping all before them, burst into the works, and reached the centre about the same moment. The garrison immediately surrendered and the fort was won.

The Americans were flushed with victory, and might have been pardoned had they inflicted still greater losses upon the enemy. They accepted the surrender of the garrison on the instant, however. "The humanity of our brave soldiery," says General Wayne, in words which do him honor, "who scorned to take the lives of a vanquished foe, when calling for mercy, reflects the highest honor on them, and accounts for the few of the enemy killed on the occasion."

"The conduct of the Americans upon this occasion," says the British historian, Stedman, "was highly meritorious; for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword; not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat."

General Charles Lee, then in disgrace, generously wrote to Wayne, "I do most sincerely declare that your assault of Stony Point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, throughout the whole course of the war on either side, but that it is the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history; the assault of Schweidnitz, by Marshal Laudon, I think inferior to it."

The Americans did not fire a musket during the assault. Their loss was fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. The British lost sixty-three killed; and five hundred and fifty-three, including a lieutenant-colonel, four captains and twenty-three subalterns, were made prisoners.

Wayne immediately despatched the following letter to Washington:

"STONY POINT, *July 16, 1779, 1*
2 o'clock, A. M. }

"DEAR GENERAL:—The fort and garrison, with Col. Johnson, are ours: our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free. Yours most sincerely,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"General Washington."

At daybreak Wayne turned the guns of Stony Point upon the British vessels in the river and the works at Verplanck's Point. The ships dropped down the river, but owing to the failure of the force from Peekskill to co-operate properly, the attack upon Fort Lafayette was unsuccessful. In consequence of this and of the advance of Sir Henry Clinton up the river, Washington removed the guns and stores from Stony Point, and evacuated that post on the 18th.

In the summer of 1781, Wayne was sent to Virginia with a body of 900 Pennsylvania troops to reinforce Lafayette, who was endeavoring to oppose the force under Cornwallis. On the morning of the 6th of July, Lafayette was induced to believe that the main force had passed the James, and that only the rear guard remained on the north side of the river. He determined to attack it, and sent Wayne with a body of riflemen, dragoons and Continental infantry, to open the engagement, while he prepared to support him with the remainder of his force. Cornwallis had caused the information upon which the attack was based to be conveyed to Lafayette, and stood ready with his whole army to crush him.

The British pickets fell back, according to orders, before Wayne's advance. That general moved forward rapidly with the Pennsylvania line, 800 strong, and three cannon. He had just opened with his field pieces, when the British emerged from their concealment in the woods, and he found himself in presence of Cornwallis's whole army. It was a moment of extreme peril, but Wayne did not lose his presence of mind. With that sublime audacity which had gained him the name of Mad Anthony, he threw his whole force forward with a ringing cheer upon the enemy, with whom he became at once hotly engaged. At this moment orders arrived from Lafayette, who had discovered the true strength of the British, to fall back at once. Wayne did so in good order, leaving behind him his three pieces of cannon, the horses of which had been killed. The whole army then withdrew to a point of safety. Cornwallis declined to follow. The audacity of Wayne's attack caused him to believe that the Americans were stronger than they really were, and the sudden retreat of Wayne made him fearful that the movement was merely a feint to draw him into

an ambuscade. Night was near at hand, and he remained in his position, and thus allowed the Americans to escape the consequence of their error.

General Wayne participated in the siege of Yorktown, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis's army. He was then despatched to Georgia by Washington to take command of the American forces in that State. He defeated the British and Tories in several well fought engagements, and restored order in the State. In recognition of these services, he was presented with a farm by the Legislature of Georgia.

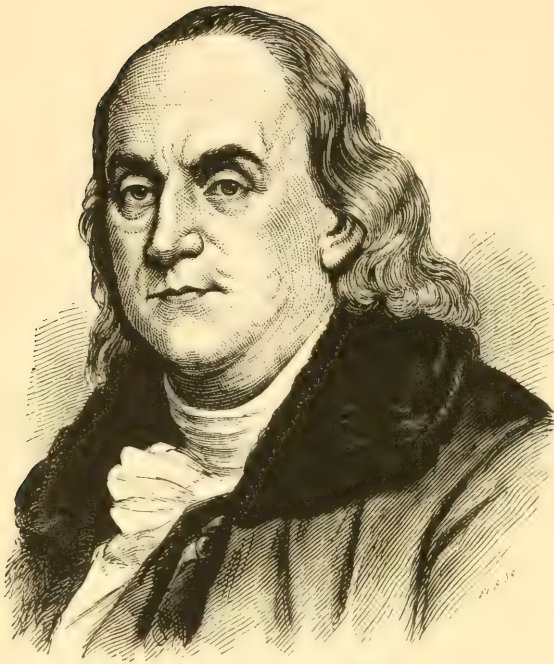
When the army was disbanded, General Wayne retired to private life. In 1789, he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Convention, in which body he warmly advocated the ratification, by the State, of the Federal Constitution.

Upon the defeat of General St. Clair, in November, 1791, that officer resigned the command of the Western army. President Washington appointed General Wayne as his successor. Wayne established his headquarters at Pittsburg, where he collected his force, and soon brought it to a high state of discipline. He then advanced into the Indian country, and passed the greater part of the year 1793 in pressing back the Indians and occupying their country with a chain of forts. The winter of 1793-94 was passed by him in camp on the site of the present city of Cincinnati. He had conducted his measures with such prudence and skill as to give entire satisfaction to Washington. In the spring of 1794 he again moved forward into the country of the Indians, who assembled in heavy force to oppose him. On the 20th of August he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the savages in the battle of the Maumee, and followed up this victory by burning their towns and laying waste their lands. In the summer of 1795, the savages, cowed by their defeat, and alarmed by the withdrawal of the British from the frontier posts, met General Wayne at his camp on the Miami, and entered into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded all the Eastern and Southern part of Ohio to the whites, and withdrew farther westward.

This was the last service General Wayne was destined to render to his country. He advanced with his force to Lake Erie, and was seized with his last illness, of which he died at

Presque Isle, in December, 1796, having nearly completed his fifty-first year. He was buried on the shore of Lake Erie. Some years ago his son Isaac Wayne, Esq., caused his remains to be removed to his native county. His grave is now marked by a tasteful monument, erected by the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati.





BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on the 17th of January, 1706. His father was a native of England, and was a soap boiler and tallow chandler by trade. At the age of eight years, young Franklin was sent to a grammar school in Boston, where he remained two years, studying hard and mastering the rudiments of an English education. When he was ten years old, his father took him into his chandlery to teach him his own trade, but it was so distasteful to the boy, that he was permitted, two years later, to become an apprentice to his brother James, a printer. This employment was thoroughly congenial to him, and he soon became a proficient in the printer's art. His natural fondness for knowledge now manifested itself in a marked degree. He read all the books he could borrow, and such was his zeal in his quest of learning, that he would often pass the greater part of the night in reading or study. He thus acquired at an early age a remarkable fund of information, and manifested a decided fondness for the Socratic mode of reasoning by asking questions.

In 1721, James Franklin began to print the *New England Courant*, the fourth newspaper published in America. Soon after its appearance, Benjamin Franklin contributed several articles to it anonymously, which were so well received that he determined to continue his efforts at literary composition. To improve his style he read *The Spectator*, and endeavored to imitate it. He was careful and laborious in his writings, and in the end acquired a style noted for its singular purity and simplicity. His brother, discovering who his anonymous correspondent was, made constant use of the young man's talents, and it must be confessed that the success of the paper was chiefly owing to the labors of Benjamin Franklin, who not only contributed his modest articles to its columns, but worked at the case and the press, and then distributed the copies of

the paper to its patrons. "The little sheet satirized hypocrisy, and spoke of religious knaves as of all knaves the worst." This was regarded by the authorities and by the more orthodox people of Boston as tending "to abuse the ministers of religion in a manner which was intolerable." The paper soon got into trouble, and for this Benjamin was in a great measure responsible; for young as he was he had read Shaftesbury and Collins, and had imbibed a large share of their skepticism. He was fortunately able to get the better of this influence in after years, but now it was all-powerful with him. In January, 1723, the General Court ordered that James Franklin's paper should not be published "except it be first supervised." In order to evade this prohibition, James surrendered to Benjamin his indentures of apprenticeship, and issued the paper in the name of Benjamin Franklin.

Young Franklin had no wish to remain in Boston. His liberal opinions had brought him into disfavor with the good people of that town, and his brother used him harshly and often beat him. He therefore resolved to bid adieu to his native town, and seek his fortune elsewhere. In October 1723, being then but seventeen years old, he made a bargain with the captain of a sloop to take him to New York, and sailed clandestinely from Boston. Upon reaching New York he was unable to procure employment, and resolved to continue his journey to Philadelphia. He went to Amboy in a sailing vessel, and from that place walked to the Delaware at Burlington. Embarking in a small boat for Philadelphia, he was compelled for want of a wind to assist in rowing the boat, and reached Philadelphia with his hands sorely blistered from this hard labor. He set foot in that city with but a dollar in his pocket, and without a friend. He had a rich capital, though, in his youth, his robust health, his habits of sobriety, frugality, and industry, and his indomitable purpose to succeed; and above all in the profound genius which burned within him, though he was yet unconscious of its force.

Leaving his boat, Franklin stepped ashore and purchased some rolls at a baker's shop, with which to stay his hunger. With one under each arm and eating a third; he set out in search of a lodging and employment. There were but two printers

in Philadelphia at the time, Andrew Bradford and Mr. Keimer. The latter employed the young man, and soon found him a valuable acquisition to his establishment. Franklin pursued his studies with ardor, and his excellent habits and love of knowledge made him many friends in his new home. Sir William Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania, took a great liking to him, invited him to his house, and gave him the use of his library. This was a great gain to the young man, as it not only placed the governor's books at his service, but enabled him to enjoy the benefit of the views of a cultivated man of the world.

Although Franklin was so young, the Governor advised him to set up a printing office of his own, and urged him to make a voyage to London to purchase the necessary articles. As Franklin had neither money nor such connections as would enable him to procure credit in England, the Governor promised to assist him. Franklin, therefore, made ready for the voyage, and just before sailing applied to the Governor for the letters he had promised him. He was told they would be sent on board, but when the letter-bag was opened as the ship sailed, he found that the Governor had neglected his promise, and had confined his assistance simply to liberal offers which he never carried out. He was obliged to continue his voyage, and reached London in the spring of 1724 in as destitute a plight as he had landed in Philadelphia. He lost no time in idleness, but at once obtained employment as a journeyman printer, and by practising close economy saved a considerable part of his wages.

He remained in London a little more than two years, and in October, 1726, returned to Philadelphia, as clerk to a merchant named Denham. Mr. Denham died in 1727, and Franklin went back to his old trade, obtaining employment with his former employer, Mr. Keimer, as foreman of his office. He proved very useful in this position, for his ingenuity was such that he could engrave signatures on copper, make wood cuts, design letters and make printer's ink. After remaining with Mr. Keimer for some time, he began business for himself in partnership with a Mr. Meredith. In 1729 he withdrew from this connection and continued the business on his own account.

He worked early and late, laboring steadily with his own hands; and avoided no toil, however humble, that could contribute to his success. He purchased a paper which had been conducted by Mr. Keimer in a wretched manner, and gave to it a sprightliness and vigor which attracted much attention. It did not yield him a profit, however, but soon involved him in debt, in spite of his economy and careful habits of business. He was relieved of his embarrassments by the generous assistance of two of his friends. He now added to his printing business a small stationer's shop, and from this time began to prosper. A few years before this he had married Miss Read, an excellent lady of Philadelphia, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter.

Though devoting himself with all his ability to his business, Franklin did not give up his literary pleasures. He pursued his studies with enthusiasm, and extended them beyond the field of literature into the domain of science. He organized a club called "The Junto," composed of acquaintances of congenial tastes. The Junto met every Friday evening, and questions of morality, politics, or philosophy, were discussed with ardor. The members frequently brought their books to the meeting for reference and discussion, and Franklin conceived the idea of founding a public library, to be supported by the subscriptions of its patrons. He soon carried this idea into effect, and established the noble institution which has since grown into the "Philadelphia Library."

In 1732 Franklin began the publication of *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Its quaint maxims of frugality, industry, temperance, and integrity, won for it from the first a great popularity, which proved more lasting than is common with such publications. He continued to issue it regularly for twenty-five years, and sold an annual edition of over ten thousand copies. In the last number of the almanac the maxims were collected in the form of an address entitled "The Way to Wealth," which has been published in numerous works since then. He suggested the establishment of an academy in Philadelphia, an institution which has expanded into the well-known University of Pennsylvania.

In the course of a few years he was appointed printer to the

General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1736 was elected clerk of that body. In 1737 he was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia, and soon established in that office the excellent system with which he managed all his affairs. Impressed with the necessity of providing some systematic method for the protection of property from fire, he organized in 1738 a fire company, the first ever established in this country. In 1744, the savages spread terror along the frontier of Pennsylvania during King George's War. An effort was made to induce the Assembly to pass a proper militia law, but proved a failure. Franklin thereupon proposed a volunteer association for the defense of the province. In a short time ten thousand volunteers offered their services. Franklin accompanied two expeditions to the west, and at one time held the command of the Pennsylvania Volunteers. In 1747 he was elected to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and continued a member of that body for ten years. He had now become master of a comfortable property, and was one of the leading men of his province. In the legislature his influence was most marked. He seldom spoke, and gained no reputation as an orator; but his views upon the questions before the house were eagerly sought, and he frequently, by a short, pithy sentence, decided the fate of a bill. He took an active part in the discussions with the proprietaries and their governors, and warmly defended the liberty of the people. He had in his newspaper constantly advocated the most absolute freedom of speech and of the press, and defended popular government as the best form known to man. "The judgment of a whole people," he declared, "if unbiased by faction, undeluded by the tricks of designing men, is infallible."

So well did he manage the affairs of the Philadelphia post-office that in 1753 he was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General of the British Colonies. The postal system had proved a wretched failure up to this time, but Franklin infused his own energy into it, and reorganized it upon an excellent basis. He made frequent visits to the prominent points of the Eastern and Middle States, and brought the service to a state of efficiency which earned him the gratitude of his countrymen. In 1754 he was sent to the Congress at Albany as a Commissioner from Pennsylvania.

This was the most important assemblage that had yet been convened in America, and met for the purpose of devising some plan for the common defense of the Colonies against the French and Indians. Franklin had long been of the opinion that the true interests of the Colonies required their union in all measures relating to their common welfare. Believing that the force of circumstances would soon drive them into such a union, he sought to accomplish that end through the medium of this Convention. Accordingly he presented to the Congress a plan for the union of all the American Colonies, which union he meant should be perpetual. He proposed that while each Colony should retain the separate and independent control of its own affairs, all should unite in a union or confederation for the management of their common interests. This confederacy was to be controlled by a general government, to be composed of a Governor-general and a Council. The seat of the federal government was to be at Philadelphia, which city he regarded as central to all the Colonies. The Governor-general was to be appointed and paid by the King, and was to have the power of vetoing all laws which should seem to him objectionable. The members of the Council were to be elected triennially by the Colonial Legislatures, and were to be apportioned among the Colonies according to their respective population. "The Governor-general was to nominate military officers, subject to the advice of the Council, which, in turn, was to nominate all civil officers. No money was to be issued but by their joint order. Each Colony was to retain its domestic constitution; the federal government was to regulate all relations of peace or war with the Indians, affairs of trade and purchases of lands not within the bounds of particular Colonies; to establish, organize, and temporarily to govern new settlements; to raise soldiers and equip vessels of force on the seas, rivers or lakes; to make laws, and levy just and equal taxes. The Grand Council were to meet once a year, to choose their own speaker, and neither to be dissolved nor prorogued, nor continue sitting longer than six weeks at any one time, but by their own consent."

This plan met with considerable opposition, was thoroughly discussed and was finally adopted by the Convention. It was

not altogether acceptable to any of the Colonies, each of which dreaded that the establishment of a central government would result in the destruction of the liberties of the individual provinces. Connecticut promptly rejected it, Massachusetts actively opposed it, and New York received it with coldness. Upon its reception in England it was at once thrown out by the royal government. The union proposed by the plan was too perfect, and would make America practically independent of Great Britain. The Board of Trade did not even bring it to the notice of the King.

Franklin regarded the failure of his plan of union with great regret. In after years he wrote: "The Colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to defend themselves. There would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of States and princes."

During all these years Franklin had steadily pursued his philosophical and scientific studies. He devoted a considerable part of his time to experiments in electricity, of which he published an account. He conceived the idea that the electric fluid and lightning were identical, and his experiments were directed to verifying this theory. In the summer of 1752 they were crowned with success. He made him a kite of silk, to the upright stick of which he attached an iron point. The string used was of hemp, except the part which he held in his hand, which was of silk, and a key was tied where the hempen string ended. Taking his little son with him, he went out in the fields, and on the approach of a thunderstorm raised his kite. A cloud soon passed over it, but no signs of electricity appeared, and the philosopher began to despair. At this moment he saw the loose fibres of the hempen string move suddenly and then stand upright. He immediately presented his knuckles to the key, and received a strong spark. The experiment was entirely successful, and the truth of his theory was established beyond the possibility of doubt. He published an account of his discovery, which made him at once famous in both America and Europe. A practical use of his discovery

soon suggested itself to him, and he invented the lightning rod, which has since come into common use. He was the first to suggest "the explanation of thundergusts and the northern lights on electrical principles. * * Nor did he cease till he had made the lightning a household pastime, taught his family to catch the subtle fluid in its inconceivably rapid leaps between the earth and the sky, and compelled it to give warning of its passage by the harmless ringing of bells." His accounts of his experiments, written in the simplest and most accurate manner, were read eagerly by the cultivated classes on both sides of the Atlantic, and brought him into correspondence with the learned men and societies of Europe; and he soon became the best known man in America. His writings on other subjects were largely read, and his influence became even more marked in the Old World than among his own countrymen. His mental activity was very great. His experiments in caloric led him to the invention of the fireplace stove which bears his name.

The affairs of Pennsylvania required that province to keep an agent in London to manage them, and in 1757, Dr. Franklin, as he was now generally called, was appointed agent for Pennsylvania and sent to England. No better choice could have been made. Franklin was now fifty-one years old, in the prime of life and intellectual vigor. He was in many respects the most remarkable man his country had produced. "With placid tranquillity, Benjamin Franklin looked quietly and deeply into the secrets of nature. His clear understanding was never perverted by passion, or corrupted by the pride of theory. The son of a rigid Calvinist, the grandson of a tolerant Quaker, he had, from boyhood, been familiar not only with theological subtleties, but with a catholic respect for freedom of mind. Skeptical of tradition as the basis of faith, he respected reason rather than authority; and, after a momentary lapse into fatalism, escaping from the mazes of fixed decrees and free will, he gained, with increasing years, an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God. Adhering to none of all the religions in the Colonies, he yet devoutly, though without form, adhered to religion. But, though famous as a disputant, and having a natural aptitude for metaphysics, he obeyed the ten-

dencies of his age, and sought, by observation, to win an insight into the mysteries of being. Loving truth, without prejudice and without bias, he discerned intuitively the identity of the laws of nature with those of which humanity is conscious; so that his mind was like a mirror, in which the universe, as it reflected itself, revealed her laws. He was free from mysticism, even to a fault. His morality, repudiating ascetic severities, and the system which enjoins them, was indulgent to appetites of which he abhorred the sway: but his affections were of a calm intensity; in all his career, the love of man gained the mastery over personal interest. He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator; but an exquisite propriety, parsimonious of ornament, gave ease of expression and graceful simplicity even to his most careless writings. In life, also, his tastes were delicate. Indifferent to the pleasures of the table, he relished the delights of music and harmony, of which he enlarged the instruments. His blandness of temper, his modesty, the benignity of his manners, made him the favorite of intelligent society; and, with healthy cheerfulness, he derived pleasure from books, from philosophy, from conversation—now calmly administering consolation to the sorrower, now indulging in the expression of light-hearted gayety. In his intercourse, the universality of his perceptions bore, perhaps, the character of humor; but, while he clearly discerned the contrast between the grandeur of the universe and the feebleness of man, a serene benevolence saved him from contempt of his race, or disgust at its toils. To superficial observers he might have seemed as an alien from speculative truth, limiting himself to the world of the senses; and yet, in study, and among men, his mind always sought, with unaffected simplicity, to discover and apply the general principles by which nature and affairs are controlled,—now deducing from the theory of caloric improvements in fire-places and lanterns, and now advancing human freedom by firm inductions from the inalienable rights of man. Never professing enthusiasm, never making a parade of sentiment, his practical wisdom was sometimes mistaken for the offspring of selfish prudence; yet his hope was steadfast, like that hope which rests on the Rock of Ages, and his conduct was as un-

erring as though the light that led him was a light from heaven. He never anticipated action by theories of self-sacrificing virtue; and yet, in the moments of intense activity, he, from the highest abodes of ideal truth, brought down and applied to the affairs of life the sublimest principles of goodness, as noiselessly and unostentatiously as became the man who, with a kite and hempen string, drew the lightning from the skies. He separated himself so little from his age that he has been called the representative of materialism; and yet, when he thought on religion, his mind passed beyond reliance on sects to faith in God: when he wrote on politics, he founded the freedom of his country on principles that knew no change: when he turned an observing eye on nature, he passed always from the effect to the cause, from individual appearances to universal laws: when he reflected on history, his philosophic mind found gladness and repose in the clear anticipation of the progress of humanity.”¹

Franklin remained abroad for nearly eighteen years. His official position brought him in constant contact with the public men of Great Britain, and enabled him to study them and their aims more clearly than was possible to his compatriots at home; and his reputation as a scientist made him the associate of the learned men of England. He was among the first to detect the purpose of the English aristocracy to destroy the liberties of the colonies. He sent information of the course of affairs to his countrymen at home, and warned them to be on the alert, and at the same time exerted himself to draw the Ministers from their purpose. He was firmly opposed to the Stamp Act, and warned Grenville and his associates of the consequences of that measure. He induced the other Colonial agents to unite with him in his representations to the Ministry, but in vain. “We might as well have tried to hinder the sun’s setting,” said Franklin. The Ministers were resolved upon taxing America, and nothing could move them from their purpose. “We have power to tax them,” said one of the Ministers, “and we will tax them.”

The Stamp Act was passed, and the result was as Franklin

¹ *Bancroft.*

had warned the Ministers. The non-intercourse policy of the Colonies met with his hearty approval, and he was a witness to its good effect in the growing uneasiness and alarm with which the English merchants viewed the falling off of their American trade.

The demand for the repeal of the Stamp Act came soon, and was supported by Pitt, Burke, and the other friends of the Colonies in Parliament, and without the walls of St. Stephen's by the merchants of all England. The Ministers and Parliament had already begun to waver; but before yielding, they wished to ascertain from competent witnesses the exact temper and disposition of the Americans. All turned to Dr. Franklin as the one most capable of supplying this information, and he was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Commons. He appeared in answer to the summons on the 13th of February, 1766. His position was trying and delicate. He was to speak for his country, and he must make the sentiment of America so plain that Parliament could not mistake it. At the same time, he must beware of uttering a word that could offend the dignity of the British Government, or injure the cause of his country. He had need of all his firmness and self-possession, and of his courage also, as his answers might bring upon him the anger of the Government. He was questioned by Grenville and Charles Townsend, and several friends of the administration, and answered readily and calmly.

In answer to the questions asked him, Franklin told the Commons that the Colonists could not pay for the stamps, as there was not gold and silver enough in America for that purpose; that they had incurred more than their share of the expenses of the last war, for which Great Britain had not reimbursed them; that they were still burdened with heavy debts contracted in the prosecution of this war; that they were well disposed towards Great Britain prior to 1763, and considered Parliament as "the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges; but that now their temper was much altered, and their respect for it lessened; and if the act is not repealed, the consequence would be a total loss of the respect and affection they bore to this country, and of all the commerce that depended on that respect and affection."

"Do you think it right," asked Grenville, "that America should be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expense?" "That is not the case," answered Franklin; "the Colonies raised, clothed, and paid during the last war twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions." "Were you not reimbursed by Parliament?" asked Grenville. "Only what in your opinion," replied Franklin, "we had advanced beyond our proportion; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about five hundred thousand pounds, and the reimbursement, in the whole, did not exceed sixty thousand pounds."

"Do you think the people of America would submit to pay the Stamp Duty if it was moderated?" "No; never. They will never submit to it." "May not a military force," asked one of the Ministers, "carry the Stamp Act into execution?" "Suppose a military force sent to America," answered Franklin; "they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one."

"How would the Americans receive a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act?" "Just as they do this; they would not pay it." "What will be the opinion of the Americans on the resolutions of this House and the House of Lords, asserting the right of Parliament to tax the people there?" "They will think the resolutions unconstitutional and unjust." "How would they receive an internal regulation connected with a tax?" "It would be objected to. When aids to the crown are wanted, they are, according to the old established usage, to be asked of the Assemblies, who will, as they have always done, grant them freely. They think it extremely hard that a body in which they have no representatives should make a merit of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right which is the security of all their other rights."

"But if the Legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?" "An internal tax," said Franklin, "how small soever, laid by the Legislature

here, on the people there, will never be submitted to. They will oppose it to the last." "The people," he answered again to the same question under many forms, "the people will pay no internal tax by Parliament."

"Is there any kind of difference," asked Grenville, "between external and internal taxes, to the Colony on which they may be laid?" "The people may refuse commodities, of which the duty makes a part of the price; but an internal tax is forced from them without their consent. The Stamp Act says, we shall have no commerce; make no exchange of property with each other; neither purchase, nor grant, nor record debts; nor marry, nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it." "But suppose," continued the Ministry, "the external duty be laid on the necessaries of life." The answer of Franklin startled the house. "I do not know," he said, "a single article imported into the Northern Colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves. The people will spin and work for themselves, in their own houses. In three years there may be wool and manufactures enough."

"Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the charter of Pennsylvania?" asked a friend of Grenville. "No," said Franklin, "I believe not." "Then," continued the interrogator, "may they not, by the same interpretation of their common rights as Englishmen, as declared by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, object to the Parliament's right of external taxation?" "They never have hitherto," answered Franklin quickly. "Many arguments have been lately used here to show them that there is no difference, and that, if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or to make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may be convinced by these arguments."¹

Franklin's testimony was conclusive. The Stamp Act was repealed.

The conduct of Franklin and his answers during his examination were warmly endorsed by his countrymen. They drew

¹ *Bancroft's History of the United States.* Vol. V., pp. 428-433.

upon him the hostility of the Ministers and their supporters, however, as it was very plain that his sympathies were with his oppressed country. In October, 1770, the Massachusetts Assembly elected him the agent of the Colony. "The difficult service demanded of him by the Colony of his nativity was rendered with exemplary fidelity and disinterestedness, amidst embarrassments of all kinds."

Three years later Franklin's fidelity to his trust cost him a sharp and painful trial. He was most energetic in his efforts to turn the British Government from its suicidal course respecting America. In the autumn of 1772, a member of Parliament informed him that his opposition to the policy of the Government was very strange, because every "measure and every grievance complained of took their rise, not from the British Government, but were projected, proposed to the Administration, solicited and obtained by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves, as necessary for the welfare of that country." Franklin was naturally incredulous, and the member obtained the letters written by Hutchinson, the Governor, Oliver, the Chief Justice, of Massachusetts, and others, urging coercion as the only means of dealing with the Americans. Franklin gave his word not to name the parties from whom the letters were conveyed to him. He was authorized to send them to America, to be submitted there to the Corresponding Committee of the Massachusetts Assembly, and such others as the Chairman of that Committee might think proper. A perusal of these documents showed Franklin that nearly all the arbitrary measures of the British Government had been suggested by Hutchinson and his colleagues. He at once forwarded the correspondence in an official letter to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, in which he publicly accused Hutchinson and the others of attempting to betray the liberties of America. He concealed nothing but the source from which he had obtained the letters.

The letters were read in the Assembly in secret session, and the House requested the Governor to furnish copies of them. Hutchinson's reply was taken by the House as permission to publish the originals. The letters were thereupon printed and circulated throughout the Colonies. They raised a storm of

indignation before which Hutchinson quailed. Both Houses of the General Court, by a unanimous vote, adopted a petition to the King praying the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver from the Government. The petition was forwarded to Franklin, who was ordered to present it to the King.

The petition reached England in December, 1773, and was delivered by Franklin to Lord Dartmouth, who promised to lay it before the King. The publication of the letters had created no little excitement in England. Hutchinson was unwearied in his efforts to screen himself from the just reward of his villainy by charging Franklin with having dishonestly obtained the correspondence. He had friends and supporters in England, who readily joined in the cry, and the press was employed to accuse certain persons of having aided Franklin in his efforts to obtain the letters. The Court, which had all along resented Franklin's firm defense of his country's liberties, viewed the exposure of Hutchinson's treachery to Massachusetts with such open disfavor that no one ventured to uphold the act. The member of Parliament who had given him the letters refused to allow his name to be disclosed; and to put a stop to the quarrels which were growing out of the act, Franklin assumed the entire responsibility of the exposure, which every one else was anxious to deny. "I alone am the person," said he, "who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question."

This bold assumption drew upon him the rage of the entire Court party, which had now an opportunity to punish him for his opposition to their unjust treatment of his country. He was openly threatened with dismissal from his office, arrest, imprisonment at Newgate, and a prosecution for treason. Even the public sentiment, which had been greatly embittered by the refusal of the Americans to allow the tea to be landed, turned against him. All this because he had merely done his duty in exposing a conspiracy against the liberties of the province of which he was the sworn agent.

The hearing of the petition was set down for the 29th of January. On that day Franklin, accompanied by counsel, appeared before the Privy Council in behalf of the petition. Hutchinson and Oliver were represented by Mauduit, and by Wedderburn, the Solicitor General. The case was opened by

Dunning and Lee, the counsel of Franklin, who showed the cause of the petition, and when they closed, it was the opinion of the Council that Hutchinson ought to be removed. Wedderburn, who sought only the favor of the King, adroitly changed the issue, and embarked in a denunciation of Franklin. His speech was a tissue of falsehood and coarse abuse, and he so thoroughly aroused the prejudices of the Lords of Council, that he was openly encouraged by the laughter and plaudits of this body, "which professed to be sitting in judgment as the highest Court of Appeal for the Colonies." "Meantime the gray-haired Franklin, whom Kant, the noblest philosopher of that age, had called the modern Prometheus, stood conspicuously erect, confronting his vilifier and the Privy Council, compelled to listen while calumny, in the service of lawless force, aimed a death-blow at his honor." As he left the chamber, the outraged statesman said to Dr. Priestly, who was one of the audience, "I have never been so sensible to the power of a good conscience; for if I had not considered the thing for which I have been so much insulted as one of the best actions of my life, and what I should certainly do again in the same circumstances, I could not have supported it." The Royal Government followed up its brutal treatment of Franklin by dismissing him from his office of Deputy Postmaster General for the Colonies. The American postal service "had yielded no revenue till he organized it, and yielded none after his dismissal." The King refused to entertain the petition of Massachusetts.

Rising superior to all personal considerations, Franklin decided to retain his place in England. During his whole residence in that country, he had labored earnestly for conciliation, and all the trouble that had occurred had grown out of the Government's neglect of his advice. The introduction of the Boston Port Bill, and the other measures which accompanied it, showed him that the crisis was at hand in the controversy between the Colonies and the Crown. He would make one more effort to effect a peaceful settlement, though he had little hope of being able to do so. He sincerely desired the continuance of the connection between America and Great Britain, but only upon terms consistent with the freedom and

honor of his country. He was constantly appealed to by Lord North and his supporters to know the demands and sentiments of the Americans. He made these so clear that there was no excuse for the Ministry if they failed to understand them. He received and presented the petition addressed to the King by the Continental Congress in 1774, which was coldly received and thrown aside by the sovereign. His continued residence in London was not without personal risk. He was regarded by the aristocratic party as one of the most resolute of the "rebellious Americans," and had no certainty how long he might continue to enjoy his liberty. It was believed by the Ministry that he had secret instructions to modify the conditions proposed by the Congress for reconciliation, and Lord Howe undertook to ascertain the extent of his powers. "If you will indulge me with your ideas," said Howe, "I may be the means of bringing on a good understanding." Tears of joy started from Franklin's eyes at this prospect of a settlement. "With firmness, candor, and strict fidelity to Congress, he explained the measures by which alone tranquility could be restored. * * The repeal of the acts complained of; the removal of the fleet and the troops from Boston; and a voluntary recall of some oppressive measures which the Colonists had passed over in silence; leaving the questions which related to aids, general commerce, and reparation to the India Company, to be arranged at the next general Congress." Nothing came of this interview. The offers of Congress were rejected, and the British Government proceeded to drive the Colonies into armed resistance.

Franklin continued to labor in behalf of an equitable settlement, long after the harsh treatment of Massachusetts, the military occupation of Boston, the closing of that port and other repressive measures had destroyed in his breast all hope of a peaceful adjustment. Lord North shrank from carrying out measures from which his better nature revolted, and vainly sought to draw Franklin into a compromise. The American knew that his countrymen would not abate their claims. In February, 1775, he said to the agents of Lord North, "While Parliament claims the right of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there can be no agreement, for we are rendered

unsafe in every privilege." "An agreement is necessary for America," said the agents of the Prime Minister; "it is so easy for Britain to burn all your seaport towns." "My little property," said Franklin calmly, "consists of houses in those towns. You may make bonfires of them whenever you please; the fear of losing them will never alter my resolution to resist to the last the claim of Parliament."

At last, satisfied that he could no longer serve his country in England, and that his presence was now needed in America, he determined to go home. He passed a large part of his last day in London with Edmund Burke, and in his conversation with him sincerely lamented the approaching separation of America from England, which he saw was inevitable. "Burke revered Franklin to the last, foretold the steady brightening of his fame, and drew from his integrity the pleasing hope of ultimate peace." Hastening to Portsmouth, he embarked on the 21st of March for Philadelphia, and was at sea before his departure from London was known. He reached Philadelphia early in May, 1775, and was met by the news that the war he had so long foreseen, and had labored so anxiously to avert, had begun. He was received with the honors due to his fame and services, and the day after his arrival was elected by the Assembly a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress.

He was a most valuable and timely acquisition to that body, which was deluding itself with the vain hope that an honorable settlement might even yet be effected. He knew, no man better, that every means of peaceful entreaty had been exhausted; that the British Ministry had deliberately chosen its part, and that America must choose between armed resistance and independence and abject submission and slavery. He was decided in his opinions and frank in expressing them; yet he made no effort to hasten the decision of Congress, "wishing rather to leave that body to pursue its own plans, unbiassed by his complaints or persuasions. Yet he never hesitated to support the boldest measures, and to reprove irresoluteness and delay." He saw that independence was certain, and he wished it to come as "the spontaneous action of a united people." The resolution and steadiness shown by the troops at Bunker Hill

removed his last fear. "Americans will fight," he wrote to his friends in London; "England has lost her Colonies forever." He warmly approved the plan of Samuel Adams for a confederation of the Colonies. "If none of the rest will join," said Adams, "I will endeavor to unite the New England Colonies in confederating." "I approve your proposal," said Franklin, "and if you succeed, I will cast in my lot among you." He formed one of the Committee sent by Congress in October, 1775, to induce the troops before Boston to continue their enlistments. His mission was successful, and his presence was hailed with delight by the army.

Franklin earnestly supported the proposition for a Declaration of Independence, and was placed on the Committee appointed to prepare that instrument. He sustained it in Congress, voted for it, and affixed his signature to it on the 4th of July, 1776.

He was one of the Committee appointed by Congress to confer with Lord Howe. The meeting took place on the 11th of September, 1776, but it resulted only in making plainer the determination of the Ministry to subjugate America.

In July, 1776, Dr. Franklin was called upon to preside over the Convention which met to organize a government for the State of Pennsylvania. His influence over the Convention induced that body to adopt his favorite theory of a plural executive; but the subsequent experience of the State compelled it to abandon it, and substitute a single governor.

Franklin had believed from the first that it would be necessary for the United States to seek the assistance of some foreign power. He turned to Holland, as the natural enemy of Great Britain, and as the power whose own example of successful resistance was calculated to afford the greatest encouragement to America. In the winter of 1775, with the approval of Congress, he opened a correspondence with that country, which he conducted with great ability and judgment. By the close of the year 1776, the affairs of America had assumed so desperate a condition that Congress resolved to make an appeal to France for aid. It was well known that the French Government desired the separation of America from Britain as the best means of crippling the latter, and secret hopes of assist-

ance had already been held out to Congress. Franklin was regarded as of all others the man best fitted for the difficult task of sustaining the American cause abroad, and was appointed by Congress Commissioner Plenipotentiary to the Court of France. He was nearly seventy-one years old, and had reached a time of life when most men are anxious lay aside the cares and toils of the world. He did not hesitate to accept the appointment; he regarded his life, his fortune, all that he possessed as his country's, and was willing that she should use him and them as she thought best. Silas Deane and Arthur Lee were associated with him as Commissioners.

Franklin soon made his preparations for his voyage, and before setting out deposited in the hands of Congress all the money he could raise, amounting to between three and four thousand pounds, as his contribution towards the expenses of the contest, and as an example to his countrymen. In October, 1776, he set sail in the privateer "Reprisal." The voyage consumed thirty days, and was very stormy; the ship was several times chased by British cruisers, and captured two British brigantines as prizes. On the 7th of December the Reprisal entered the port of Nantes, and landed her illustrious passenger.

The news of Franklin's arrival in France took all Europe by surprise. No notice of his intended voyage had preceded him, and no one knew the nature of his mission. It was rumored in England that he had given up the struggle in despair, and had sought safety in France. Edmund Burke indignantly denounced the report. "I will never believe," he said, "that he is going to conclude a long life, which has brightened every hour it has continued, with so foul and dishonorable a flight." Franklin remained for a week or two at the residence of a friend near Nantes, resting from the fatigues of his voyage, and during this period curiosity respecting the object of his visit was at its height. He declared that, in spite of their reverses, his countrymen were firm in their determination to continue the war, and that they would persevere until independence crowned their efforts. These sayings were repeated enthusiastically by the French, who had for sometime been apprehensive of the effect of their disasters upon the patriots.

On the 21st of December Franklin reached Paris. With characteristic good sense he forbore to embarrass the French Court by assuming a public character at first, and for the time appeared to give himself up to pursuits congenial to his tastes. His welcome was cordial and gratifying from all classes. His fame as a philosopher, his genial disposition, his easy and dignified manners, his simple attire, and his habit of wearing his straight, thin, gray hair without powder, made him a marked man even in the brilliant society of the French capital. "The venerable impersonation of the republics of antiquity seemed to have come to accept the homage of the gay capital." He was overwhelmed with attentions from the learned, the nobility, and the common people. He became the most popular man in Paris, and the cordial friendship which the French people conceived for him went beyond him, and embraced also the cause for which he had come to plead. It became fashionable to sympathize with the "insurgents," as the Americans were called by the French, and those Frenchmen who had begun already to dream of liberty declared that the cause of America was the cause of France, since it was the cause of all mankind.

On the morning of the 28th of December, the three Commissioners waited, by appointment, upon the Count de Vergennes, the Prime Minister. He assured them of the sympathy of France with their cause, and held out a hope that active aid would be extended to the States at the proper time. He desired that their intercourse might be strictly secret for the present, but added that, as France and Spain were perfectly in accord, they might communicate with the Spanish Ambassador. The next day the Commissioners had an interview with the Count de Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador. The Count hated England most bitterly, and warmly approved of active measures in favor of the Americans, but his views were unheeded at Madrid. Franklin's sagacity comprehended the whole matter, and he viewed, with no favor, the departure of Arthur Lee, early in 1777, for Madrid.

The confidence inspired by Franklin soon induced the French Government to grant substantial aid to the Commissioners. On the 16th of January the sum of half a million of

livres was paid to the bankers of the Commissioners, and was expended by the latter in fitting out ships loaded with military supplies for America. A similar sum was paid quarterly to the Commissioners, and applied in the same way. These advances Congress was to return in shipments of tobacco and other American produce. Still the French Court acted with reserve and discretion. American privateers were permitted to bring their prizes into the ports of the kingdom, and vessels were allowed to depart constantly with supplies for the American army. The Government ardently wished the dismemberment of the British empire, but it shrank from going to war with its old enemy in this cause. The American cause seemed too hopeless yet, and open assistance could not be given until it was plain that Great Britain could never recover her Colonies.

Meantime Franklin, while continuing his secret intercourse with Vergennes, devoted himself to the society of learned men, and to scientific pursuits. The attention which was paid him and the popularity he enjoyed, gratified him very much, but did not change "the even tenor of his way." The sterling virtues of his character, as they became better known, deepened his hold upon the French, and confirmed their attachment to him.

In a short while came the news of the brilliant victories of Trenton and Princeton. It was received with delight in France, and Washington was extolled as the American Fabius. "Nothing," said the Count de Vergennes, later on, "has struck me so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army. To bring troops raised within the year to this, promises everything." Early in December the news of the capture of Burgoyne and his army reached Paris, and threw that city into transports of joy. Together with the evidences of the determination of the British Government to hold out the olive branch to the Americans, this success put an end to the hesitation of the French Court. The Americans had shown themselves fully able to maintain their position, and if France was to help them at all, she must do so at once. On the 12th of December, 1777, the American Commissioners had an interview with the Count de Vergennes, and

were informed by him that the King of France had concluded to acknowledge and support the independence of the United States. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of friendship and commerce, and a second treaty of defensive alliance, were concluded between the King of France and the United States.

While the British Government was laboring under the embarrassment of proposing conciliatory measures to the Americans, Franklin, in this same month of February, won another triumph for his country in gaining for it the powerful sympathy of Voltaire, and so "placed the public opinion of philosophical France conspicuously on the side of America. No man of that century so embodied the idea of toleration as Voltaire; for fame he was unequalled among living men of letters; for great age he was venerable; he, more than Louis the Sixteenth, more than the cabinet of the King, represented France of that day; and now he was come up to Paris, bent with years, to receive before his death the homage of the people. Wide indeed was the difference between him and America. 'I have done more in my day than Luther or Calvin,' was his boast; and America, which was reverently Protestant, and through Protestantism established not the toleration, but the equality of all churches and opinions, did not count him among her teachers. He had given out that if there was not a God, it would be necessary to invent him; and America held that any god of man's invention is an idol; that God must be worshiped in truth as well as in spirit. But for the moment America and Voltaire were on one side; and before he had been a week in Paris, Franklin claimed leave to wait upon him. We have Voltaire's own account of the interview. Franklin bade his grandson demand the benediction of the more than octogenarian, and in the presence of more than twenty persons, he gave it in these words: 'GOD AND LIBERTY!' Everywhere Voltaire appeared as the friend of America."

On the 20th of March, 1778, the American Commissioners were presented to the King at Versailles. The colleagues of Franklin appeared in the elaborate court dress of the day, but the philosopher was clad in a plain dress coat of Manchester velvet, with white stockings, and a round white hat under his arm, his spectacles on his nose, and his thin gray hair in its

natural state. The courtiers hailed him with delight, but the King, who regarded his assistance to America as a wrong done to the cause of monarchy, and had consented to it only in deference to the judgment of his ministers, was merely polite to the Commissioners. At heart he resented the influence exercised by Franklin upon his people, and the praises showered upon the philosopher fretted him and provoked him to outbursts of peevishness.

"The official conduct of Franklin and his intercourse with persons of the highest rank," says Bancroft, "were marked by the most delicate propriety, as well as by perfect self respect. His charm was simplicity, which gave grace to his style and ease to his manners. No life-long courtier could have been more free from vulgarity; no diplomatist more true to his position as minister of a republic; no laborer more consistent with his former life as a working man; and thus he won respect and love from all. When a celebrated case was to be heard before the Parliament of Paris, the throng which filled the house and its approaches opened a way on his appearance, and he passed through to the seat reserved for him amidst the acclamations of the people. At the opera, at the theatre, similar honors were paid to him. * * * Throughout Europe there was scarcely a citizen or a peasant of any culture who was not familiar with his name, and who did not consider him as a friend to all men. At the academy D'Alembert addressed him as the man who had wrenched the thunderbolt from the cloud, the sceptre from tyrants; and both these ideas were of a nature to pass easily into the common mind. From the part which he had taken in the emancipation of America, imagination transfigured him as the man who had separated the Colonies from Great Britain, had framed their best constitutions of government, and by counsel and example would show how to abolish all political evil throughout the world. Malesherbes spoke of the excellence of the institutions that permitted a printer, the son of a tallow chandler, to act a great part in public affairs; and if Malesherbes reasoned so, how much more the workmen of Paris and the people. Thus Franklin was the venerable impersonation of democracy, yet so calmly decorous, so free from a disposition to quarrel with the convictions of

others, that, while he was the delight of free-thinking philosophers, he escaped the hatred of the clergy, and his presence excited no jealousy in the old nobility, though sometimes a woman of rank might find fault with his hands and skin, which toiled had imbrowned. * * * He conciliated the most opposite natures; yet not for himself. Whatever favor he met in society, whatever honor he received from the Academy, whatever respect he gained as a man of science, whatever distinction came to him through the good will of the people, whatever fame he acquired throughout Europe, he turned all to account for the good of his country."

On the 14th of September, 1778, Congress, tired of the quarrels of the rival Commissioners, abolished the joint commission of which Franklin had been a member, and appointed him sole minister plenipotentiary at the court of France. In this capacity he served the country with ability throughout the remainder of the war, keeping a watchful eye upon the designs of Spain, and upholding the dignity and honor of his own country. Towards the close of the war Mr. Jay, the unrecognized minister to Spain, Mr. Adams, the minister to Holland, and Henry Laurens, just released from the Tower of London, were appointed with Franklin commissioners to negotiate a peace with Great Britain.

The growing hostility of the British House of Commons to the war, after the fall of Lord North's Ministry, and the strong leanings of the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham toward peace convinced Franklin that his old friend Lord Shelburne must be a member of the new Cabinet. On the 22d of March, 1782, he sent a letter to Shelburne, who was the Home Secretary, assuring him of his own undiminished respect for his talents and virtues, and expressing the hope that negotiations for a close of the war might be begun. This letter led to the opening of negotiations, which were conducted on the part of the United States by Franklin, and on the part of England by Shelburne, whose department still embraced America. The English minister had been one of the earliest and firmest friends of America, and was as sincerely desirous of peace as Franklin. He was satisfied that the time had come for England to accept the results of the war, and knew

that peace could be had only upon the basis of the independence of the United States. The intermediary between the two statesmen was a Mr. Oswald, an able and upright man and a friend of Shelburne. The negotiations were conducted satisfactorily for some weeks, and were then interrupted for a time by the efforts of Fox, the British Foreign Secretary, to get the matter under the control of his department. At this juncture the Marquis of Rockingham died, and Shelburne became Prime Minister. On the 10th of July, he announced in the House of Lords his intention to make peace with America.

The negotiations now went on with great activity. Franklin stated to Mr. Oswald the conditions which his country would not depart from. They were the recognition of the absolute independence of the thirteen States, and the withdrawal of all the British forces from them ; for boundaries, the Mississippi on the west, and on the east the Canada frontier as it existed before the Quebec act of 1774 ; and the freedom of fishing off Newfoundland, as before the war. The British conditions included the payment by the Americans of the debts due by them to British merchants, and the compensation of the American loyalists for the seizure of their property by the American authorities. Franklin was not disposed to grant either of these demands, and would have carried his point had he been sustained by his colleagues ; but Jay and Adams, who arrived in Paris near the close of the negotiation, were in favor of paying the debts contracted before the war, and Franklin finally submitted to their decision. Franklin was more disposed than his colleagues to trust to the friendship of France, but was as much determined as either to conduct the negotiations directly with Great Britain, and independent of the French Government. The progress of the negotiations was not communicated to the Count de Vergennes, and in this resolution Franklin and Jay were supported by Mr. Adams upon his arrival at Paris. The leading spirit in the negotiation was Franklin. He was firm in his determination to exclude Spain, who wished to use America simply to gain her own ends, altogether from the conferences. His general policy was sustained by Adams and Jay, and by Mr. Laurens, who came in at the last moment, and on the 30th of November, 1782, the prelimi-

nary treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners of the United States and Great Britain. It was made conditional upon a pacification between Great Britain and France. This condition was soon fulfilled by the treaty between the European parties to the war, and the final Treaty of Peace was signed between the United States, France, Spain, and Holland, and Great Britain, on the 30th of September, 1783.

The war was over, and the great objects for which it had been waged were successfully attained. To this great end none had contributed in a more marked degree than Franklin. "My friend," said he, in his simple, straight-forward way to the Duke of Rochefoucauld, who congratulated him upon the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, "could I have hoped, at such an age, to have enjoyed so great a happiness?"

Franklin was now anxious to return to America. His great age and his faithful service entitled him to a season of rest, and now that his country had emerged safely from her trials, he was anxious to withdraw to the peaceful retirement of his own home. He therefore requested Congress to appoint his successor. Congress answered him by appointing him a member of the Commission, which included John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, to negotiate treaties of commerce with the European powers. He devoted himself with great industry to this task, and at the same time renewed his request for a recall. Congress at length granted it, and on the 10th of March, 1785, appointed Thomas Jefferson his successor as Minister to France.

Franklin at once prepared to return home. The news of his intended departure was received with deep regret by the nation which had become so much attached to him. On the 12th of July the venerable statesman set out from Passy, where he had resided for some years, on his homeward journey. All the village assembled to bid the noble old man farewell, and to these were added a considerable number of his friends from Paris. When Franklin emerged from the house to enter the traveling litter, which the Queen, with a tender consideration of his age and infirmities, had sent to convey him to Havre, he was received by the assembled throng with an homage as touching as it was sincere. With grateful words he uttered his farewell, and was assisted into the litter, and began his journey,

followed by the benedictions of his friends and neighbors. "It seemed," said Mr. Jefferson, who witnessed the scene, "as if the village had lost its patriarch."

Sailing from Havre, Franklin reached Philadelphia in September, 1785, and was joyfully welcomed by his fellow citizens. He was soon after elected President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the chief executive office of the State. He was twice re-elected, his last term expiring in October, 1788. He was a delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States. He did not altogether approve that instrument, but when he found the Convention in favor of its adoption, he decided to sign it, saying to his colleagues, "We ought to have but one opinion; the good of our country requires that the resolution should be unanimous."

After his withdrawal from office in 1788, he passed the brief remainder of his life in retirement. His family had been broken up by death and by the war. His wife had died some years before, and his only son, who had been the last royalist governor of New Jersey, had adhered to the cause of the King during the Revolution, and was now in England. His remaining child, a daughter, married a Mr. Bache of Philadelphia. Her descendants still reside in that city.

On the 17th of April, 1790, the venerable statesman and philosopher died at Philadelphia, at the age of eighty-four years and three months. Four days later he was interred with public honors in the northwest corner of Christ churchyard. His grave is marked by a simple slab of marble, bearing the names of himself and his wife.

The death of Dr. Franklin was deeply lamented on both sides of the Atlantic. Congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout the Union for one month. Funeral orations were pronounced in Paris by order of the municipality. The National Assembly listened to an eloquent eulogy upon his virtues, and ordered that its members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event." It was decreed also by the Assembly that a letter of condolence for the irreparable loss sustained by the United States should be addressed to Congress—an honor never before paid by France to the memory of a citizen of a foreign country.





GENERAL FRANCIS MARION.

FRANCIS MARION.

AT the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, Gabriel and Louise Marion, a newly married pair, were residing upon their own farm near Rochelle. They were Huguenots of the most uncompromising kind, and no sooner had the Edict been repealed than the husband was warned by the Bishop of the diocese to leave France within ten days, on pain of being punished as a heretic. Converting his property into cash, he fled with his wife to America. Settling in South Carolina, he purchased a plantation at Winyah, near Georgetown. By his industry and energy he soon built up a comfortable home. His wife bore him several children, the eldest of which was named Gabriel also. This son married a Miss Charlotte Cordé, and by her had six children, all of whom were born on the family estate at Winyah.

FRANCIS MARION, the youngest of these, was born at Winyah in the year 1732. His boyhood was passed on the plantation, and his education was limited. He manifested such a strong desire to become a sailor that at the age of sixteen he was permitted to ship before the mast on board a vessel bound for the West Indies. The vessel was capsized in a gale, and the crew took to the boat for safety without either food or water. A dog swam off from the vessel and was taken into the boat. He was killed, and his raw flesh furnished the crew with food for seven days, during which all but Marion died of thirst. The boy was rescued by a passing vessel, and soon returned home completely cured of his desire to be a sailor. He now devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and grew up a planter as his father and grandfather had been.

In 1759, being then twenty-seven years old, he accepted a lieutenant's commission in a company organized for service against the Cherokees. His captain was William Moultrie, afterwards a general of the Revolution. The troops in this campaign were commanded by Governor Lyttleton. This ex-

pedition was followed in 1761 by an invasion of the Cherokee country by a force under Colonel Grant. Marion served in this force as a captain. Grant ravaged the Indian country with merciless severity, and Marion's tender sympathies were warmly aroused for the savages. At the close of the campaign the troops were disbanded, and Marion returned to his plantation.

During the controversy between the Colonies and England which preceded the Revolution, Marion's sympathies were with his native country. When the legislature of South Carolina, in the spring of 1775, ordered two regiments to be raised, Marion was among the first to volunteer. He was unanimously chosen a captain in the second regiment, which was commanded by Col. Moultrie. His friend and biographer, Gen. Horry, says that his election was due to his popularity, "for though he was neither handsome, nor witty, nor wealthy, he was universally beloved." He was soon made major of the regiment, which, in the spring of 1776, was sent to Sullivan's Island and ordered to fortify it. In obedience to these orders a strong fort was constructed of palmetto logs, armed with heavy guns, and was named Fort Moultrie, in honor of its commander. On the 2d of June, 1776, the fort was attacked by the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker, and after a stubborn fight repulsed it. Marion was greatly distinguished by his good conduct upon this occasion, and was soon after made Lieutenant Colonel of his regiment, in which capacity he took part in the unfortunate attack upon Savannah by the combined American and French forces under General Lincoln and the Count D'Estaing, in September, 1779.

Shortly before the investment of Charleston by the British forces, Colonel Marion was dining at the house of a friend in that city. The party at table were drinking so deeply that the Colonel found himself in a fair way to become intoxicated. He determined to withdraw, but his friends would not hear of such a thing. There was but one way to escape, and that was by leaping from the window of the room, which was in the second story of the house. Without a moment's hesitation Marion threw up the sash and sprang to the ground, and in so doing fractured his ankle. He was very much laughed at, but the

accident proved of the greatest benefit to him. Being unfit for duty, he was allowed to retire to his plantation to recover, and during his confinement to his house Charleston was reduced by Sir Henry Clinton. The broken ankle alone saved Marion from sharing the captivity of the garrison.

The capture of Charleston was followed by the rapid subjugation of South Carolina. The State was overrun by the British, who established a number of fortified posts within its limits. Tarleton swept rapidly over the State with his splendid cavalry, attacking and mercilessly sabring the small bands of patriots which he encountered. Clinton issued a proclamation threatening to visit the severest punishments upon those who refused to submit to the royal authority, and a little later offered pardon to all who would return to their allegiance and assist in restoring the authority of the King. The measures of the British commander were so successful, and South Carolina was so completely subjugated, that early in June Sir Henry Clinton sailed for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis to complete the work of conquest. The country abounded in Tories, who rendered active assistance to the British, and large numbers of negroes deserted their masters and went over to the enemy. All active opposition on the part of the Americans ceased, and the people prepared to make their peace with the royal authorities. The patriot cause seemed hopelessly lost in South Carolina.

Matters were in this desperate state when Colonel Marion, still suffering from his hurt, set out from his plantation, accompanied by a negro servant, to join the little army collecting in North Carolina under DeKalb. On his way he fell in with his friend, Colonel Peter Horry, with whom he continued his journey. Neither had a farthing in his pocket, but Marion was full of hope. "Our happy days are not all gone," he said to his friend. "On the contrary the victory is still sure. The enemy, it is true, have all the trumps in their hands, and if they had but spirit to play a generous game, would certainly ruin us. But they have no idea of that game; but will treat the people cruelly. *And that one thing will ruin them and save America.*" Reaching Hillsborough they were met by the news that Gates was coming to take command of the army, and would bring reinforce-

ments and supplies with him. They were presented by a friend to the Baron DeKalb, who offered them positions on his staff as supernumerary aides-de-camp.

As Gates prepared to advance upon the enemy, Marion and Horry were despatched by him to break up all the boats on the Santee river. Gates, vain of his triumph at Saratoga, never learned how little he was responsible for that success, and now imagined that an easy victory over Cornwallis was in store for him. In vain DeKalb remonstrated with him upon the folly of assuming the offensive with an army so utterly unsuited to such a course, and so greatly inferior to the enemy. Gates would take no advice from any one, and in his self-conceit imagined his victory sure. His object in sending Marion and Horry to break up the boats on the Santee was to destroy Cornwallis's means of escaping across that river.

Marion and his friend set out on the morning of the 15th of April, 1780, and that night the army began its advance towards Camden. They were joined along the route by a number of gentlemen who had been driven, as Marion had predicted, by the cruelty of the British, to take up arms, and were busily engaged in their boat burning, when they were met by an uncle of Colonel Horry, who informed them of the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden, and the death of the heroic Baron DeKalb. He also warned them that a force of Tories was collecting in the neighborhood for the purpose of attacking them.

Without a moment's hesitation Marion ordered the troops to move forward at a gallop, and dashed into the swamp. Having reached a place of safety, he halted the men, and in one of those brief but eloquent appeals for which he was famous, informed them of his determination to fight to the bitter end. "I want to know your minds," he said in conclusion. "As to my own, that has long been made up. I consider my life as but a moment. But I also consider that to fill that moment with duty, is my all. To guard my innocent country against the evils of slavery, seems now my greatest duty; and, therefore, I am determined that, while I live, she shall never be enslaved. She may come to that wretched state for what I know, but my eyes shall never behold it. Never shall she

clank her chains in my ears, and pointing to the ignominious badge, exclaim, '*it was your cowardice that brought me to this.*'" With enthusiasm the warm-hearted Carolinians swore they would stand by him to the last, and with the same impulse declared him their leader. They were thirty in all, men of the best families of the State, armed with muskets and swords, and well mounted, but almost without powder and ball. Such was the origin of the famous "Light Brigade," as true a band of heroes as ever drew a sword.

A rendezvous was appointed at Snow's Island, in the deep recesses of the swamps between the Pedee and the Santee. It was easily reached by the members of the band, who were well acquainted with the mazes of the swamps, but was inaccessible to the enemy and easily defended against them. Marion knew that everything depended upon his activity, and he had scarcely organized his band when he dealt the enemy a sudden and unexpected blow.

His scouts reported that a British force of ninety men, with a large number of American prisoners, was on its way from Camden to Charleston, and he resolved to rescue the prisoners. He surprised the enemy in a night attack, made prisoners of all but three, who were killed, and restored the captive Americans to liberty. He was in hopes that the men whom he had rescued would join his band, but to his disgust not a man of them was willing to take up arms again. All regarded the cause as lost.

This success enabled Marion to arm his men with the weapons and equipments taken from the enemy, and to have a surplus from which to provide for recruits who might join him. A few days later he surprised and captured a company of forty-nine Tories, without their firing a shot. Over thirty were killed or captured by his men, and the arms, ammunition and horses of the whole party fell into his hands. He now proceeded to remedy his deficiency in swords by buying up all the old saw-blades from the mills, from which the smiths made a supply of formidable broad-swords, which did good execution upon the enemy.

The news of these daring exploits astounded the British commanders, who had supposed that all resistance was at

an end, and as greatly encouraged the patriots, who began to take heart. Governor Rutledge sent Marion a commission as Brigadier-General in the State forces. Recruits were attracted to the brigade by its daring and brilliant exploits, and Marion ere long found himself at the head of a force of two hundred men.

From this time Marion's activity was unceasing. One day he would deal the enemy a staggering blow in one part of the State, and the next day would fall like a thunderbolt upon another force of British or Tories in another part of the country, miles away from the scene of the former attack. The enemy never knew when to expect him, and his movements were so secret and rapid that it was useless to attempt to surprise him. He seemed to be everywhere, and his men performed prodigies of valor. Greatly superior forces were sent against him, but were surprised and driven back with heavy loss. A strong party under Major Gainey was once sent after him, but was routed by an inferior force, and Gainey fled into Georgetown with the bayonet of Sergeant Macdonald, of Marion's brigade, sticking in his back. Not a week passed without one or more encounters between the Light Brigade and the enemy, in which success was invariably with the former. Marion's men were nearly all members of the better class of Carolinians, and were splendidly mounted and well armed, though generally in rags and often half starved. As a rule, however, they were well fed; for the patriotic planters kept open house for the Light Brigade, and the Tories were forced to contribute liberally to the commissariat of the brigade. The splendid example of Marion caused others to take heart, and armed bands sprang up in every quarter of the State. "Colonel Marion," says Cornwallis, "so wrought up the minds of the people that there was scarcely an inhabitant between the Pedee and the Santee that was not in arms against us. Some of the parties even crossed the Santee and carried terror to the gates of Charleston."

Marion was a man of strong, kindly feelings, of pure morals and great humanity. He compelled his men to scrupulously respect private property, and no planter ever had cause to complain of violence or injury at the hands of the Light Brigade.

He never allowed his prisoners to be treated unkindly, and discountenanced the refusal of his men to give quarter to the Tories. His nephew, who was a lieutenant in his command, was taken prisoner in a skirmish, and was brutally murdered after his capture. Not long afterwards a mulatto fellow was taken by Marion's men, and as he was suspected of being one of those who had murdered the General's nephew, he was shot. Marion sternly rebuked the killing of the man. He said "he truly lamented the untimely death of his nephew; and that he had been told this poor man was his murderer; but that, as a prisoner, his life ought to have been held most sacred—especially as the charge against him was without evidence, and, perhaps, no better than conjecture. As to my nephew," he continued, "I believe he was cruelly murdered; but living virtuously, as he did, and then dying fighting for the rights of man, he is no doubt happy; and this is my comfort." He severely reprimanded the sergeant of the guard for not having killed the man who shot the mulatto.

Though brave as a lion, full of resources, and the first partisan officer of his day, Marion was as simple and unpretending as a child in his manner and habits. He was enthusiastically beloved by his men, who willingly followed wherever he chose to lead. He was prudent as well as daring, and was exceedingly careful of his men.

General Horry relates the following anecdote, which shows the character of the patriot soldier in its happiest light: "About this time we received a flag of truce from the enemy in Georgetown; the object of which was to make some arrangements about the exchange of prisoners. The flag, after the usual ceremony of blindfolding, was conducted into Marion's encampment. Having heard great talk about General Marion, his fancy had, naturally enough, sketched out for him some stout figure of a warrior, such as O'Hara or Cornwallis himself, of martial aspect and flaming regimentals. But what was his surprise when led into Marion's presence, and the bandage was taken from his eyes, he beheld in our hero a swarthy, smoke-dried little man, with scarce enough of threadbare homespun to cover his nakedness; and in place of tall ranks of gaily dressed soldiers, a handful of sunburnt, yellow-legged

militia men; some roasting potatoes, and some asleep with their black firelocks and powder-horns lying by them on the logs. Having recovered a little from his surprise, he presented his letter to General Marion, who perused it, and soon settled everything to his satisfaction. The officer took up his hat to retire.

“‘Oh no!’ said Marion; ‘it is now about our time of dining; and I hope, sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company to dinner.’”

“At mention of the word *dinner*, the British officer looked around him; but to his great mortification, could see no sign of a pot, pan, Dutch oven, or any other cooking utensil that could raise the spirits of a hungry man.

“‘Well, Tom,’ said the General to one of his men, ‘come, give us our dinner.’”

“The dinner to which he alluded was no other than a heap of sweet potatoes that were very snugly roasting under the embers, and which Tom, with his pine-stick poker, soon liberated from their ashy confinement; pinching them every now and then with his fingers, especially the big ones, to see whether they were well done or not. Then having cleansed off the ashes, partly by blowing them with his breath, and partly by brushing them with the sleeve of his old cotton shirt, he piled some of the best on a large piece of bark, and placed them between the British officer and Marion, on the trunk of the fallen pine on which they sat.

“‘I fear, sir,’ said the general, ‘our dinner will not prove so palatable to you as I could wish; but it is the best we have.’”

“The officer, who was a well-bred man, took up one of the potatoes and affected to feed, as if he had found a great dainty; but it was very plain that he ate more from good manners than good appetite. Presently he broke out into a hearty laugh. Marion looked surprised. ‘I beg your pardon, General,’ said he; ‘but one cannot, you know, always command his conceits. I was thinking how drolly some of my brother officers would look if our government were to give them such a bill of fare as this.’”

“‘I suppose,’ said Marion, ‘it is not equal to their style of dining.’”

“‘No, indeed,’ quoth the officer; ‘and this, I imagine, is one of your accidental Lent dinners; a sort of ban yan. In general, no doubt, you live a great deal better.’

“‘Rather worse,’ answered the General; ‘for often we don’t get enough of this.’

“‘Heavens!’ rejoined the officer. ‘But, probably, what you lose in *meal* you make up in *malt*; though stinted in provisions, you draw noble pay.’

“‘Not a cent, sir,’ said Marion; ‘not a cent.’

“‘Heavens and earth! then you must be in a bad box. I don’t see, General, how you can stand it.’

“‘Why, sir,’ replied Marion, with a smile of self approbation, ‘these things depend on feeling.’

“The Englishman said he ‘did not believe it would be an easy matter to reconcile his feelings to a soldier’s life on General Marion’s terms—all fighting and no pay, and no provisions but potatoes.’

“‘Why, sir,’ answered the General, ‘the heart is all; and, when that is much interested, a man can do anything. Many a youth would think it hard to indent himself a slave for fourteen years. But let him be over head and ears in love, and with such a beauteous sweetheart as Rachel, and he will think no more of fourteen years of servitude than Jacob did. Well, now, this is exactly my case. I am in love, and my sweetheart is LIBERTY. Be that heavenly nymph my companion, and these wilds and woods shall have charms beyond London and Paris in slavery. To have no proud monarch driving over me with his gilt coaches; nor his host of excisemen and tax gatherers insulting and robbing me; but to be my own master, my own prince and sovereign, gloriously preserving my national dignity, and pursuing my true happiness; planting my vineyards and eating their luscious fruits; and sowing my fields, and reaping the golden grain; and seeing millions of brothers all around me, equally free and happy as myself. This, sir, is what I long for.’

“The officer replied, that both as a man and a Briton, he must certainly subscribe to this as a happy state of things.

“‘Happy,’ quoth Marion; ‘yes, happy indeed; and I had rather fight for such blessings for my country, and feed on

roots, than keep aloof, though wallowing in all the luxuries of Solomon. For now, sir, I walk the soil that gave me birth, and exult in the thought that I am not unworthy of it. I look upon these venerable trees around me, and feel that I do not dishonor them. I think of my own sacred rights, and rejoice that I have not basely deserted them. And when I look forward to the long ages of posterity, I glory in the thought that I am fighting their battles. The children of distant generations may never hear my name; but still it gladdens my heart to think that I am now contending for their freedom, and all its countless blessings.'

"I looked at Marion as he uttered these sentiments, and fancied I felt as when I heard the last words of the brave DeKalb. The Englishman hung his honest head, and looked, I thought, as if he had seen the upbraiding ghosts of his illustrious countrymen, Sidney and Hampden.

"On his return to Georgetown, he was asked by Colonel Watson why he looked so serious.

"'I have cause, sir,' said he, 'to look serious.'

"'What! has General Marion refused to treat?'

"'No, sir.'

"'Well, then, has old Washington defeated Sir Henry Clinton, and broken up our army?'

"'No, sir, not that, neither; but worse.'

"'Ah! what can be worse?'

"'Why, sir, I have seen an American general and his officers, without pay, and almost without clothes, living on roots and drinking water; and all for LIBERTY. What chance can we have against such men?'

"It is said Colonel Watson was not much obliged to him for this speech. But the young officer was so much struck with Marion's sentiments, that he never rested until he threw up his commission and retired from the service."

Marion was very successful in his management of the militia, who often acted with him. His plan is thus stated by himself: "It will not do to expect too much from that sort of soldiers. If on turning out against the enemy you find your men in high spirits, with burning eyes all kindling around you, that's your time; then in close columns, with sounding bugles

and shining swords, dash on, and I'll warrant your men will follow you. * * But on the other hand, if by any unlooked for providence they get dismayed, and begin to run, you are not to fly in a passion with them, and show yourself as mad as they are cowardly. No! you must learn to run, too; and as fast as they; nay, *faster*, that you may get into the front and encourage them to rally."

While he was firm in his management of his men, and required and received prompt and perfect obedience to his orders, he rarely resorted to the rigors of military discipline. He trusted chiefly to the sense of honor of the troops, and did not trust in vain. He made no effort to recover or punish deserters. Those who wished to leave the brigade were free to do so at any time, and their punishment lay in the contempt with which they were regarded by all good men.

Marion gave to General Greene his hearty coöperation, and rendered good service to the main army by keeping it informed of the movements of the enemy and cutting off the supplies of the British.

In the spring of 1781, Marion was reinforced by Lee's Legion of Light Horse, and the combined force laid siege to and captured the strong fort at Wright's Bluff, the principal British post on the Santee, garrisoned by 120 men. "The Americans were without cannon, and the bluff was forty feet high; but the forest stretched all around them; in the night the troops cut and hauled logs, and erected a tower so high that the garrison could be picked off by riflemen." The fort capitulated on the 26th of April. This success was followed by the capture of Fort Motte by Marion and Lee, on the 11th of May. Fort Motte was a work of considerable strength, erected on the plantation of Mrs. Rebecca Motte, a widow. The fine mansion of this lady stood in the midst of the British works, and was used by them as their quarters, Mrs. Motte and her family having been turned out of their home into one of the negro cabins of the plantation. Marion saw that he could compel the surrender of the garrison by setting fire to the house, but he hesitated to inflict such a loss upon his countrywoman. Upon learning this, Mrs. Motte hastened to him and begged him to carry out his plan. "Burn it, burn it,

General Marion," she exclaimed. "God forbid that I should bestow a thought on my little concerns, when the independence of my country is at stake. No, sir, if it were a palace it should go." She then handed him a bow and arrow which had been brought from Africa and presented to her, saying to him, "Here, General, is what will serve your purpose to a hair." The arrows were tipped with iron points, and to them pieces of tow dipped in turpentine were fastened. They were then discharged at the roof, to which they stuck, and quickly set it afire. The guns of the Americans prevented all efforts to extinguish the flames, and the garrison, between two and three hundred in number, at once surrendered. Marion now attacked the British at Georgetown, and about the middle of May compelled them to evacuate that place and retreat to Charleston. The Light Brigade also took part in the bloody battle of Eutaw Springs, and won the warm praise of General Greene by its splendid conduct.

After the close of the war Marion retired to his plantation, but his countrymen would not let him withdraw entirely from their service. He was elected to the Legislature of South Carolina by the unanimous vote of his fellow citizens. His influence in that body was very great. He opposed the measures for the confiscation of the estates of the Tories, declaring that all hostility should cease with the war, and that the people of the State should cultivate friendly relations with each other. "We ought to remember," he said, "that God has given us the victory, for which we owe Him eternal gratitude. But cruelty to man is not the way to show our gratitude to Heaven."

Soon after the passage of the Confiscation Act, he was dining with Governor Matthews and a large and brilliant company. "Come, General," said the Governor, "give us a toast." "Willingly," said Marion, smiling; and raising his glass, while all eyes were fixed upon him, he said emphatically, "*Gentlemen, here's damnation to the Confiscation Act.*"

While he was a member of the Legislature, a petition was presented, praying for the act to grant a general amnesty to the officers and men of the American army for all the arbitrary measures they had been obliged to resort to during the war. Marion listened attentively to the reading of the petition and then rose and said, "He had no manner of objection to the

petition; on the contrary, he most heartily approved of it, and meant to vote for it; for well did he know that, during the war, we had among us a world of *ignoramus*s, who, for lack of knowing their danger, did not care a fig how the war went, but were sauntering about in the woods, popping at the squirrels, when they ought to have been in the field fighting the British; that such gentlemen, since they did not choose to do anything for their country themselves, might well afford to let their cattle do something; and as they had not shed any of their blood in the public service, they might certainly spare a little corn to it; at any rate, he had no notion of turning over to the mercy of these poltroons some of the choicest spirits of the nation, to be prosecuted and torn to pieces by them; but that, nevertheless, he did not like to have his name to the petition, for, thank God, he had no favors to ask of them. And if, during the war for his country, he had done any of them harm, there was *he*, and yonder his *property*, and *let them come forward, if they dare, and demand satisfaction.*"

After the war he married Miss Mary Videau, who brought him a considerable fortune. The short remnant of his life was passed in the happy retirement of his home, and amidst the affectionate admiration of his countrymen.

He was a sincere Christian, inheriting the strong religious feelings which had distinguished his Huguenot ancestors. When he was once told that the Methodists and Baptists were making great progress in South Carolina, he replied, "Thank God for that; that is good news." "General," continued his friend, "what is the best religion?" "I know but one religion," he answered earnestly, "and that is hearty love of God and man. This is the only true religion, and I would to God our country was full of it."

Early in February, 1795, he was seized with his last illness. Seeing his wife weeping beside his bed, he said to her tenderly: "My dear, weep not for me. I am not afraid to die; for, thank God, I can lay my hand on my heart and say, that since I came to man's estate I have never intentionally done wrong to any one."

They were his last words. Shortly after uttering them "he closed his eyes in the sleep of death."

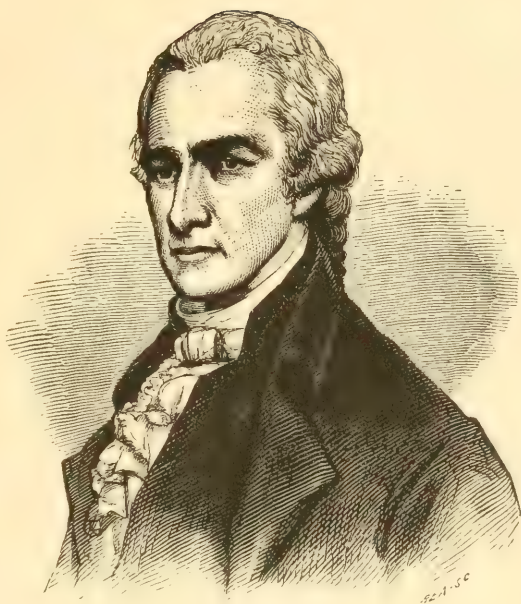
"As a partisan officer," said General Greene, "the page of history never furnished his equal."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON was born in the Island of Nevis, in the British West Indies, on the 11th of January, 1757. He was of Scotch descent, and was left an orphan at an early age. He was reared by distant relatives, and passed the greater part of his childhood and youth in the Danish Island of Santa Cruz, where he was educated by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, a Presbyterian clergyman. When about twelve years of age he was placed in the employment of Mr. Cruger, a merchant of Santa Cruz, in which position he became noted for his quickness and remarkable intelligence in the despatch of business. He had been but a short time in this situation when he wrote to a schoolfellow, "I condemn the grovelling condition of a clerk, to which my fortune condemns me, and I would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station; I mean to prepare the way for futurity."

These were promising words from so young a lad, and he meant to make them good. He fully understood the conditions of success in life—fitness for the task and hard work—and determined to prepare himself thoroughly for the struggle with fortune. All his spare time was given to study. He taught himself mathematics and chemistry, and manifested a great fondness for literature. In the meantime he applied himself faithfully to the business in which he was engaged; and such was the remarkable maturity of his judgment and his aptness at accounts, that when he was but fourteen years of age he was left, during a brief absence of his employer, in charge of the entire business.

In 1772 a terrible hurricane, long remembered for the destruction it caused, swept over the West Indies. Young Hamilton wrote and published anonymously an account of it. The description was so vivid and the style so chaste, that the article attracted universal attention, and the young author was discovered. His friends were delighted, and determined to give him



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the opportunity to secure a college education. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1772, he was sent to Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, to prepare himself by a course of studies for admission into King's (now Columbia) College in New York. He entered King's College in the latter part of 1773, and directed his studies towards a preparation for the profession of medicine.

He came to New York in the midst of the controversy between the Colonies and Great Britain, and with all the ardor of his nature embraced the American cause. Young as he was, he did good service for it with his pen. He wrote several elaborate pamphlets and some minor tracts upon the questions of the day, in which he took the boldest and broadest ground in defense of the Colonies. He urged the policy of building up the manufactures of the Colonies, and of encouraging the growth of cotton in the South, that the country might be able to clothe itself. These writings were published anonymously at first, and involved their author in a controversy with Dr. Cooper, the learned President of the college, and other able writers on the royalist side. He maintained the controversy with such ability that Dr. Cooper would never believe that his opponent was a mere boy of eighteen. The patriots of New York were well pleased with their young champion, and heartily applauded his performances. He did not remain satisfied with the labors of his pen, however. In July, 1774, when but seventeen years old, he was one of the speakers at a great public meeting held in the "Fields"—now the City Hall Park—and astounded the vast audience by the eloquence and force of his remarks.

At the commencement of hostilities, while still at college, he began a series of military studies, especially in pyrotechnics and gunnery, and organized a volunteer corps composed of the students of the college and the young men of the city. In March, 1776, he was made captain of the company of artillery raised by authority of the province of New York, and at once entered upon active service. He soon brought his command to a high state of discipline and efficiency. One day, after the occupation of New York by the American army, General Greene was passing through the "Fields" on his way to Washington's headquarters. Hamilton was engaged in drilling his

battery at the time, and Greene stopped to watch him. Hamilton was "a mere youth, about twenty years of age; small in person and stature, but remarkable for his alert and manly bearing." Greene, who was a thorough tactician, was delighted with the proficiency and tact with which the young captain managed his men, and entered into conversation with him. He quickly discovered that the young man was a person of no ordinary power of mind, and invited him to his quarters. Thus began a friendship which remained unbroken.

Hamilton was sent with his battery to join the army on Long Island, and in the disastrous battle of the 27th of August lost one of his field pieces and all his baggage. With the remainder of his guns he brought up the rear of the army in the withdrawal across the East River. His battery held a part of the fortified line below King's Bridge after the evacuation of New York by the American army. Washington, in making his rounds of inspection, was very much struck with the skill and science displayed in the construction of the works thrown up by Hamilton, and complimented him upon them. He was as much impressed with the young captain as Greene had been, and invited him to his headquarters. At the battle of White Plains, on the 28th of October, 1776, Hamilton's gallant conduct attracted the attention of the Commander-in-Chief. During the retreat through New Jersey his battery was frequently engaged in skirmishing with the enemy, and took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

In April, 1777, Washington, who had conceived a warm friendship for Hamilton, appointed him his aid-de-camp, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. "Strangers," says Irving, "were surprised to see a youth, scarce twenty years of age, received into the implicit confidence and admitted into the gravest counsels of a man like Washington. While his uncommon talents commanded respect rarely inspired by one of his years, his juvenile appearance and bouyant spirit made him a universal favorite. Harrison, 'the old secretary,' much his senior, looked upon him with an almost paternal eye, and regarding his diminutive size and towering spirit, used to call him 'the little lion;' while Washington would now and then speak of him by the cherishing appellation of 'my boy.'"

Hamilton remained upon the staff of General Washington until the year 1781. He was during this time the "principal and most confidential aid" of the Commander-in-Chief, and discharged his duties with great ability. His talents, as has been said, won him the respect of the general officers of the army, who regarded his opinions with the consideration they merited. His knowledge of the French language was of the greatest service to Washington after the arrival of the French contingent, and the cordial manner in which he devoted himself to the comfort of the French officers made him as great a favorite with them as he was with his own countrymen. His ability to speak French with fluency won him the friendship of Baron Steuben, whose merits he quickly detected. Hamilton strongly urged Washington to secure for the Baron the rank of Inspector-general, and had the happiness of seeing his recommendation carried out by the Commander-in-Chief.

In November, 1777, Colonel Hamilton was entrusted with a mission which put his tact and firmness to a severe trial, but which he successfully accomplished. The army of Burgoyne had surrendered, and Gates had been ordered to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief from his army. He put off compliance with this order so long that it was decided in council at headquarters to send an officer of Washington's staff to him to represent the critical state of affairs, and urge him to send on the reinforcements. Hamilton was chosen for this mission. He found Gates very much indisposed to part with any of his troops. That general had designs of his own, to which the plans of the Commander-in-chief must give way. Hamilton felt great embarrassment in dealing with an officer who had just won the most considerable success of the war, and who was in consequence the idol of the hour; but, by the exercise of considerable tact, succeeded at length in inducing Gates to order two brigades to the assistance of Washington. Gates gave this order with the greatest reluctance. Reinforcements falling short from this quarter, Hamilton was obliged to draw them from Putnam's command in the Highlands, and displayed equal good management in inducing the old hero to forego his fondly planned attack upon New York, and send a part of his troops to Washington.

In the spring of 1778, Washington suggested to General Parsons, then commanding at West Point, a plan for the surprise and seizure of Sir Henry Clinton at his quarters in New York. Upon being informed of the plan, Hamilton agreed that it was very sure of success. "But sir," said he, "have you examined the consequences of it?" "In what respect?" asked Washington. "Why," replied Hamilton, "we shall rather lose than gain by removing Sir Henry from the command of the British army, because we perfectly understand his character; and by taking him away, we only make way for some other, perhaps an abler officer, whose character and dispositions we have to learn." Washington was convinced, upon reflection, that his aid-de-camp was right in his view of the matter, and his project to abduct Sir Henry was abandoned.

When the majority of the Council of War held previous to the battle of Monmouth, advised against an attack upon the enemy, Hamilton earnestly urged Washington to give the preference to the views of Greene, Wayne, and Lafayette, who composed the minority and were in favor of attacking the British without delay. In the battle which ensued, Hamilton greatly distinguished himself.

Hamilton was the first to receive the papers revealing Arnold's treason, captured upon Major André, which Colonel Jameson had forwarded to Washington, and being the confidential aid-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief, opened and read them. He maintained silence as to their contents until the return of Washington from West Point, when he communicated the startling intelligence to the General. He was at once despatched by Washington to Verplanck's Point, with orders to the commander of the battery at that place to fire upon Arnold if he had not already passed that point. Hamilton rode at breakneck speed in his eagerness to intercept the traitor, but Arnold's barge had passed the battery some time before his arrival, and the traitor was safe on board the *Vulture*.

In 1781, when it was decided by Congress to appoint Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, of War and of Marine, and a Superintendent of Finance, General Sullivan, who was in Congress, and was a warm friend of Hamilton, was anxious that the

young colonel, then but twenty-nine years old, should be placed at the head of the treasury department, and wrote to Washington to ascertain his opinion of Hamilton's qualifications. "I am unable to answer," replied Washington, "because I never entered upon a discussion with him, but this I can venture to advance, from a thorough knowledge of him, that there are few men to be found of his age, who have more general knowledge than he possesses; and none whose soul is more firmly engaged in the cause, or who exceeds him in probity and sterling virtue."

A few days after this warm tribute was written, Hamilton ceased to be a member of Washington's military family in consequence of a misunderstanding with the Commander-in-Chief, in which the colonel was clearly in the wrong. In a letter to General Schuyler, whose daughter Hamilton had married, the colonel thus states the reasons which induced him to quit the staff: "I always disliked the office of an aid-de-camp, as having in it a kind of personal dependence. I refused to serve in this capacity with two Major-generals, at an early period of the war. Infected, however, with the enthusiasm of the times, an idea of the general's character overcame my scruples, and induced me to accept his invitation to enter into his family. * * It has been often with great difficulty that I have prevailed on myself not to renounce it; but while, from motives of public utility, I was doing violence to my feelings, I was always determined, if there should ever happen a breach between us, never to consent to an accommodation. I was persuaded that when once that nice barrier which marked the boundaries of what we owed to each other should be thrown down, it might be propped again, but could never be restored."

"Hamilton," says Irving, "in fact, had long been ambitious of an independent position, and of some opportunity, as he said, 'to raise his character above mediocrity.' When an expedition by Lafayette against Staten Island had been meditated in the autumn of 1780, he had applied to the Commander-in-Chief, through the Marquis, for the command of a battalion, which was without a field officer. Washington had declined, on the ground that giving him a whole battalion might be a subject of dissatisfaction, and that should any accident happen to him in

the actual state of affairs at headquarters, the Commander-in-Chief would be embarrassed for want of his assistance. He had next been desirous of the post of Adjutant-general, which Colonel Alexander Scammel was about to resign, and was recommended for that office by Lafayette and Greene, but, before their recommendations reached Washington, he had already sent into Congress the name of Brigadier-general Hand, who received the nomination. These disappointments may have rendered Hamilton doubtful of his being properly appreciated by the Commander-in-Chief; impaired his devotion to him, and determined him, as he says, 'if there should ever happen a breach between them, never to consent to an accommodation.' It almost looks as if, in his high-strung and sensitive mood, he had been on the watch for an offence, and had grasped at the shadow of one."¹

A temporary coolness between Washington and Hamilton succeeded their parting; but it was only temporary. "The friendship of these two illustrious men was destined to survive the Revolution, and to signalize itself through the many eventful years."

In September, 1780, Hamilton, who had taken a deep interest in the efforts to draw the States into a more perfect union, addressed a letter to Mr. Duane, of New York, urging the meeting of a Convention of delegates from all the States, with full powers to form a general confederation. "He traced the causes of the want of power in Congress, and censured that body for its timidity in refusing to assume authority to preserve the republic from harm." "Undefined powers," he said, "are discretionary powers, limited only by the object for which they were given. * * * We must, at all events, have a strong confederation if we mean to succeed in the contest, and be happy thereafter. Internal police should be regulated by the legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, foreign affairs, finance, armies, fleets, fortifications, coining money, establishing banks, imposing a land tax, poll tax, duties on trade, and the unoccupied lands. * * * The Confederation should provide certain perpetual revenues, productive and easy of collection—a land

¹ *Irving's Life of Washington*. Vol. V., pp. 212-13.

tax, poll tax, or the like; which together with the duties on trade and the unlocated lands, would give Congress a substantial existence. * * While the public good is evidently the object, more may be effected in governments like ours than in any other. It has been a constant remark that free countries have ever paid the heaviest taxes. The obedience of a free people to general laws, however hard they bear, is even more perfect than that of slaves to the arbitrary will of a prince. * * As to the plan of confederation which Congress had proposed, it is defective, and requires to be altered. It is neither fit for war nor peace. The idea of an uncontrollable sovereignty in each State will defeat the powers given to Congress, and make our Union feeble and precarious."

He also recommended the appointment of Secretaries in place of the Committees of Congress to take charge of the departments of Foreign Affairs, War, the Navy, and the Treasury. He left the executive power in the hands of Congress, however. He also proposed the establishment of a National Bank, modeled upon the plan of the Bank of England.

Hamilton was but twenty-three years old at the time this remarkable letter was written, in which the general features of the system finally adopted in the Constitution of the United States, were outlined. The letter attracted general attention, and did much to establish the reputation of the writer.

After withdrawing from the staff, Colonel Hamilton was assigned the command of a corps of light infantry in the division of General Lafayette. In this capacity he took part in the siege of Yorktown, and led the night attack upon the British redoubts on the 14th of October. He was the first to mount the parapet, and carried the work at the point of the bayonet without firing a shot. His humanity was displayed in this engagement as conspicuously as his courage. He saved the life of Major Campbell, the commander of the redoubt, who was about to be despatched by a New Hampshire captain in revenge for his friend Colonel Scammel, who had been put to death by the British. Not a man was killed on this occasion save in a fair combat.

Hamilton was convinced that the surrender of Cornwallis was decisive of the war, and after the siege of Yorktown repaired to

Albany, where he at once began the study of law in order to be able to enter upon the practice of it at the close of the war. At the same time he held himself in readiness to return to the army in case of the renewal of the war. He was appointed by Robert Morris, then at the head of the Treasury Department of the Confederation, receiver of taxes for New York, which position he held while pursuing his legal studies. He wrote the resolutions which General Schuyler, his father-in-law, offered in the Senate of New York on the 19th of July, 1782, declaring that the General Government ought to have power to provide a revenue for itself, and expressing the conviction of New York "that the foregoing important ends can never be attained by partial deliberations of the States separately; but that it is essential to the common welfare that there should be as soon as possible a conference of the whole on the subject; and that it would be advisable for this purpose to propose to Congress to recommend, and to each State to adopt, the measure of assembling a general convention of the States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective Legislatures to ratify their determinations." The resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote of both Houses of the Legislature, and Hamilton was elected one of the delegates from New York to Congress.

Colonel Hamilton at once took rank as one of the leading members of Congress, and imparted to the proceedings of that body a firmer and more vigorous tone than had marked them of late. It was the impulse of the young statesman to command; and he readily found a party in Congress which made him its chief. "If you were but ten years older and twenty thousand pounds richer," said a member of Congress to him, "Congress would give you the highest place they have to bestow." Nor was he a leader in name only. His activity was incessant, and his measures bore the stamp of his daring and untiring genius.

He was elected a member of the Federal Convention of 1787, which formed the Constitution of the United States, and was the recognized leader of the New York delegation to that body. He was now thirty years old, and was looked up to by the State of New York as her most gifted adviser. He

brought with him to the Convention a carefully arranged and well digested plan for a Federal Government, which he meant should take the place of the old Articles of Confederation. It was so perfectly arranged in all its details that Mr. Madison has declared it was capable of being put in instant operation, without alteration or addition.

In making this plan of government, Hamilton had not sought to carry out his own preferences entirely. He knew that the people were determined to try the experiment of a Federal Republic, and his plan was arranged to meet their wishes. The only thing in which he sought to please himself was his effort to make this Republic as much like the British monarchy as possible. He made no secret of his conviction that republicanism was a mere dream, and was destined to certain and speedy failure. His avowed preference was for a limited monarchy, and he regarded the British Constitution as the most perfect system of government ever invented by man. Nevertheless, the people were determined that republican institutions should be tried, and he was equally determined that this trial should be fair and thorough as far as he was concerned.

Hamilton's plan did not suit the Convention, which was more in sympathy with the spirit of America than he. All that he valued was cut out of it, and only the features that he deemed the least important were incorporated in the system adopted by the Convention. He took an active part in the debates, and fully sustained his reputation as an orator and a statesman.

Colonel Hamilton gave his hearty support to the Constitution as finally adopted by the Convention, and urged its ratification by the States. It did not satisfy him; far from it; but he saw that it was the only result possible at the time, and that its rejection by the States would simply leave them weak and divided. He admitted that the Constitution was an improvement upon the Articles of Confederation, but he thought it a "shilly-shally thing" after all. He thought that it might tide the country over the present crisis, but did not believe it would stand the test of time. One result he was sure would be to disgust the people with republicanism and hasten the establishment of that limited monarchy which was the end of all his

dreams. Still he recognized the absolute necessity of its adoption by the States, and he set to work with all his great energy and ability to urge it upon them. He made himself its champion, and did more than any other man in America to secure its adoption. In October, 1787, while on his way down the Hudson from Albany to New York, he wrote a powerful essay in its behalf for the press. This was followed by sixty-four other articles of a similar nature during the winter. These sixty-five essays, with twenty others by Madison and Jay, have since been collected and published under the general title of "The Federalist." Hamilton's articles were written during the time he could snatch from a busy and growing law practice.

After the organization of the Executive Departments of the new government, Colonel Hamilton was appointed by President Washington, in September, 1789, Secretary of the Treasury. So well was Hamilton's fitness for this position understood, that his nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the day it was made. The views of the President and the Senate were shared by the whole nation. Even those who doubted his fidelity to the new system acknowledged his great genius. He was in all respects a man of extraordinary powers. "Of Scotch and Celtic origin, he had something of proneness to the exercise of authority. His nature and temperament demanded a strong and well organized government of ever active and enduring power. Though still so young, his creative mind was, and remained for his lifetime, the wellspring of ideas for the conservative politicians of New York, and of an ever increasing circle in other States. From his childhood he was unbounded in his admiration of the English Constitution, and did not utterly condemn its methods of influence in the conduct of public affairs; yet in his own nature there was nothing mean or low; he was disinterested, and always true to his sense of personal integrity and honor. The character of his mind and his leaning to authority, combined with something of a mean opinion of his fellow men, cut him off from the sympathy of the masses, so that he was in many ways unfit to lead a party; and the years of his life which were most productive of good were those in which he acted with Washington, who

was the head, the leader and the guide of a nation in a manner which he was not only incapable of, but could never even fully comprehend. While the weightiest testimony that has ever been borne to the ability of Hamilton is by Washington, there never fell from Hamilton's pen, during the lifetime of the latter, one line which adequately expressed the character of Washington, or gave proof that he had the patience to verify the immense power that lay concealed beneath the uniform moderation and method of his chief. He had a good heart, but with it the pride and the natural arrogance of youth, combined with an almost overweening consciousness of his powers, so that he was ready to find faults in the administrations of others, and to believe that things might have gone better if the direction had rested with himself. Bold in the avowal of his own opinions, he was fearless to provoke and prompt to combat opposition. It was not his habit to repine over lost opportunities; his nature inclined him rather to prevent what seemed to him coming evils by timely action.

"The England of that day had its precocious statesmen. For stateliness of eloquence, and consummate skill in managing a legislative assembly, the palm must be given to Pitt, whom Hamilton excelled in vigor, consistency and versatility. There were points of analogy between Hamilton and Fox. Both were of warm and passionate natures; but Hamilton became the father of a family, while Fox wasted life as a libertine. It was remarkable of both of them, that, with glowing natures, their style in debate and in writing was devoid of ornament, attractive only by strength of thought and clearness of expression."¹

Immediately upon entering upon his new position, Hamilton addressed himself with his usual energy to the difficult duties before him. The condition of the country was very critical. It was burdened with debt, and the currency of the United States was worthless. The national debt, which had been forty-two millions of dollars at the close of the war, had swollen through arrears of interest to upwards of fifty-four millions. Of this amount, nearly twelve millions were due to creditors in France,

¹ *Bancroft's History of the United States*. Vol. X., pp. 410-11.

Holland and Spain; the remainder to the officers and soldiers of the armies of the Revolution; to the farmers who had sold supplies to the Government, or whose property had been taken for the public service; and to capitalists who had advanced money to the Government at critical periods. The larger part of the domestic debt had been parted with by the original holders, and was now due to speculative purchasers, who had bought it at a depreciation of over seventy per cent. There was a strong feeling throughout the country that these speculative purchasers should receive only the amount they had paid for the certificates of the Government. They, on their part, argued that by buying the certificates even at their depreciated value, they had relieved the immediate wants of the original holders, and had assumed the entire risk of the failure of the Government to pay them, and were therefore entitled to the profit that would accrue to them by a payment of the certificates in full.

Besides the national debt, the States individually were involved in liabilities contracted on account of the war to the aggregate amount of about twenty-five millions of dollars. Thus the whole debt due by the country on account of the Revolution was nearly eighty millions of dollars.

In this state of affairs the credit of the General Government disappeared. It was imperatively necessary that some system of finance should be devised at once which should revive the national credit, place the public debt in a condition to be paid off, and secure the funds necessary for the proper and energetic administration of the General Government. The administration of Washington was pledged to bring about such a result; the very life of the Republic depended upon it. At the opening of the session of 1789-90, Congress requested the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare during its recess a plan for accomplishing this great object.

At the reassembling of Congress in January, 1790, Hamilton submitted his plan to Congress. He insisted, as the basis of all efforts to bring about a healthy financial condition, that the foreign debt should be paid in full according to its terms. The debt due to American holders of the Government certificates, he declared, should be paid in full also, whether those certifi-

cates were held by the original creditors, or by persons who had purchased them at their depreciated value. The faith of the nation, he declared, was pledged to the payment of the debt regardless of the character of the creditors, and he repudiated the distinction which some were inclined to make between them, as unwise, impolitic, unjust, and impracticable. He urged Congress to assume the debts of the States, as they were all contracted for the common cause of national independence and not for the benefit of any particular section. No more money would be required to be raised by this transfer, and the process of payment would be expedited, as it was easier for the Federal Government to raise money than for the States to do so. He recommended, therefore, that the whole mass of the debt be funded, that the United States be made responsible for it, and taxes be levied for its payment. In order that the debt might be made secure, he suggested that the domestic creditors should consent to an abatement of accruing interest. A reason for urging the assumption by Congress of the State debts "which, no doubt, had great weight with him, though he did not bring it under consideration in his report, for fear, probably, of offending the jealousy of State sovereignty, dormant, but not extinct, was, that it would tend to unite the States financially, as they were united politically, and strengthen the central government by rallying capitalists around it, subjecting them to its influence, and rendering them agents of its will."

The plan of the Secretary of the Treasury was called up for discussion in Congress on the 8th of February. It was opposed with great vehemence, particularly the proposed assumption of the State debts, which was denounced as tending to consolidation in the Government, as giving too much influence to the Federal Government, and as unconstitutional. The opposition was not confined to Congress, but extended throughout the country. The Northern States generally approved the plan, but the South, with the exception of South Carolina, opposed it. It was the most intricate problem that had yet been presented to the country for solution, and it was not strange that it should occasion profound and radical differences of opinion. The most alarming feature of the discussion was the sectional

division which it occasioned. The Northern and Eastern States were to be chiefly benefited by the proposed assumption, and were unanimously in its favor. The Southern States, with but the single exception noted above, opposed it. The success of the scheme was very doubtful.

There was another question before the public which was attracting great attention. It had been resolved by Congress to remove the seat of the Federal Government from New York, and to acquire a Federal District, which should be free from the control of the States and under the supreme authority of Congress. The North and the South were each anxious that the proposed district should be situated within their respective limits, and the quarrel over this question had become almost as bitter as that over the proposition for the assumption of the State debts.

At this juncture, Hamilton, who had almost begun to despair of the success of his plan, resolved to combine the two questions of the assumption of the State debts and the removal of the seat of government, in the hope of effecting a compromise upon them. Mr. Jefferson had just arrived in New York to assume his position as Secretary of State, and Hamilton determined to secure his influence in favor of the scheme, as he was looked up to by the Southern members of Congress with unbounded confidence. At his urgent solicitation, Mr. Jefferson agreed to assemble the leading Southern members at a dinner at his house, and induce them to give their votes in favor of the assumption. Hamilton declared that if they would support this measure the Northern members would vote in favor of the location of the National Capital on the banks of the Potomac. The dinner was given, and a sufficient number of votes was pledged for the assumption bill on the terms proposed by Hamilton.

The measure was finally adopted in a somewhat modified form. The State debts, to the amount of \$21,500,000, were assumed by Congress, and this sum was divided specifically among the States. The bill in this form passed the Senate on the 22d of July, and the House on the 24th. It was promptly signed by the President and became a law.

The promise of Hamilton respecting the transfer of the seat

of government was carried out in good faith, the Northern members being won over to it by his influence. A bill was passed by Congress establishing the seat of government at Philadelphia for ten years. In the year 1800 it was to be transferred to the new city of Washington, on the banks of the Potomac.

Mr. Jefferson afterwards regretted the part he took in this transaction, as upon further investigation of the subject, (which he frankly told Hamilton at the time of the latter's appeal to him, he did not understand,) he was of the opinion that the States should have paid their own debts. From this time he became suspicious of Hamilton, a feeling which deepened as he became better acquainted with the views of his fellow-secretary.

Having carried his scheme for the funding of the debt, Hamilton now proposed to Congress another measure over which he had brooded since before the close of the war. In his first report to Congress he had urged the establishment of a Bank of the United States, modeled upon the Bank of England. In his report to Congress in December, 1791, he urged the immediate adoption of this suggestion. A bill establishing a national bank was introduced in the Senate and passed. It was warmly opposed in the House on constitutional grounds and for other reasons, but was finally passed by a majority of nineteen votes. When the bill was presented to the President for his action, the Cabinet was evenly divided. Jefferson and Randolph opposed it as unconstitutional; Hamilton and Knox sustained it. Washington maturely weighed the objections to the measure, and then gave the bill his signature.

The Bank of the United States was established at Philadelphia with a charter for twenty years and a capital of ten millions of dollars, of which the Government took two millions, and private individuals the remainder. The establishment of the Bank was very beneficial to the Government, as well as to the general business of the country. The notes of the Bank were payable in gold and silver on presentation at its counters.

Hamilton was closely identified with the measures of Washington's administration. The confidence of the President in his abilities and integrity was unbounded, and the influence of

the Secretary over Washington was very great, so that Hamilton may be said to have controlled the general policy of the administration. He advised the President to issue his Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793, during the struggle between France and England, and firmly supported the neutral policy of the Government during this war. He regarded the earlier stages of the French Revolution with favor, so long as the efforts of the French Liberals were directed to limiting the power of the crown and confirming the liberties of the subject; but he denounced, with all the energy of his nature, the attempts to overthrow the monarchy, and regarded the excesses of the Revolutionists as a natural result of republicanism.

In 1794, when it was decided to send a minister to England to negotiate a treaty which should put an end to the causes which threatened to involve the two countries in war, Colonel Hamilton was the President's choice for that position. Considerable opposition was expressed to this appointment, and Hamilton advised the President to send John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, on the mission. Mr. Jay was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Hamilton had retired from the Cabinet before the treaty negotiated by Jay was received, but defended it in a series of able papers published during the summer of 1795.

The opposition of Mr. Jefferson to Hamilton's plan for a national bank brought the two secretaries in direct conflict with each other, and from this time the war between them was open and declared. "Hamilton and myself," writes Jefferson, "were daily pitted in the Cabinet like two cocks." General Knox, in these differences, sustained his old comrade in arms, and Randolph adhered to Mr. Jefferson. The President constantly endeavored to harmonize the differences of the secretaries, but without success. The quarrel was the result of a mutual misconception of the true purposes of the opposing parties, as well as an inevitable conflict between principles naturally hostile. Jefferson was a born republican; Hamilton a natural aristocrat. Jefferson believed that government was for the people, should be by the people, and should be conducted on the most genuine principles of political equality. Hamilton distrusted and misunderstood the people, and believed only in a limited mon-

archy which should embrace his political trinity of King, Lords, and Commons. To Hamilton Jefferson appeared as a full-blooded Radical, who sought to break down all government and inaugurate the reign of communism. Jefferson looked upon Hamilton as a plotter against the republic he had sworn to uphold, and mistook his preference for monarchical institutions for a determination to force them upon the country. He looked upon all Hamilton's measures for remedying the financial difficulties of the country as having a deeper motive, and as being designed to change by degrees the system of government to an extent that the final transition to a monarchy would be simple. In his own mind, Mr. Jefferson did full justice to the virtues of Hamilton's character, and, in his "Anas," speaks of him as a man "of acute understanding, disinterested, honest, and honorable in all private transactions; amiable in society, and duly valuing virtue in private life. Yet so bewitched and perverted by the British example, as to be under thorough conviction that corruption was essential to the government of a nation." Hamilton was not so ready to do justice to his rival. He could not bear opposition to his plans, and resented it as an attack upon himself. Entertaining a profound contempt for mankind in general, the bitterness of his wrath was reserved for those whom he considered his enemies.

The quarrel between the two Secretaries spread to the country, and each soon found himself the leader of a powerful and devoted following. We have already given the outline of this quarrel in its later stages, and need not repeat it here. It gave the President no little annoyance and pain, and was seriously detrimental to the best interests of the country.

In January, 1795, Hamilton resigned his Secretaryship. The salary of his office was not sufficient to enable him to support his family in comfort, and there were other reasons which induced him to return to the practice of his profession. Washington accepted his resignation with regret, and in parting with him, wrote to him: "After so long an experience of your public services, I am naturally led, at this moment of your departure from office (which it has always been my wish to prevent), to review them. In every relation which you have borne to me, I have found that my confidence in your talents, exertions,

and integrity has been well placed. I the more freely render this testimony of my approbation, because I speak from opportunities of information which cannot deceive me, and which furnish satisfactory proof of your title to public regard."

After retiring from the Cabinet, Colonel Hamilton devoted himself to the practice of his profession. He remained the acknowledged leader of the Federalist party in New York, and was by far the most influential man in that State. He supported Mr. Adams for the Presidency, and did much to secure his election.

To the earlier measures of Mr. Adams's administration, Colonel Hamilton gave his approval and support, and some of the most objectionable features of that administration are directly traceable to his influence. He inspired the Alien and Sedition laws, which were a disgrace to the American statute book, and which we have discussed in our sketch of John Adams. These measures were passed by the votes of the party over which his influence was all powerful. His share in these transactions rendered him the object of the bitter hatred of the Republicans. He saw no harm in them, however, and regarded them as but a means of giving to the Federal Government the character he desired it to possess.

When the troubles in France began, Hamilton became the leader of the party which desired war with that country. When the raising of a provisional army was ordered by Congress, with Washington as Commander-in-Chief, Hamilton was made the senior Major-general of the new organization. He was virtually the Commander-in-Chief, for Washington, unwilling to leave his home unless required by the necessities of the case, left the management of military affairs very much in the hands of Hamilton, in whom he had perfect confidence.

Hamilton had long regarded the French Revolution with intense hatred, and was delighted at the prospect of dealing a blow to Revolutionary France. He hoped also to secure the alliance of England, and to induce the Government of the United States to aid the South American States to throw off the rule of Spain. Thus far he had been able to carry things his own way. As we have seen, the members of the Cabinet were devoted to him, and were prepared to aid him in his efforts

to dragoon President Adams in submitting to his will. So much was he elated by the success of his measures, and so little did he anticipate an independent course on the part of the President, that he deemed the war with France certain; he had no doubt that the struggle would be one of sufficient magnitude to enable him to win all the military renown he coveted.

He was rudely roused from his dreams of glory by the decisive course of President Adams, which we have related elsewhere, in meeting the French overtures for peace in a friendly manner, and in bringing the quarrel to a peaceful and honorable settlement. John Adams never did a nobler deed than this, but it cost him his popularity. Hamilton never forgave him, and resolved to destroy him. "For my individual part," he wrote to Theodore Sedgwick, "my mind is made up. I will never more be responsible for Adams by direct support, even though the consequence should be the election of Jefferson. If we must have an enemy at the head of the government, let it be one whom we can oppose, and for whom we are not responsible, and who will not involve our party in the disgrace of his foolish and bad measures." By his intrigues to defeat Mr. Adams he destroyed his own party. The election of 1800 was thrown into the House of Representatives, and resulted in the choice of Mr. Jefferson.

In Hamilton's own State of New York, the election went against him, and the people elected a Legislature pledged to choose Republican electors. Hamilton had so little sympathy with the true spirit of republicanism that he was not willing to submit to this decision of the people. "He instantly wrote to Governor Jay, urging him to summon at once the *existing* Legislature (whose time had still seven weeks to run,) and get it to pass a law depriving the Legislature of power to elect electors, and devolving it upon the people by districts. This manœuvre would give the beaten Federalists a second chance. It would rob the Republicans of their victory. * * *

"To a person unacquainted with Hamilton's peculiar character, this advice to the Governor seems simply base. But the error, like millions of others of our short-sighted race, was not half so much moral as mental. It was ignorance and incapacity, rather than turpitude. He said to the Governor in sub-

stance: 'I own that this measure is not regular, nor delicate, nor, in ordinary circumstances, even decent; but scruples of delicacy and propriety ought not to hinder the taking of a *legal* and *constitutional* step to prevent an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics from getting possession of the helm of state. You don't know these Republicans as I do,' he continued, 'the party is a composition, indeed, of very incongruous materials, but all tending to mischief; some of them to the overthrow of the government by stripping it of its due energies, others of them to a revolution, after the manner of Bonaparte. I speak from indubitable facts, not from conjectures and inferences. Now, my dear sir, these people call to their aid "all the resources which vice can give;" can we, then, hope to succeed, we *virtuous*, if we confine ourselves "within all the ordinary forms of delicacy and decorum?" No, indeed. But, of course, we must "frankly avow" our object. You must tell the Legislature that our purpose is to reverse the result of the late election, in order to prevent the General Government from falling into hostile hands, and to save the great cause of social order.'

"To us, this long epistle to Mr. Jay reads more like mania than wickedness. This man had lived in New York twenty years without so much as learning the impossibility of its people being made to submit to an outrage so gross. Governor Jay was at no loss to characterize the proposal aright. Instead of plunging the State into civil war by adopting the measure, he folded Hamilton's letter and put it away among his most private papers, bearing this indorsement: '*Proposing a measure for party purposes which I think it would not become me to adopt.*'" ¹

And yet Hamilton was not a bad man. He was scrupulously faithful to his political convictions; but those convictions were not such as a good American should hold. He held that a long stretch of power was lawful in politics. He was honorable and upright in his dealings with his fellow-men, and exceedingly kind-hearted and amiable in disposition. "What a pleasant picture we have of the breakfast scene at his house, No. 24 Broadway, the mother seated at the head of the table,

¹ *Life of Thomas Jefferson.* By James Parton, pp. 562-563.

with a napkin in her lap, cutting slices of bread from a great family loaf of the olden time, and spreading them with butter for the younger boys, who stood round her, reading in turn from the Bible or Goldsmith's History of Rome; while the father, in the room adjoining, was seated at the piano playing an accompaniment to his daughter's new song, or singing it to her accompaniment. When the lessons were finished, and a stately pile of bread and butter was ready, all the eight children came to breakfast; after which the younger ones were packed off to school, and the father went to his office.

"Who more amiable than that father? There is a portrait of Mrs. Hamilton, as one of her sons relates, bearing the name of the painter, 'T. Earle, 1787,' which attests his goodness of heart. Earle was in the debtor's prison at the time, and Hamilton induced his wife to go to the prison and sit for her portrait. She persuaded other ladies, and thus the artist gained money enough to pay his debts and get out of jail. No man was more ready than Hamilton to set on foot such good-natured schemes, though himself never too far from the debtor's prison. At this very time—1791 to 1794—he was pinched severely in his effort to live upon his little salary. 'If you can lend me conveniently twenty dollars for a few days,' he wrote to a friend in September, 1791, 'be so good as to send it by the bearer.' The friend sent a check for fifty dollars. And Talleyrand said, in 1794, coming from Hamilton's house, 'I have beheld one of the wonders of the world—a man who has made the fortune of a nation laboring all night to support a family.'"¹

In November, 1801, General Hamilton's eldest son, Philip, a young man of twenty, became involved in a quarrel with a Mr. Eacker, of New York. Hamilton challenged Eacker to mortal combat. The parties met on the shores of the Hudson, and young Hamilton was mortally wounded. He died the next day. The untimely end of his son was a cruel blow to General Hamilton, and for the time seemed to crush him.

In the campaign of 1804, the Republican party declined to renominate Colonel Aaron Burr for the Vice Presidency, and

¹ *Parton.*

nominated George Clinton in his place. Burr received the Republican nomination for Governor of New York, but was opposed during the canvass with great warmth by General Hamilton, and was defeated. He deeply resented Hamilton's exertions against him, and resolved to be revenged upon him. He soon found a pretext, and at once seized upon it. One of the newspapers of the day published a letter written by Dr. Cooper to a friend, in which the following passage occurred: "Gen. Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared in substance that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government. *I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr.*"

As this was as good a cause of quarrel as he was likely to find, Burr's resolution was taken. On the 17th of June, 1804, he despatched his friend, Mr. Van Ness, with a letter to Hamilton, in which he said: "You must perceive, sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgement or denial of the use of any expressions which could warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper."

Hamilton, on the 20th of June, replied to this communication. He declared his readiness to avow or deny any particular opinion or expression attributed to himself, but declined to be responsible for, or to be questioned about the assertions or inferences of third parties. Considerable correspondence followed, in which Hamilton showed the most conciliatory spirit, though it was evident that Burr meant to force him into an encounter. Burr had deliberately resolved upon the death of Hamilton, and he left him no opportunity of avoiding a hostile meeting with credit. Such was the barbarous spirit of the times that Hamilton was driven, in order to avoid public disgrace, to consent to his own murder. The correspondence was brought to a close by a challenge from Burr to a mortal combat, and against his better judgment, Hamilton consented to the meeting. The seconds agreed that the encounter should take place on the shore of the Hudson, at Weehawken, on the 11th of July, at an early hour of the morning.

On the 9th of July Hamilton made his will. He desired that his debts should be paid, and left the residue of his

property, if any should remain after such payment, to his wife, whom he tenderly committed to the care of his sons. He deeply regretted the necessity of the meeting with Burr, but could see no alternative consistent with his honor. Public opinion had not then condemned the barbarous code, as it has since. He had no wish to injure Burr, and declared to his second his intention to throw away his fire.

At the appointed time the parties with their seconds crossed over from New York in hired boats to the Jersey shore, and repaired to the designated spot on the river shore at the foot of the heights of Weehawken, the spot where, three years before, young Philip Hamilton had fallen in a similar encounter. The preliminaries were soon arranged, and the principals took their positions. The word of command was given, and Burr taking deliberate aim at his antagonist fired. Hamilton fell, but true to his resolution, threw away his fire, and his pistol was accidentally discharged as he was falling. Burr glanced at him with a look of pity, but was hurried away by his second. Hamilton was partially stunned by the shock of his injury, but recovered as his second and surgeon hastened to him. His eye rested for a moment on his pistol which lay upon the ground, and of the discharge of which he was ignorant. Anxious for the safety of his friends, he said, faintly: "Take care of that pistol. It is undischarged and still cocked; it may go off, and do harm. Pendleton (his second) knows that I did not mean to fire at him."

He was carried to the boat and rowed across to New York, and conveyed to the house of his friend, Mr. Bayard. His wife was sent for, and the sad news broken gently to her. Hamilton was aware that his hurt was mortal; but bore his sufferings with fortitude, and endeavored to comfort his heart-broken wife. He sank rapidly, and died on the 12th of July, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

His death was universally lamented in all parts of the country, and even his political enemies, touched by the suddenness of his fate, joined in the tributes to his memory. Burr was regarded with such horror that he found it best to retire to Georgia, until the indignation he had excited, by the murder of his victim, had subsided.

GEORGE CLINTON.

ONE of the most devoted adherents of the Stuarts during the great civil war in England was General James Clinton. At the fall of the King he passed over to Ireland, where he established his family. In 1729, his grandson, Charles Clinton, emigrated to America, and settled in Ulster, now Orange County, New York, just above the Highlands of the Hudson. Charles Clinton's new home was not more than fifty miles distant from New York, but was on the extreme frontier. Beyond it were the wilderness and the savage. The house was built with a view to protection from assault, as well as to securing the comforts of a home, for it was oftentimes necessary to convert these border mansions into fortresses to resist the attacks of the Indians. Charles Clinton was, of necessity, a soldier. He took an active part in the wars with the Indians and the French, and commanded a regiment of provincial troops stationed at Fort Herkimer. His regiment formed a part of Bradstreet's expedition against Fort Frontenac, and he was present at the capture of that post. His two sons, James and George, served in the same campaign, the one as a captain and the other as a lieutenant. After the close of hostilities, Charles Clinton was for many years Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was an ardent sympathizer with his adopted country in the controversy with Great Britain, and died in 1773, just on the eve of the Revolution. On his death-bed he charged his sons "to stand by the liberties of their country."

GEORGE CLINTON, the second son of this worthy sire, was born at the family seat in Ulster County, New York, on the 26th of July, 1739. He received a fair education, and having manifested a desire for the profession of the law, began the study of it at an early age. Before he had been long engaged in his studies, however, he laid aside his books to accept a lieutenant's commission in the force raised in New York to

operate against the French and Indians. He took part in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Fort Frontenac; and two years later served under Amherst at the capture of Montreal. In the latter year (1760), when but twenty-one years old, he distinguished himself in an engagement on the St. Lawrence, when with four gunboats he captured a French brig of eighteen guns after a severe engagement.

Upon the return of peace George Clinton went back to the study of the law, placing himself under the tuition of Chief Justice Smith. One of his fellow-students was Gouverneur Morris. He passed the next two or three years in study, and then entered upon the practice of his profession. He was not to continue it in peace, for in 1765 the passage of the Stamp Act joined the issue squarely between the Colonies and Great Britain.

Clinton promptly espoused the cause of his country. He was quick and ardent in his nature, and firm in his opinions. He believed that the controversy with the Mother Country would require the best services of every true American, and he relinquished his hopes of gaining a fortune by his profession to devote himself to the defence of the liberties of America. He was elected to the Assembly of New York, in which he soon took rank as one of its most gifted and patriotic members. He was prompt in the discussion of the hostile measures of the British Government, and firm in the defense of the rights of his country. He was a man of pure life, and was greatly beloved by the Whig or Patriot party, of which he was the acknowledged leader.

In 1775 he was elected a delegate from New York to the Continental Congress. In that body he was an advocate of decisive measures, and was a worthy co-worker with the Adamses, the Lees, and the determined minority of patriots who were resolved that the freedom of the country should be established. He warmly supported the proposal for a Declaration of Independence, and cast his vote for that measure when it was put on its final passage in Congress. He was deprived of the pleasure of signing the Declaration, as he was compelled to hasten away from Philadelphia the moment his vote was given. He had been appointed a Brigadier-General in the

provincial forces of New York, and the necessities of the military situation required his immediate presence in the field.

Hastening from Congress to New York, which was then held by the Americans, General Clinton proceeded from that city to New Windsor, in Ulster County, just above the Highlands. Some months before, Washington had caused two works to be erected in the Highlands for the purpose of holding the river against the enemy. These were Fort Montgomery and Fort Constitution. The former was situated on the west bank of the river, north of the Dunderberg, and opposite the promontory of Anthony's Nose. Fort Constitution was situated six miles higher up the river, "on a rocky island of the same name, at a narrow strait where the Hudson, shouldered by precipices, makes a sudden bend round West Point." The forts were garrisoned by five companies of the regiment of Colonel James Clinton, the elder brother of the subject of this memoir, who was placed by Washington in command of both posts.

The command of General George Clinton embraced the militia of the counties of Ulster and Orange, a region in which his influence was all-powerful. He was fully alive to the importance of holding the Highlands against the enemy, and during the war remained the constant and sleepless guardian of this important region, the loss of which would have broken the communication between the Eastern and Southern States, and would have been well nigh, if not entirely, fatal to the cause.

On the 12th of July, 1776, two British ships of war left their anchorage in New York Bay, and passing the batteries of the city, and at Paulus Hook on the Jersey shore, ascended the Hudson. Washington, fearful that their object might be to capture the yet unfinished works in the Highlands, sent off an express to Gen. Clinton, urging him to call out the militia for their defense. Clinton did not receive the letter until the 14th. On the morning of the 13th he was notified of the approach of the enemy by an alarm gun from Fort Constitution, and a little later was informed by the captains of two river sloops that the enemy had attacked New York and were ascending the river with their ships. Clinton at once summoned the

militia to arms, and they responded with a will to his summons. One regiment was sent to each of the forts, and a third was held in reserve at Newburgh. All the other regiments under his command were ordered to be ready for instant service. He also collected a number of river craft with which to obstruct the river at Fort Constitution. He then hastened to that work, and after a conference with his brother, repaired to Fort Montgomery, where he fixed his headquarters on the night of the 13th, well satisfied with his day's work. The next morning he received Washington's letter. The instructions of the Commander-in-Chief had been anticipated. Early on the morning of the 14th, two fresh regiments arrived at Fort Montgomery, and reported parts of two other regiments on the march. Clinton had roused the whole country.

The enemy's ships ascended the river to Haverstraw Bay, where they lay for several weeks, taking soundings of the river, and frequently shifting their anchorage to avoid the fire of the Americans from the shore. Clinton continued his preparations for disputing the passage of the Highlands. A chain was to be stretched across the river from Fort Montgomery to Anthony's Nose, and the channel was to be obstructed by sinking vessels in it. Fire-ships were prepared, and a number of row-galleys armed with nine-pounders collected. These galleys, early in August, made an attack upon the British vessels, and, though compelled to retreat, inflicted considerable damage upon them. The whole country along the Hudson was in arms, and the most enthusiastic spirit was everywhere displayed. About the middle of August an attempt was made to destroy the *Phoenix* and *Rose* by means of fire-ships, and came near succeeding. The British vessels at once dropped down the Hudson and rejoined the fleet in the bay, suffering considerably from the fire of the American batteries on their way down the river.

As soon as relieved of his anxiety for the safety of the Highlands, Washington ordered General Clinton to leave a sufficient force there, under his brother, and to join him with the rest of his command at King's Bridge. Clinton at once obeyed the order, and took part in the campaign which followed the evacuation of New York. His idea of war was "straightforward

fighting," and his patience was sorely tried by the cautious strategy by which Washington outgeneraled Sir William Howe and saved his army.

Upon transferring the bulk of his army to the west side of the Hudson, Washington sent Clinton and his militia back to the Highlands to keep watch over them, and directed General Heath, with his brigade of Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, to co-operate with him. Heath took position at Peekskill at the entrance of the Highlands, and Clinton repaired to the forts higher up the river. He remained there during the trying retreat of the army across New Jersey, full of the keenest apprehension for the safety of the river. His fears were at length relieved by the victories of Trenton and Princeton, and the occupation by the army of the position near Morristown.

In 1777 General Clinton was commissioned a Brigadier-general in the Continental army, at the urgent request of the Convention of New York. He was continued in his command of the Highland forts, with his headquarters at New Windsor. "My precarious state of health," he wrote to Washington upon the receipt of his new commission, "and my want of military knowledge, would have rather induced me to have led a more retired life than that of the army, had I been consulted on the occasion; but as, early in the present contest, I laid it down as a maxim not to refuse my best, though poor services, to my country, in any way they should think proper to employ me, I cannot refuse the honor done me in the present appointment."

"He was perfectly sincere in what he said," says Irving. "George Clinton was one of those soldiers of the Revolution who served from a sense of duty, not from military inclination or a thirst of glory. A long career of public service in various capacities illustrated his modest worth and devoted patriotism."

On the 23d of March, 1777, the enemy sent an expedition up the Hudson and captured Peekskill, where a considerable quantity of stores was destroyed by them. The New York Convention ordered Clinton to call out the militia of the surrounding country, and he exerted himself to strengthen the obstructions to the river at Fort Montgomery. In May the Highland forts were inspected by Generals Greene, Knox, Mc-

Dougall and Wayne, by order of General Washington. These officers approved Clinton's measures for obstructing the river, and advised the completion of the obstructions.

In April, 1777, the Convention of New York adopted a State Constitution, and at the first election under it George Clinton was chosen Governor of New York. He was regularly re-elected for eighteen years, filling the longest term of office ever held by any of the Chief Magistrates of the Empire State. He continued to hold his command of the Highland forts, and at the same time to discharge his duties as Governor of New York. Washington was well pleased when informed of Clinton's determination to continue in the field. "There cannot be a more proper man on every account," he wrote. Clinton kept a vigilant eye upon the Hudson during Burgoyne's invasion. The chief command of the Highland region was held by General Putnam, but he stood ready to move with the militia to the assistance of the latter whenever summoned.

It was the intention of Sir Henry Clinton to force his way through the Highlands and reach Albany, from which point he expected to coöperate with Burgoyne in the subjugation of New York. In the autumn of 1777, he was reinforced by 2,000 fresh troops from England, and at once entered upon the execution of his plan. A force of about 4,000 men, with artillery, was embarked, and about the 1st of October, Clinton began his ascent of the Hudson.

The Highland defences consisted of Forts Montgomery, Clinton and Constitution. Fort Clinton had been erected within rifle range of Fort Montgomery, and on a point which commanded that work. It was complete, while Fort Montgomery was still unfinished. The garrisons of the two forts did not exceed six hundred men. The obstructions in the river had been seriously weakened by the pressure of the tide, but were believed to be sufficient. Two frigates and two armed galleys were anchored above them.

On the 5th of September Sir Henry Clinton reached Verplanck's Point, where he landed his troops. He completely deceived Putnam into believing that his object was to attack Peekskill and Fort Independence. Putnam took position in the rear of Peekskill to resist him, and sent to Governor Clin-

ton for all the militia he could spare. Having outwitted Putnam, Sir Henry Clinton crossed his troops to the west side of the Hudson under the cover of a heavy fog, on the morning of the 6th of October, and dividing them into two columns, set off through the mountain passes to surprise Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and carry them by a *coup de main*. He found the Governor more vigilant than Putnam. Governor Clinton, upon the approach of the enemy's ships, had thrown his scouts out beyond the Dunderberg to watch their movements. Early on the morning of the 6th, he was informed of the landing of the British at Stony Point, and at once penetrated their design. He prepared to defend the forts to the last extremity, and despatched a messenger to Putnam for assistance. The messenger turned traitor, and deserted to the enemy, and Putnam knew nothing of the attack upon the forts until it was decided.

Several detached parties with a field-piece were thrown out to check the advance of the British, but were driven in by the enemy after a sharp encounter. By four o'clock in the afternoon the Americans were driven within their works, and both forts were attacked. They were defended with spirit, for Governor Clinton meant to hold on to them as long as he could, and, ignorant of the treachery of his messenger, still had hopes of aid from Putnam. At five o'clock he was summoned by the British commander to surrender in five minutes. He refused to comply with the demand, and both forts were simultaneously assaulted. The battle continued until dark, the British ships, which had ascended the river, joining in it. The defense of the forts was desperate, but the garrison was too small to man such extensive works, and the enemy entered them at several points and carried them with the bayonet. Every inch of ground was stubbornly contested; the Americans fought from redoubt to redoubt, losing heavily in killed and wounded. "The garrison," said the Governor bluntly, "had to fight their way out as many as could, for we had determined not to surrender." By dark the works were in full possession of the enemy, the garrison having retreated to the river and to the mountains.

Gen. James Clinton, the brother of the Governor, was wounded, and in this condition slid down a precipice one hun-

dred feet high into a ravine between the forts and escaped. The Governor sprang down the rocks to the river, which he reached just as a boat was putting off with a number of the fugitives. They returned to the shore to take him on board, but he generously refused to enter the boat until assured that it would bear his additional weight. The party then crossed to the opposite shore, and the Governor hastened to join Putnam, who was at Continental village. Putnam had been informed of Sir Henry's true intention by the firing at the forts, and had despatched reinforcements, but they came too late to take part in the fight, and were forced to retreat. The defense of the Highland forts reflected great credit upon their commander and his troops, and it is acknowledged by British writers that the Americans never showed greater resolution and gallantry in any engagement of the war. The enemy's loss was heavy, amounting to 250 killed, wounded, and missing.

The capture of the forts was followed by the removal of the obstructions from the river. Nothing lay now between the British and Albany; but the news of Burgoyne's surrender, which reached the enemy shortly after, caused them to blow up the captured forts and retreat down the river to New York, after devastating and plundering the country along the Hudson.

Governor Clinton continued to keep guard over the Highlands until the presence of the main body of the American army in that region, in the latter years of the war, rendered such an effort on his part unnecessary. He gave a hearty support to the measures of Washington, and exerted himself to keep New York true to her duty of sustaining the army in the great struggle. Washington cordially testified to the energy and value of his assistance during the war. Upon the evacuation of the city of New York by the British, on the 25th of November, 1783, Governor Clinton entered the city at the head of the American troops, and took possession of it in the name of the State of New York.

Governor Clinton was elected to the State Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and gave his earnest support to the adoption of that instrument by the State.

Acting in his official capacity, he received Washington upon

his arrival in New York as President elect, and entertained him at dinner that day.

When the people of the Union were divided by the political quarrels of the administrations of Washington and Adams into the Federalist and Republican parties, Governor Clinton's sympathies and convictions allied him with the latter. In 1804, upon the reëlection of Mr. Jefferson, he was chosen Vice-President of the United States, and was again elected to that position, under Mr. Madison as President, in 1808. He supported the policy of the Republican party with great earnestness, ably seconding Jefferson and Madison to bring back the Government to its true standard of Republican simplicity.

He died in Washington on the 20th of April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age, sincerely lamented by the whole country.



JOHN HANCOCK.

JOHN HANCOCK was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, in the year 1737. He received a common school education, after which he was sent to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1754. He then entered the counting house of his uncle, Thomas Hancock, a prominent merchant of Boston, who died some years later, leaving him the heir of his fortune and his successor in business. Mr. Hancock thus became one of the leading merchants of Boston. He was exceedingly prosperous in his business, and greatly increased the fortune he had inherited from his uncle.

He took a prominent part in the public measures of the times, and was for several years Selectman of the town. He earnestly opposed the Stamp Act, as violative of the rights of the Colonies, and gave to Samuel Adams and his fellow-patriots his hearty coöperation, assisting the Colonial cause with his wealth, as well as by his services. In 1766, the year of the repeal of the Stamp Act, he was elected to the Assembly as a representative from Boston, and held that position until the commencement of the war.

Mr. Hancock's coöperation was of the greatest service to the patriots at this time. He was one of the most popular and influential citizens of Boston, and his name was sure to carry weight with it in any cause he might espouse. He was one of the solid men of the city, and it gave people confidence in the patriot cause to see Hancock risk his great wealth in it.

Hancock was very much pleased with the popularity he enjoyed. He was a handsome man, of attractive appearance, graceful and engaging in manner, and very fond of social pleasures. He was much addicted to lavish display, and dressed richly, conducted his household upon an elaborate and ostentatious plan, and his splendid coach was usually drawn by six handsome bays, and was attended by servants in showy liveries. Beneath all these foibles, however, lay a rich, gener-

ous heart, quick to sympathize with and ready to relieve misfortune. His loyalty to his country's cause was deep and true, and he was justly regarded as one of the most trustworthy leaders of the patriot party of Boston. He did not possess the far-seeing wisdom of Samuel Adams, and to the last hoped that an accommodation might be had with the Mother Country. He deprecated what he regarded as the rashness of Adams in forcing the controversy to a definite issue; but he was as much determined as Adams himself to sustain the cause of freedom with his life and fortune when the crisis did come. His sentiments, and his activity in sustaining the measures of resistance, were well known to the Royalist authorities of the Province, and he was classed by them with Samuel Adams, as one of the most dangerous and resolute of the patriot leaders. He was chosen captain of the Boston Cadets, a volunteer company, composed of the *elite* of the young men of the city. They were in full sympathy with him in his political opinions, and sustained him in his refusal to order them on escort duty at the general election in the spring of 1768. This, together with his open and repeated denunciations of the Revenue Acts, increased the hatred with which the Royalist officials regarded him.

The Commissioners of Customs, in order to annoy him, accused him of having made a false entry of the cargo of his sloop, named *Liberty*. The vessel had recently come in from a voyage with a cargo of Madeira wine, and had discharged her cargo, had taken in another, and was about to sail on a new voyage, when on the 10th of June, 1768, she was seized by the Commissioners on the pretext mentioned above. "The collector thought she might remain at Hancock's wharf after she had received the broad arrow; but the Comptroller had concerted to moor her under the guns of the Romney, which lay a quarter of a mile off, and 'made a signal for the man-of-war's boats to come ashore.'

"'You had better let the vessel lie at the wharf,' said Malcolm to the officer. 'I shall not,' answered Hallowell, the Comptroller, and gave directions to cut the fasts. 'Stop, at least, till the owner comes,' said the people who crowded round. 'No, damn you,' cried Hallowell, 'cast her off.' 'I'll

split out the brains of any man that offers to reeve a fast, or stop the vessel,' said the master of the Romney; and he shouted to the marines to fire. 'What rascal is that, who dares to tell the marines to fire?' cried a Bostoneer; and turning to Harrison, the Collector, a well-meaning man, who disapproved of the violent manner of the seizure, he added, 'The owner has been sent for; you had better let the vessel lie at the wharf till he comes down.' 'No, she shall go,' insisted the Comptroller; 'and show me the man who dares oppose it.' 'Kill the damned scoundrel,' cried the Master. 'We will throw the people from the Romney overboard,' said Malcolm, stung with anger. 'By God, she shall go,' repeated the Master, and he more than once called to the marines, 'Why don't you fire?' and 'bade them fire.' So they cut her moorings, and with ropes in the barges, the sloop was towed away to the Romney.

"A crowd 'of boys and negroes' gathered at the heels of the Custom House officers, and threw stones, bricks and dirt at them, alarming them, but doing no serious mischief; and while Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Warren, with others, were deliberating what was to be done, a mob broke the windows in the house of the Comptroller and of an Inspector, and failing to find a boat belonging to the Romney, seized on the Collector's pleasure boat, dragged it in triumph to Boston Common, and burnt it. After this, at about one o'clock, they dispersed, and the town resumed its quiet."

The Governor and the Commissioners made this affair a pretext for bringing British troops to Boston. Hancock and the other patriot leaders advised that the introduction of the troops be met with a refusal to provide them with quarters or any of the articles required from the people by the Act of Parliament. When the troops arrived, the Commissioners of Customs gratified their malice against Hancock and Malcolm by arresting them upon charges which were so frivolous that they could not be proved. The prisoners were released on bail, and the prosecution ended in a miserable failure. In May, 1769, Hancock was again returned to the Assembly by an almost unanimous vote, and was instructed, together with his colleagues, by the town of Boston, to insist upon the removal of the British

troops, and not to pay anything toward their support. He formed one of the Committee, of which Samuel Adams was the head, which demanded of Governor Hutchinson the withdrawal of the troops from the town after the Boston massacre, and was fully prepared to go to the extent of blows in case of a refusal of the demand.

Yet, all this while, he hoped that the British Government would see the folly of its course, and agree to treat the Colonies with justice; and he hoped that a peaceful and honorable settlement of the quarrel might be effected. This feeling induced him to decline to serve on the Boston Committee of Correspondence, which was established by the efforts of Samuel Adams. He regarded that measure as too bold and revolutionary, and he was averse to such extreme steps as long as a chance of settlement remained. He subsequently took an active part in this Committee. He was a prime mover in the resistance to the introduction of the taxed tea in 1773, and was the moderator of the town meeting held at Faneuil Hall on the 5th of November, to concert measures for that purpose. On Sunday the 28th of November, the Dartmouth, the first of the tea ships, arrived. On the next day a town meeting, attended by the largest concourse ever assembled in Boston, was held at the Old South Church, and it was resolved that the tea should be sent back to England without being landed. It was ordered that a watch should be set over the ship during the night, and Hancock, who had taken a prominent part in the meeting, volunteered to become one of the party for that purpose. "I should be willing to spend my fortune and life itself in so good a cause," he said the next day. In the events of the 16th of December, he was a prominent actor, cordially coöperating with Samuel Adams and others. He encouraged the people to undertake the destruction of the tea, and accompanied them to the wharf where the vessels lay and cheered them on in the patriotic task.

His course in this affair greatly surprised Governor Hutchinson, who had supposed that the great wealth of Hancock would render him timid, and make him shrink from active resistance. Hutchinson never comprehended the true character of the patriot leaders, who were resolved to risk both fortune and life in the attempt to maintain their rights as freemen.

On the 1st of September, 1774, General Gage, who had succeeded Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts, issued writs for the election of an Assembly to meet at Salem in October. Alarmed by the aspect of affairs, he subsequently countermanded his order, but the election was held in spite of his prohibition, and ninety of the new members thus elected met at Salem at the appointed time. After waiting a day for the Governor to attend, administer the oaths, and open the session, they organized themselves as a Provincial Congress, and elected John Hancock President, after which they adjourned to Concord, and quietly assumed the supreme direction of the Province, Gage's authority being at an end beyond the lines of Boston. Hancock had taken a long step forward, for the meeting of this Congress was Revolution in its broadest sense.

Towards the close of 1774, he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, which was to reassemble at Philadelphia in the following May.

General Gage had orders from the British Government to arrest and bring to punishment the leaders of the Patriot party in Massachusetts, and Samuel Adams and John Hancock were particularly designated as the objects of the Ministerial vengeance. Gage feared to put his orders into execution at once, but watched for an opportunity to arrest Hancock and Adams, and those gentlemen deemed it best to remain away from Boston. As has been stated elsewhere, one of the objects of the expedition of the British to Lexington and Concord was the arrest of Hancock and Adams, who were lodging at Lexington. They were warned of their danger on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and escaped to Woburn. An hour or two later the fight at Lexington began the Revolution.

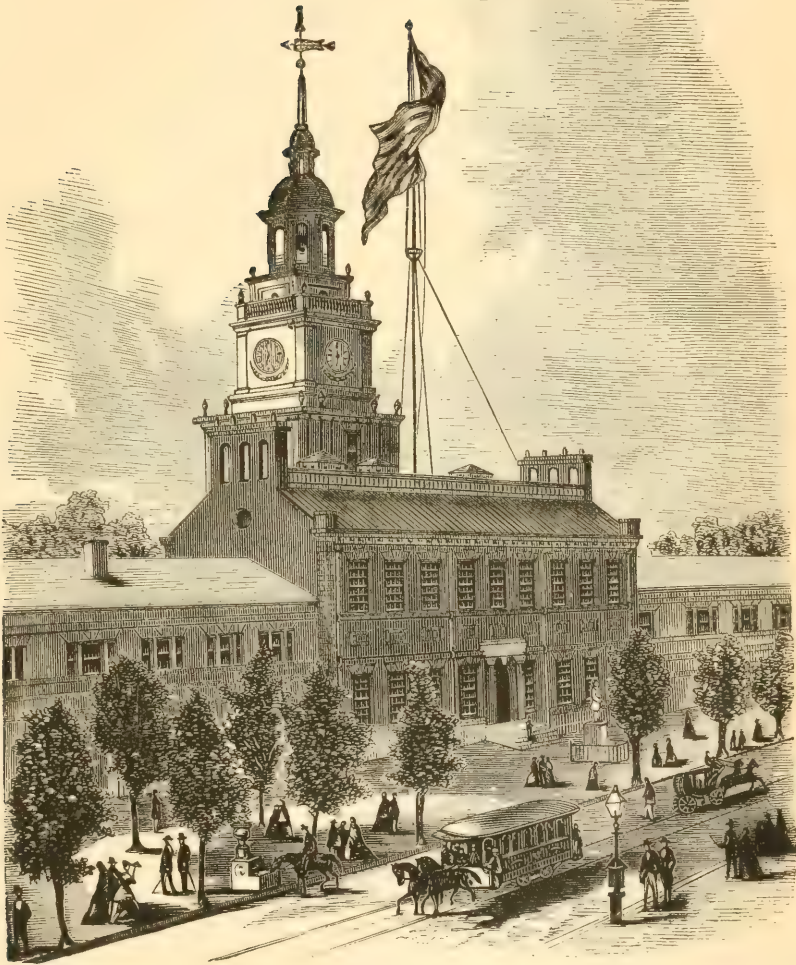
When the Second Continental Congress reassembled at Philadelphia, in May, 1775, Mr. Hancock took his seat in that body as a delegate from Massachusetts. Peyton Randolph, the President, having been recalled to Virginia, Congress, on the 24th of May, by a unanimous vote, elected John Hancock its President. Its action was significant of its determination to sustain Massachusetts in the quarrel with England. He was conducted to the chair by Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, who said, "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions."

Mr. Hancock was well fitted for his new position by the experience he had acquired as Moderator of the town meetings of Boston, and in the Presidency of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts; and the elegance and dignity of his manners enabled him to fill the post now assigned him with graceful ease.

On the 12th of June, General Gage issued a proclamation offering pardon and protection to all the people of Massachusetts who would seek the protection of the King. From this offer Samuel Adams and John Hancock were specially exempted by name, and it was declared that they were reserved for condign punishment as rebels and traitors.

In December, 1775, when the siege of Boston had dragged through many weary months without any apparent prospect of success, Washington addressed to Congress a letter upon the propriety of bombarding the city. The letter was read in Congress, with Mr. Hancock in the chair. A solemn silence ensued, and at length a member rose and proposed that the subject be considered by the House in Committee of the whole, in order that Mr. Hancock, who was so deeply concerned, in consequence of having all his estate in Boston, might give his opinion of the measure. The House thereupon resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, and Mr. Hancock, having left the chair, spoke as follows: "It is true, sir, nearly all the property I have in the world is in houses and other real estate in the town of Boston; but if the expulsion of the British army from it, and the liberties of our country, require their being burnt to ashes, issue the orders for that purpose immediately." Congress authorized Washington to conduct the siege as in his judgment should seem best, with the single object of expelling the British army, regardless of the fate of Boston. In communicating these instructions to Washington, Hancock wrote to him: "May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer."

Mr. Hancock supported the proposition for a Declaration of Independence. He had become convinced that all hope of an honorable settlement with England was at an end, and that the Colonies must choose between independence and slavery. His



INDEPENDENCE HALL

magnificent signature appears at the head of the Signers of the Declaration ; and it is related that when he had affixed it to the paper, he said with a smile, as he laid down the pen, "*There*, John Bull may read *my* name without spectacles."

In 1779 Mr. Hancock resigned his seat in Congress. He was elected to the Convention which formed the first State Constitution of Massachusetts, and in 1780, was elected the first Governor of the State. He was annually chosen to this position until 1785, when he declined a reëlection. He was succeeded by the Hon. James Bowdoin, during whose administration Shays' Rebellion occurred. The Governor did all that could be done to put down the trouble, but his course failed to give satisfaction to the people, and the next year Mr. Hancock was again chosen Governor of the State.

He was a delegate to the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. The opposition to the Constitution was very great in Massachusetts, and it was claimed that the Governor was of this party. He was chosen President of the Convention, but did not attend its sessions until during the last week. He then threw the whole of his influence in favor of the ratification of the Constitution with certain amendments, and aided in securing its adoption by the State.

About two or three years before the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Hancock married Miss Quincy, the daughter of a prominent citizen of Boston. She bore him a son, who died in his youth. Having no children to inherit his fortune, he bestowed a large part of his wealth upon charitable and benevolent objects. He gave liberally to Harvard College, which to this day counts him among its chief benefactors.

On the 8th of October, 1793, Mr. Hancock died suddenly at his residence in Boston, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His body lay in state for several days, and his funeral was conducted with great pomp, amid the sincere regret of the people of Boston, to many of whom he had proved a kind and liberal friend.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY was born at Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1746. He was sent to England at an early age to receive his intellectual training, and was educated at the Westminster School, after which he spent several years at the University of Oxford. In both institutions he was highly esteemed for his personal character, as well as for his proficiency in his studies. Upon leaving Oxford, he read law at the Temple, and in 1769, at the age of twenty-three, returned to South Carolina, and began the practice of his profession.

He returned home in the midst of the controversy between the Colonies and Great Britain, and at once entered into it with ardor on the side of his native country. His residence in England had taught him that the safety of the Colonies lay in firm, uncompromising action, and he was always an advocate of the boldest measures. At the outbreak of hostilities, he was one of the first to volunteer for the defence of his Province, and was commissioned a captain in the forces of South Carolina, and soon after received the same rank in the Continental line. Somewhat later he was made Colonel of the first regiment of South Carolina infantry. During the defense of Fort Moultrie, his regiment was stationed at Fort Johnson, from which he witnessed, but took no part in the gallant resistance of his countrymen to the British fleet.

Seeing no prospect of active service in the South, Colonel Pinckney hastened to the North, and, joining the army of Washington, was appointed an aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief. In this capacity he served through the campaign of 1777, and was present at the battles of the Brandywine and Germantown.

The fall of Savannah and the gathering of a British army in the South, induced him to return to South Carolina in 1778.

His regiment formed a part of the little army of General Lincoln. In the spring of 1779, a considerable detachment of Lincoln's army was defeated by a British force under Colonel Campbell, and the British General Prevost, encouraged by this success, moved from Savannah to Charleston, in the hope of compelling the city to surrender before the American army, which was in a distant part of the State, could arrive to its assistance. As soon as Lincoln heard of this movement, he set out for Charleston, and by a forced march, in which his army suffered considerably from fatigue and sickness, arrived before Charleston and compelled Prevost to fall back from that city. In this march Colonel Pinckney greatly distinguished himself. He acquired still greater distinction by his gallant conduct in the unfortunate attack upon Savannah in September, 1779.

Upon the approach of the British fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot and the army under Sir Henry Clinton, Colonel Pinckney was placed in command of Fort Moultrie. By careful soundings the British Admiral discovered that he could force his way by Fort Moultrie and enter the harbor without being obliged to reduce that work; and early in April he stood into the harbor with seven ships of war and two transports. Colonel Pinckney opened a heavy fire upon the vessels from Fort Moultrie, but was not able to turn back the British ships, which passed the batteries, entered the harbor, and anchored just out of range of the American guns. Fort Moultrie was now useless, and Colonel Pinckney withdrew a part of the garrison and threw himself with it into Charleston, to aid in the defence of that city. Clinton pressed the siege of the city with vigor, and the garrison was soon reduced to extremities. Colonel Pinckney was in favor of continuing the defense to the bitter end, and of compelling the enemy to carry the place by assault. He did not delude himself with the hope that they would be able to repulse the British, but "we shall so cripple the army before us," he said, "that although we may not live to enjoy the benefits ourselves, yet to the United States they will prove incalculably great." More prudent counsels prevailed, however, and on the 12th of May, 1780, the city and its defenders were surrendered to Sir Henry Clinton. Pinckney thus became a prisoner of war, and remained in captivity until the return of peace.

After the return of peace Colonel Pinckney resumed the practice of his profession, and was placed in command of the militia of the lower districts of South Carolina. He was a member of the Convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution of the United States, and a member of the Convention of South Carolina which ratified that Constitution. In both these bodies he warmly advocated the adoption of the Constitution, and by his eloquent appeals and profound arguments in its behalf laid the foundation of his great reputation as an orator and a statesman.

Upon the organization of the Federal Government under the Constitution, Colonel Pinckney was offered by President Washington, who highly esteemed his abilities, a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; but the appointment was declined for reasons of a private nature. Upon the resignation of General Knox, Colonel Pinckney was urged by the President to enter his Cabinet as Secretary of War, and the post of Secretary of State was also offered him upon the resignation of Mr. Randolph. Both these flattering offers were declined for the same reasons that had compelled him to refuse the seat in the Supreme Court.

In 1796, having come to the conclusion that the interests of the country required the recall of Mr. Monroe from France, President Washington appointed Colonel Pinckney to succeed Monroe as Minister Plenipotentiary to the French Republic. This appointment was made in July, 1796, and was accepted by Colonel Pinckney, who promptly sailed for Europe. He reached Paris after the retirement of Washington from the Presidency.

Colonel Pinckney was a member of the Federalist party, Mr. Monroe a Republican. The Federalists were regarded by the French Government in the light of enemies, while the Republicans were considered friends. The Directory took leave of Mr. Monroe with great cordiality when he went to announce his recall. Pinckney presented himself a few days later, as the successor of Mr. Monroe. The Directory refused to receive him, as they had some time before announced their intention not to receive any new Minister from the United States until the American Republic had redressed the grievances of which

the French Government had complained. We have already, in another part of this work, discussed the causes of the quarrel between the United States and France, and have shown the injustice of the position assumed by the Directory. We need not reopen the question here. While Mr. Pinckney was considering what course to pursue in consequence of the refusal of the French Government to receive him, his conduct was decided for him by a peremptory order from the Directory to quit the French territory immediately. He accordingly withdrew to Holland to await the orders of his Government.

President Adams having resolved to attempt a settlement of the dispute with France by negotiation, associated John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry with Colonel Pinckney as envoys extraordinary to the French Republic, with orders "to dissipate umbrages, remove prejudices, rectify errors, and adjust all difficulties by a treaty between the two powers."

The three envoys met at Paris on the 4th of October, 1797, and made their business known to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the famous Talleyrand. He at first refused to receive them in an official capacity, and afterwards employed secret agents to communicate with them, in order that he might be free to disavow any engagement entered into with them. It soon transpired that the object of these secret interviews was to extort money from the United States. The Commissioners were given to understand that if they would pay Talleyrand a certain sum of money for the use of himself and the Directory, and would pledge the United States to make a loan to France, negotiations would be begun without delay. The answer of the American Commissioners was well expressed in the indignant words of Pinckney: "Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute." The secret agent insisted on this point, and the Commissioners replied, "We will not give you one farthing; and before coming here, we should have thought such an offer as you now propose, would have been regarded as a mortal insult." Pinckney and Marshall were ordered to quit France at once; but Mr. Gerry was invited to remain and negotiate a treaty. He failed to accomplish anything. Marshall left France on the 16th of April, 1798; Gerry on the 26th of July. Colonel Pinckney was

detained by the illness of his daughter, and did not take his departure until later in the year. He reached the United States in October, 1798.

Before his arrival the Federal Government had begun its preparations for war with France, and he had been appointed one of the three Major-generals in the army to be raised under the Acts of Congress. He was placed second on the list, and was thus made subordinate to Hamilton, who had been his inferior in rank in the Revolution. Knox resented the appointment of Hamilton and Pinckney over him, and refused to accept the commission tendered him. Some of Pinckney's friends urged him to take a similar course; but he answered that he had no doubt that Washington had satisfactory reasons for placing him under Hamilton. "Let us first dispose of our enemies," he said; "We shall then have leisure to settle the questions of rank." "General Pinckney," says Irving, "cheerfully accepted his appointment, although placed under Hamilton. * * It was with the greatest pleasure he had seen that officer's name at the head of the list of Major generals, and applauded the discernment which placed him there. He regretted that General Knox had declined his appointment, and that his feelings should be hurt by being out-ranked. 'If the authority,' adds he, 'which appointed me to the rank of second major in the army, will review the arrangement, and place General Knox before me, I will neither quit the service nor be dissatisfied.'"

Fortunately the services of neither of the generals were required. The quarrel was settled by negotiation, as we have related elsewhere, and the country was spared a vexatious and exhausting war.

Returning to South Carolina, General Pinckney devoted himself to the practice of his profession, in which he was very successful, and was enabled to acquire a comfortable fortune sufficient to allow him to pass the remainder of his days in ease. In 1804 he was the candidate of the Federalist party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. Hamilton, in his determination to be revenged upon Mr. Adams for preventing the war with France, and so putting an end to all his ambitious hopes, exerted all his great power and influence to in-

duce the Federalists to throw Mr. Adams overboard, and cast their votes in favor of General Pinckney, whom he thus hoped to make President. Had his plan succeeded, he would have saved his party and gratified his revenge. The result was that he destroyed the Federalist party and elected Mr. Jefferson.

The remainder of General Pinckney's life was chiefly devoted to his private affairs. He did not cease to take a deep interest in the concerns of his country, and devoted himself with especial earnestness to the advancement of the interests of his native State. He was possessed of a fine education, and his literary attainments were extensive. Knowing the value of knowledge, his efforts to promote the cause of learning in his State were unceasing. Everything that could better the State found a ready and constant friend in him. As a lawyer he was noted for the ingenuity, strength and profundity of his reasoning, and the accuracy and wide range of his learning. "In his practice he was high-minded and liberal, never receiving any compensation from the widow and orphan." He was a sincere and earnest Christian, though he made no parade of his piety. For the last fifteen years of his life he was the President of the Charleston Bible Society, in which capacity he gained the affection and confidence of all denominations of Christians.

He lived to see his country prosperous and powerful at home and respected abroad, and died at his home in Charleston, in August, 1825, in the eightieth year of his age.



JOHN JAY.

THE founder of the Jay family in this country was a Huguenot, who fled from France at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and emigrated to America. He settled first in South Carolina, from which place he soon removed to New York. Peter Jay, a descendant of this Huguenot, was a merchant of prominence in New York, and married Mary Van Cortlandt, a member of the well-known family of that name.

JOHN JAY, the son of this worthy couple, was born in the city of New York on the 12th of December, 1745. Soon after his birth his father removed to his country seat near New Rochelle, on the shore of Long Island Sound, and there young Jay passed his childhood and a part of his youth. He was educated at a boarding school in the neighborhood, and by private tutors, and at the age of fourteen entered King's (now Columbia) College, at New York. He was an industrious student, quick to learn, and of unusual native talent. He took a high rank in his classes, and in 1764, at the age of nineteen, received his degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Having chosen the law for his profession, he lost no time in beginning his studies, and two weeks after, leaving college, became a student in the office of Benjamin Kissam, a leading member of the New York bar. Lindley Murray, the grammarian, was a fellow-pupil. In his Autobiography, he thus speaks of Jay at this period of his life: "His talents and virtues gave, at this period, pleasing indication of future eminence; he was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind."

Mr. Jay's legal studies were ended in 1768, and in that year he was admitted to the bar, and forming a partnership with Robert R. Livingston, afterwards the Chancellor of the State of New York, began the practice of his profession. He was successful from the first, and was soon in possession of an amount of business which yielded him a comfortable income.

In 1774 he married Sally, the daughter of William Livingston, afterwards and for many years Governor of New Jersey.

The controversy with the Mother Country was now at its height, and Mr. Jay could not avoid being drawn into it. He was sincerely attached to his country, and warmly sympathized with her in her troubles. His connections were entirely with the aristocratic class of New York, and he naturally desired a continuance of the connection between the Colonies and Great Britain. He was keenly alive to the injustice with which the former were treated by the British Government, and had no wish to continue the connection on terms inconsistent with the honor and freedom of his native country. He cordially approved of the efforts of the Colonies to obtain redress of their grievances, but discountenanced all measures that seemed to have for their object a final separation of the Colonies from Great Britain. He was one of the last to give up the hope of a peaceful and honorable settlement.

In May, 1774, he was appointed a member of the New York Committee of Correspondence, and took an active part in its communications with the other Colonies. He warmly favored the proposal for the meeting of the General Congress at Philadelphia, and was elected one of the delegates from New York to that Congress, which assembled on the 5th of September, 1774. In this body Mr. Jay, who was the acknowledged leader of the Conservative party of New York, took a prominent part.

He was now thirty years old, and was regarded by the party in New York who did not desire independence as their mainstay. He was well qualified to be the leader of this party. "He joined the dignity of manhood," says Bancroft, "to the energy of youth. He was both shy and proud, and his pride, though it became less visible, suffered no diminution from time. Tenacious of his purposes and his opinions, sensitive to indignities and prone to sudden resentments, not remarkable for self-possession, with a countenance not trained to concealment, neither easy of access, nor quick in his advances, gifted with no deep insight into character, he had neither talents nor inclination for intrigue; and but for his ambition, which he always subjected to his sense of right, he would have seemed formed for study and retirement."

Jay had desired the meeting of the Congress as the best means of uniting the Colonies in one course of action. He hoped that the Colonies thus united would be able to secure justice at the hands of Great Britain, and maintain their union with her. He repudiated the claim of England, that her dominion over America was founded upon the discoveries of her subjects, and declared that Americans had a natural and unalienable right to form their own governments and manage their institutions themselves, subject to the general authority of the King of England. He regarded the arbitrary acts of Parliament and the Ministers as unjust and destructive of the liberties of his country, and earnestly advocated the united resistance of the Colonies. He desired that this resistance should be made in the character of British subjects, and as late as January, 1775, declared that he "held nothing in deeper abhorrence than the malignant charge of aspiring after independence." The idea of separating from Great Britain was painful to him, and he failed to comprehend the deliberate purpose of the King to compel his American subjects to submit abjectly to the loss of their liberties.

Mr. Jay warmly supported the measures of Congress, which were all of a conservative nature, and prepared the Address to the People of Great Britain adopted by Congress, which was one of the ablest papers issued by that body.

The expedition to Lexington and Concord, which showed too plainly to be doubted the purpose of the Ministry to disarm the Colonies, shook Mr. Jay's faith in the possibility of effecting a peaceful settlement; but he was not yet ready to abandon the effort. On the 5th of May, 1775, the New York Committee addressed an appeal to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, and through them to the people of the British capital. "Born to the bright inheritance of English freemen," said the Committee, "the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to slavery. The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity is their indefeasible birthright. This they are determined to defend with their blood, and transfer to their posterity. The present machinations of arbitrary power, if unremittedly pursued, will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in the dissolution of the Empire.

This country will not be deceived by measures conciliatory in appearance. We cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce by the legislature of the parent State, excluding in its nature every idea of taxation. When our unexampled grievances are redressed, our prince will find his American subjects testifying by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign. America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part is, by the most powerful sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent. This city is as one man in the cause of liberty; our inhabitants are resolutely bent on supporting their Committee and the intended Provincial and Continental Congresses; there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other counties. In short, while the whole continent are ardently wishing for peace upon such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. We speak the real sentiments of the Confederated Colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare that all the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of Parliament." To this appeal the name of Mr. Jay was signed at the head of the Committee. It well expressed his views: he desired peace, but only "upon such terms as could be acceded to by Englishmen."

Soon after the assembling of the Second Continental Congress in May, 1775, Mr. Jay, anxious to make yet another effort for an adjustment of the quarrel, moved the adoption of a second petition to the King, and succeeded in carrying his measure through Congress. The fate of this petition, and the purpose of the King to employ German mercenaries to reduce the Colonies to submission, at length opened Mr. Jay's eyes to the real designs of England. He did not hesitate as to his course. He saw that a separation was necessary, and that the Colonies had been driven by the Mother Country to choose between independence and subjugation. As a good citizen and patriot he unhesitatingly threw the weight of his influence from this time in favor of independence.

On the 29th of November, 1775, Mr. Jay was appointed a member of the Committee organized by Congress for the pur-

pose of "Corresponding with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world." Previous to this M. de Bonvouloir, a secret agent of the French King, had visited Philadelphia, and had vaguely hinted that France might help the Colonies under certain circumstances. The result of this hint was the sending of Silas Deane to Paris as the secret agent of the Colonies. Deane's letters were addressed to Jay, who, in addition to his labors in Congress, conducted this important correspondence in person.

In April, 1776, Mr. Jay was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of New York, and at the urgent request of that body returned from Philadelphia to take part in its deliberations. He was now aware of the fate of the last petition of Congress, and he exerted himself to prepare New York to discharge her duty with vigor and firmness in the contest for the liberties of the country. He was opposed to the separate action of the Colonies, and earnestly desired them to present a solid and unbroken front to the King. "Vigor and unanimity," he said, "are our only means of safety."

In June, 1776, the proposition of the Virginia Convention for a declaration of independence of the Mother Country was laid before the Congress of New York. Mr. Jay advocated the support of the proposal by New York. "This was the moment," says Bancroft, "that showed the firmness and the purity of Jay; the darker the hour, the more he stood ready to cheer; the greater the danger, the more promptly he stepped forward to guide. He had insisted on the doubtful measure of a second petition to the King, with no latent weakness of purpose or cowardice of heart. The hope of obtaining redress was gone; he could now, with perfect peace of mind, give free scope to the earnestness of his convictions. Though it had been necessary for him to perish as a martyr, he could not and he would not swerve from his sense of duty. Joining a scrupulous obedience to his idea of right with inflexibility of purpose, he could not admit that the Provincial Congress then in session had been vested with the power to dissolve the connection with Great Britain, and he therefore held it necessary first to consult the people themselves. For this end, on the eleventh of June, the New York Congress, on his motion, called upon the freehold-

ers and electors of the Colony to confer upon the deputies whom they were about to choose full powers of administering government, framing a Constitution, and deciding the great question of Independence. In this manner the unanimity of New York was insured; her decision did not remain a moment longer in doubt, though it could not be formally announced until after the election of its Convention." By his departure from Philadelphia to take part in the sessions of the New York Congress, Mr. Jay was prevented from voting for or signing the Declaration of Independence, which he cordially approved, and was prepared to support with his life and fortune.

Mr. Jay was chosen a member of the Convention of New York, which succeeded the Provincial Congress. He took the leading part in this body, and his exertions were unremitting and of the highest value to his country. The Tories, encouraged by the loss of the city of New York and the disasters of the American army, were becoming very troublesome, and Mr. Jay favored and succeeded in carrying through the Convention a series of energetic measures for the suppression and punishment of their traitorous opposition to the American cause. He was also indefatigable in his efforts to offer a proper resistance to the expeditions of the enemy which ascended the Hudson and ravaged its shores. When the American army had retreated beyond the Delaware, and the patriot cause seemed about to go down in ruin, Mr. Jay did not despair. He wrote the admirable and cheering Address to the People of New York issued by the Convention on the 23d of December, 1776. This Address was endorsed by the Continental Congress, was translated into German, and was printed and circulated throughout the country, by order of Congress.

In the same year he was appointed on the Committee charged by the Convention with the preparation of a State Constitution for New York. The report of the Committee, which was written by him, was presented to the Convention on the 12th of March, 1777. The Constitution, as adopted by the Convention, was principally his work. The labors of the Convention being now at an end, that body passed out of existence on the 13th of May, 1777. Just before its dissolution, it appointed

Mr. Jay Chief Justice of New York, in order that the administration of justice might not be discontinued. He was to hold this office until the Legislature could meet and make appointments in a constitutional way. The Convention also appointed a Council of Safety, of fifteen members, which was invested with almost dictatorial powers, and which was to exercise authority until the State Government could be organized under the Constitution. Mr. Jay was a member of this Committee.

In November, 1778, Mr. Jay was appointed a delegate from New York to the Continental Congress, and took his seat in that body on the 7th of December. Three days later he was elected President of Congress in the place of Mr. Laurens, who had resigned. He continued to preside over the deliberations of Congress until the fall of 1779. It was then proposed to send him to France as an Envoy from the United States, but John Adams was chosen for that post, and, on the 27th of September, 1779, Mr. Jay was appointed Minister to Spain. He sailed from America in the frigate *Confederacy*, on the 26th of October, but as that vessel was obliged to put into Martinique from stress of weather, he continued his voyage in the French frigate *Aurora*, and reached Cadiz on the 22d of January, 1780. On the 4th of April he was at Madrid.

The objects of Mr. Jay's mission were to procure from Spain the recognition of the independence of the United States, to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and to obtain pecuniary aid for the United States. Congress was of the opinion that the intimacy of the alliance between France and Spain would induce the latter power to assist the United States as thoroughly as the former had done. Spain, however, had no sympathy for the American cause. The successful resistance to tyranny in America only alarmed her, for she feared that her own Colonies would follow the example of the United States, throw off her rule, and assert their independence. She was willing to use the American States to further her own ends against Great Britain; but was resolved to use all her influence to defeat their plans of independence. Throughout the War of the Revolution she set her face firmly against independence for the United States, and endeavored to sacrifice them to her own objects.

Mr. Jay found himself regarded with coldness and almost open hostility from the time of his arrival at Madrid. The King of Spain refused to receive him as an envoy, and he was treated with studied neglect. He very soon saw that the hope of obtaining aid or encouragement from Spain was a vain one, but his orders from Congress did not permit him to be discouraged. He was to continue his efforts in the hope that the Spanish Government would at length give a favorable response to them.

Soon after his arrival in Madrid, he was placed in a most embarrassing situation by the action of Congress. That body, reduced to desperation by the need of money, and the difficulty of obtaining it, resolved to draw on Mr. Jay for the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. When the bills arrived at Madrid, Jay was sorely perplexed. The Spanish Government had refused to receive him, and he had no resources from which to supply the demands of Congress. To allow the bills to go to protest would be to inflict an almost irreparable injury upon the credit of his country, and rather than permit this, he resolved to accept the bills at his own risk. He did so, and was able to pay them as they came due, partly with sums received through the assistance of Franklin in Paris, and partly with small sums reluctantly advanced by Spain.

The course pursued by Spain towards the United States disgusted the straightforward American envoy. He was not a man of intrigue, and he saw through the disingenuous policy of that Government at a glance. It was a relief to him therefore, to receive, in April, 1782, a summons from Franklin to come to Paris and assist in the negotiation of a treaty of peace with England. "Spain," wrote Franklin, "has taken four years to consider whether she should treat with us or not. Give her forty, and let us in the meantime mind our own business." Mr. Jay left Madrid on the 20th of May, 1782, and reached Paris on the 23d of June.

Negotiations had been begun between Franklin and the British Cabinet, and were in progress when he reached Paris. His arrival was most opportune, for Franklin was the only American Commissioner in Paris. Adams was in Holland

perfecting the arrangements with the Dutch Government for the recognition of the independence of the United States, and negotiating a loan with the Amsterdam bankers, and Laurens was a prisoner in the Tower of London.

Mr. Jay was not satisfied with the course affairs had taken before his arrival. His illusions as to the good faith of the European allies towards the United States had been rudely dispelled by his experience in Spain, and he came to Paris full of distrust. He doubted the sincerity of the French Court. "The Count de Vergennes," he said to Franklin, "does not wish to see our independence acknowledged by Britain until they have made all their uses of us." He positively refused to treat with Oswald, the intermediary of Lord Shelburne, under the commission by virtue of which that gentleman had conducted the negotiations with Franklin, and demanded that Oswald should be given a new commission to treat with the United States as an independent power.

The great obstacle to a general negotiation was Spain, which power insisted that the American claim to the left bank of the Mississippi and the free navigation of that stream should be surrendered to her as the price of peace. On this point Jay was inflexible. The claim of his country was just and beyond question, and he would not even allow it to be discussed. He was satisfied that France was prepared to support the claim of Spain, and was resolved that she should obtain no advantage at the expense of the United States. He was fully a match for the Spanish ambassador. On the 26th of September, 1782, he was in company with Lafayette at Versailles, when he met the Count de Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador. "When shall we proceed to business?" asked Aranda. "When you communicate your powers to treat," replied Jay. "An exchange of commissions cannot be expected," said Aranda, "for Spain has not acknowledged your independence." "We have declared our independence," said Jay; "and France, Holland, and Britain have acknowledged it." "Lafayette came to his aid, and told the ambassador that it was not consistent with the dignity of France that an ally of hers like the United States should treat otherwise than as independent. Vergennes pressed upon Jay a settlement of the claims with Spain. Jay answered,

'We shall be content with no boundaries short of the Mississippi.'"¹

Upon the arrival of Oswald's new commission, the negotiations with Great Britain were resumed by Jay and Franklin. Both were of the opinion that the conferences had better be conducted directly with Great Britain, and not through France, and that American interests were safest in American hands. They therefore resolved not to communicate the progress of the negotiations to the Count de Vergennes. "At the request of Franklin, Jay drew up the articles of peace. They included the articles relating to boundaries and fisheries, which Franklin had settled with Oswald in July; to these Jay added a clause for reciprocal freedom of commerce, which was equally grateful to Franklin and Oswald, and a concession to the British of the free navigation of the Mississippi. * * * Shelburne had hoped to make a distinction between the jurisdiction over the western country and property in its ungranted domain, so that the sales of wild lands might yield some compensation to the loyal refugees; but Jay insisted that no such right of property remained to the King. Oswald urged upon him the restoration of the loyalists to their civil rights; but Jay answered that the subject of pardon was one with which 'Congress could not meddle. The States being sovereigns, the parties in fault were answerable to them, and to them only.' Oswald yielded on both points."

Upon the arrival of Mr. Adams in Paris on the 20th of October, he most cordially united with his colleagues in their determination to conduct the negotiations without reference to the Count de Vergennes, for he had, as we have seen, good cause to doubt the friendship of that Minister for America. He sustained the general policy of Jay and Franklin, but insisted that the *right* of the United States to a share in the fisheries and the settlement of the question of the Northeastern boundary between the United States and Canada should be included in the Treaty. Both Jay and Adams favored the insertion of a clause providing for the collection of the debts due British merchants by American citizens before the commencement of the war, and finally won Franklin's consent to that provision.

¹*Bancroft.*

The treaty was signed on the 30th of November, 1782, and was made contingent upon a general pacification between all the parties to the war. This was accomplished, as we have stated, and the final treaty was signed on the 3d of September, 1783. Mr. Jay's part in bringing about this settlement was of the highest importance, as we have seen. John Adams gives him full credit for it. He says he found his colleagues in the Commission able and attentive, "especially Mr. Jay, to whom the French, if they knew as much of his negotiations as they do of mine, would very justly give the title with which they have inconsiderately decorated me, that of *le Washington de la négociation*; a very flattering compliment, indeed, to which I have not a right, but sincerely think it belongs to Mr. Jay."

In May, 1784, Mr. Jay, having resigned his commission, left Paris and sailed for the United States. He reached New York on the 24th of July. It had been eight years since he had set foot in his native city, and nearly five years since he had sailed from America to Spain. He was received with public honors and with great enthusiasm by the people of New York. It was his intention to return to the practice of law, but he found upon his arrival that he had been once more elected to Congress by New York, and that Congress had appointed him Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He took his seat in that body on the 6th of December, and held it until the 21st of that month, when, with great reluctance, and yielding only to a sense of public duty, he accepted the Secretaryship to which he had been appointed. He held this position until after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and the inauguration of the Federal Government.

Mr. Jay sided with Hamilton in the discussions which preceded the adoption of the Constitution, and wished to see the United States adopt a strong, centralized government. He supported the Constitution when finally adopted, and by his voice and pen, urged its acceptance by the States. He contributed the second, third, fourth, and fifth numbers to *The Federalist*, and was then disabled by a misfortune now to be related, and was prevented from continuing his contributions. The only other article in *The Federalist* from his pen is the sixty-fourth, on the treaty-making power.

In April, 1788, a serious disturbance occurred in New York, which is known as "The Doctor's Mob." A number of graves had been violated in order to procure subjects for dissection in the medical schools. These outrages aroused the most intense excitement in the city, and several physicians were arrested and committed to prison on the charge of being concerned in the violation of the graves. A mob collected and endeavored to force the doors of the prison, and hang the prisoners. Jay deeply abhorred mob violence, and in the earlier stages of the Revolution had sternly discountenanced it. He and Hamilton now placed themselves at the head of a body of citizens, drove the mob back, and protected the prisoners. In the melee Jay received a deep and dangerous wound in the temple, which confined him to his bed for some months, and put a stop to his labors on *The Federalist*.

Upon his recovery he was chosen a member of the New York State Convention, which met at Poughkeepsie on the 17th of June, 1778, to consider the ratification of the Constitution. The Convention was largely opposed to the Constitution, but Jay advocated it with such force and effect that he completely reversed the majority, and the Constitution was adopted by a handsome vote.

Upon the inauguration of the Federal Government, with Washington at its head, Mr. Jay consented, at the urgent request of Washington, to remain in charge of the Foreign Office until the Executive Departments could be properly organized by Congress. Mr. Jay was very doubtful of the success of the new Government. He had wished to see it much stronger, and more like the British monarchy. It was an open question with him whether a Republican form of government could succeed. He most earnestly desired its success, and was prepared to sacrifice his own preferences to the general wish, but he was very dubious as to the experiment. "Whether any people," he said, "could long govern themselves in an equal, uniform and orderly manner, was a question of vital importance to the cause of liberty, but a question which, like others, whose solution depends on facts, could be only determined by experience—now, as yet, there had been very few opportunities of making the experiment." Time has shown that the American people were wiser than this truly great man.

Upon the organization of the executive departments of the Government, President Washington offered Mr. Jay his choice of them. He accepted the post of Chief Justice of the United States, and was confirmed by the Senate on the 26th of September, 1789. In this position he fully sustained the splendid reputation he had acquired by his Revolutionary services. His decisions as Chief Justice, says Mr. Flanders, "do not enable us to judge of the extent of his juridical acquirements; nevertheless they evince a juridical facility, a power of analysis, an aptitude for logical processes, and a ready apprehension of principles."

Mr. Jay was a Federalist, both by nature and conviction, and in 1792 was the candidate of that party for Governor of New York. He was beaten by George Clinton. It was claimed by the Federalists that he was fairly elected, and that his defeat was caused by the action of the Republican Legislature in throwing out the votes of counties in which Jay had large majorities. Considerable excitement prevailed throughout the State, and threats of open resistance were indulged in by the Federalists. Mr. Jay counseled calmness and moderation. He declared his determination to abandon the contest rather than it should end in civil war. "A few years," he wrote to his wife, "will put us all in the dust, and then it will be of more importance to me to have governed myself than to have governed the State."

The unwillingness of Great Britain to comply with the terms of the Treaty of Peace, and the selfish and narrow-minded policy pursued by that country towards the United States, of which we have spoken in our account of Washington, was rapidly embroiling the two nations in a fresh war. Washington was anxious to avoid this, as the country's best interests demanded peace, and he determined to make an effort to settle the quarrel by negotiation. He at first thought of sending Hamilton to England for this purpose, but the latter advised him to appoint Mr. Jay. Washington decided to act upon this advice, and in the spring of 1794 appointed Mr. Jay Envoy to England. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and Mr. Jay sailed at once upon his mission. He was not inclined to accept the appointment at first, but yielded to the entreaties

of the President. "No appointment," he wrote to his wife, "ever operated more unpleasantly upon me; but the public considerations which were urged, and the manner in which it was pressed, strongly impressed me with the conviction that to refuse it would be to desert my duty for the sake of my ease and domestic concerns and comforts."

Mr. Jay found that the indisposition of Great Britain to do justice to America was ingrained, and though he was flatteringly received, and the Ministers professed great willingness to come to a just and honorable settlement, he saw that an arrangement that would satisfy the just demands of his country could not be effected. A failure to come to some sort of understanding would be most deplorable, as war was the only alternative. Jay had seen war, and knew what it was, and was moreover convinced that it would be the most terrible misfortune that could befall his country in her weak and almost helpless condition. He therefore decided to accept the best settlement he could obtain from England, and trust to the future for the rest. In the course of a few months he succeeded in negotiating a treaty by the terms of which Great Britain agreed to give up the western posts within two years, and to grant certain important commercial privileges to American ships trading with her East and West Indian possessions. On the other hand provision was made for the collection of debts due British merchants by American citizens. The Treaty was signed by Mr. Jay and the British commissioners, and was sent to the United States for ratification.

Mr. Jay was not satisfied with the Treaty. He never pretended that it was a fair settlement, but he knew that it embodied all that Great Britain was willing to concede on the subject. The publication of the Treaty raised a storm of intense excitement in the United States, and both Mr. Jay and the President were denounced as plotting to betray the country into the hands of Great Britain. The President supported the Treaty; however, as he agreed with Mr. Jay that it was the best England was willing to give, and the Senate, after a fortnight's consideration of it in secret session, advised its ratification. Imperfect as the settlement was, it secured to the country a number of years of peace when war might have proved fatal to it.

Mr. Jay returned home immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty, and reached New York on the 28th of May, 1795. He was given an enthusiastic reception by the citizens of his native town, and found that during his absence he had been elected Governor of New York by a handsome majority. This was done without his knowledge, but he concluded to accept the office, and resigned the Chief Justiceship. The term of office of the Governor of New York at that time was three years. Mr. Jay was elected a second time in 1798, and his two terms thus covered a period of six years. He gave great satisfaction, and was one of the best chief magistrates New York has ever seen. During his administration he removed no one from office because of his political opinions. He was once advised to remove an office-holder of his own party and appoint a very influential member of the Republican party to the place, as it was believed that such a course would secure the influence and wealth of the person designated for the Federalists. "Do you, sir," said the Governor sternly, to his counsellor, "advise me to sell a friend, that I may buy an enemy?"

In 1799, he gave his approval to an Act of the Legislature for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. He had urged such a measure upon the New York Convention in 1777, and was one of the most active men of his time in seeking to remove the evil of slavery from the country. He wished to accomplish this end in a constitutional way.

Governor Jay declined a third term as Governor of New York. In November, 1800, President Adams appointed him Chief Justice, in the place of Oliver Ellsworth, who had resigned, but he declined the appointment. He was anxious to retire to private life, and considered that he had given to his country all that she was entitled to demand of him. In 1801, at the expiration of his term of office as Governor, he took leave of all the employments of public life, and retired to his paternal estate of Bedford, in Westchester County, about fifty miles from New York.

Mr. Jay passed the next twenty-nine years in his rural retirement. In 1802, his wife died. His children remained to him, however, and in their midst he passed the remainder of

his life. He was very regular in his habits. "He rose with the sun," says Mr. Flanders, "had his meals served with punctuality, and passed most of the day in the open air and on horseback. Family worship was regularly observed, morning and evening, and was neither postponed nor suspended from the presence of company. He usually retired to rest about ten."

Although he had withdrawn from public life, Mr. Jay did not lose his interest in political affairs, but watched them with the calmness of a philosopher. He was scrupulous in his performance of his duties as a citizen. "I attend every election," he wrote to a friend; "even for town officers; and having delivered my ballot, return home without having mingled in the crowd or participated in their altercations."

Mr. Jay was a sincere Christian. He was a member of the Episcopal Church, but his sympathies were too catholic to be confined to his own denomination. He gave liberally to other Churches, and was always ready to help forward to the extent of his ability any scheme for the advancement of Christianity.

His health was good up to the last few years of his life, but in 1827 he was seized with a severe illness, which left him very feeble. In this condition he lingered until the 14th of May, 1829, when he was smitten with a stroke of paralysis. He never rallied from it, and on the 17th of May, died in the eighty-fourth year of his age.



JOHN MARSHALL.

JOHN MARSHALL was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1755. His father was a planter of moderate means, and his family consisted of fifteen children, of which the subject of this memoir was the oldest. Colonel Thomas Marshall was a man of education and culture, and a leading citizen of his county. During the Revolution he commanded a regiment of Virginia troops, and won considerable credit by his conduct in the battles of the Great Bridge, the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Fauquier was at this time one of the frontier counties of Virginia. It was thinly settled, and its people were plain and rough in their habits and mode of life. The schools of this region were so few and worthless that Colonel Marshall determined to keep his children at home and educate them himself. He applied himself to this task with earnestness and devotion, and was richly rewarded for his efforts by the progress they made under his instruction. He was particularly anxious that they should acquire a thorough knowledge of the English language and of history, and sought to cultivate in them a love for the masterpieces of the English tongue, which were his own favorites. John Marshall did ample justice to his father's labors, and when only fourteen years old had read Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, and could repeat nearly the whole of the "Essay on Man." He not only read these poets, but learned to love them, and they remained throughout his life his favorite authors. He appreciated his father's labors in his behalf, and long after, when at the height of his fame, said of that father, with an emotion which showed how deep was his gratitude, "To him I owe the solid foundation of all my success in life."

Delighted with the promise of his oldest son, Colonel Marshall resolved to secure for him better advantages of education than his own unaided labors offered, and accordingly sent him



JOHN MARSHALL.

for a year to the school of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, of Westmoreland County, where he was taught English and Latin. At this school he became intimate with a fellow pupil named James Monroe, who, like himself, was destined to play a prominent part in the future career of his country. Returning home at the end of the year, he continued his studies under the Rev Mr. Thompson.

He studied hard, and was a constant reader. He was fond of poetry and romance, but read history and biography with the deepest interest. He was quiet and thoughtful in manner, and full of a dreamy, poetic enthusiasm. He loved to wander in the thick woods, and would pass many of his leisure hours in studying the beauties of nature. His constitution was a sound and vigorous one, and he was not only fond of manly and athletic sports, but excelled in them. He had no vices, and was simple in his habits, unaffected in his manners, and fond of his home, the pure and healthy life of which was admirably suited to the development of his character and his physical health. Colonel Marshall and his wife were practical Christians, and reared their children in the simple straightforward piety which was a characteristic of our ancestors of that day.

Young Marshall was destined for the bar, and began his legal studies at the age of eighteen. He was not permitted to continue them in peace, for the controversy with Great Britain, which was now at its height, drew all Virginia into it. A volunteer company was organized in the neighborhood, and young Marshall became a member of it. He was enthusiastic in his sympathy with the cause of his country, and with the natural ardor of youth declared himself in favor of armed resistance to Great Britain.

In 1775, Patrick Henry roused the people of Virginia to a determination to drive the Royalist Governor, Lord Dunmore, out of the Province, and called for volunteers to assist him in that work. A regiment, of which Marshall's father was made Major, was raised in the counties of Fauquier and Culpeper. A part of this force consisted of the famous "Culpeper Minute Men," of which company young Marshall was made a lieutenant. The regiment hastened to the rendezvous at Williamsburg, and was soon despatched to the south side of the James,

under Col. Woodford. It took a prominent part in the battle of the Great Bridge. In July, 1776, Marshall's company was transferred to the Eleventh Virginia Regiment of the Continental Line, and was ordered to the North. In May, 1777, he was made Captain of his company, in the command of which he took part in the fight at Iron Hill, and in the battles of the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He remained with the army during the memorable winter at Valley Forge, and shared the hardships and sufferings of his men. He was constantly in active service until the close of 1779. He was always patient, hopeful and cheerful, and amid the sharpest trials to which the army was subjected, was never cast down. One of his comrades has declared that he did more than any other man to keep alive the hopes and courage of his regiment during that terrible winter, and that his example was not lost upon the army at large. Another states that "the officers of the Virginia line appeared to idolize him." Washington's attention was drawn to him by his patriotic conduct, and the Commander-in-Chief conceived for the young man a warm friendship, which was as warmly returned by Marshall. Washington frequently appointed him deputy judge advocate in the courts-martial held during his continuance with the army, and in this capacity he gave the first evidences of his remarkable legal abilities.

At the close of the year 1779, Marshall returned to Virginia to take command of a new corps which was about to be raised by an Act of the Legislature. The project was discussed for several months, and finally resulted in failure. During the time it was under discussion, he remained at Williamsburg and attended a course of lectures upon the law delivered by George Wythe, and a course of lectures upon natural philosophy delivered by the Rev. Dr. Madison, afterwards Bishop of Virginia, at William and Mary College. The next summer he received his license to practice law. The project for raising troops having failed, he set out on his return to the army. He was too poor to pay his passage to the North, or to hire a conveyance, and he walked the entire distance from Williamsburg to Philadelphia, more than three hundred and fifty miles. Reaching Philadelphia at last, he repaired to one of the inns

of the town, but he was so travel-stained and shabby that the landlord refused to admit him. He rejoined the army, and remained with it until the spring of 1781, when he resigned his commission.

Returning to Virginia, he entered upon the practice of the law. The surrender of Cornwallis in October, 1781, brought the war to a practical close, and as it became more evident every day that peace was at hand, the courts were thrown open, and our young lawyer began that brilliant career which has made his name the most prominent in our judicial history. His success was rapid, for his natural and professional abilities were of the first order, and his great popularity enabled him to acquire a certain amount of business from the first. In 1782 he was elected to the Legislature of the State, as a representative from the county of Fauquier. In the fall of that year he was appointed by the Governor of the State one of the Executive Council. In January, 1783, he was married to Miss Mary Willis Ambler, a lady of great personal beauty, with whom he lived happily for more than fifty years.

Mr. Marshall now decided to establish himself in Richmond, the new and growing capital of the State, where his opportunities of professional success would be much greater than in Fauquier. In spite of this determination, his old friends and neighbors in Fauquier reelected him to the General Assembly. In 1787 he was elected to that body from the county of Henrico.

He was now a rising man, and was much noticed by the people of the community in which he had established himself. He was very plain and even careless in his dress, and many amusing anecdotes are told of his peculiarities in this respect. Soon after he began the practice of law in Richmond, he was passing through the streets one morning clad in a suit of brown linen. His straw hat, which he carried under his arm, was filled with ripe cherries, which he ate as he walked along. As he passed the Eagle Hotel, he stopped to exchange salutations with the landlord, and then resumed his walk. A witness to this meeting was Mr. P——, an elderly gentleman from the country, who had come to Richmond to engage counsel in an important lawsuit in which he was interested, and which was

to be tried in a few days. The landlord pointed out Mr. Marshall, and advised him to retain him, as he was the best lawyer in the city. The careless appearance of the young advocate, however, had so much prejudiced Mr. P—— against him, that he refused to retain him. On entering the court house, Mr. P—— applied to the clerk, who also recommended him to engage Marshall, but the old gentleman would not hear of it. As they were speaking, Mr. V——, a venerable-looking attorney, with a black coat and a powdered wig, entered the court house. Mr. P—— was so much impressed with his appearance, that he retained him on the spot. In the first cause that was called both Marshall and Mr. V—— addressed the court. "The vast inferiority of his advocate was so apparent that at the close of the case Mr. P—— introduced himself to young Marshall, frankly stated the prejudice which had caused him, in opposition to advice, to employ Mr. V——; that he extremely regretted the error, but knew not how to remedy it. He had come to the city with one hundred dollars as his lawyer's fee, which he had paid, and had but five left, which, if Marshall chose, he would cheerfully give him for assisting in the case. Marshall, pleased with the incident, accepted the offer, not, however, without passing a sly joke at the *omnipotence* of a powdered wig and a black coat."

In 1788 Mr. Marshall was elected to the Virginia Convention, which met to consider the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. This Convention was one of the ablest bodies that has ever assembled in America, and its debates are famous in our history. Marshall warmly advocated the adoption of the Constitution, and is believed to have done more than any other person, Mr. Madison excepted, to secure its ratification. His efforts in its behalf did much to establish his reputation, and his practice increased rapidly from this time. He was extremely anxious to avoid all public trusts and devote himself to his profession; but at the urgent request of his fellow citizens he consented to represent them in the lower House of the General Assembly. He was elected as a delegate from the city of Richmond in 1789, and held his seat until 1791. In the famous contests between the Federalists and Republicans, which marked those sessions, he took a deter-

mined stand in support of the former party, and was regarded as its mainstay. The political questions of the day were discussed with great bitterness, but Marshall made no enemies.

Quitting the Legislature in 1791, he devoted himself exclusively to his profession for the next three years, appearing in public once to defend, with masterly eloquence, the course of President Washington with reference to the insolent conduct of Citizen Genet. In 1795, he was again elected to the Legislature, and this time "not only without his approbation, but against his known wishes." He yielded at length to the entreaties of his friends, and took his seat. The great question of the day was the adoption of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. In Virginia the opposition to the Treaty was intensely bitter and very great. Meetings were held in Richmond and other parts of the State, and the Treaty and all who upheld it were roundly denounced. Even the great influence of Washington was powerless to allay the excitement. Marshall, who had mastered the situation, and had seen that the Treaty, imperfect and unsatisfactory as it was, was the only escape from a war which the country was in no way prepared to engage in, now came to the support of the President. He addressed a meeting of the citizens of Richmond, and made such a powerful and unanswerable argument in favor of the adoption of the Treaty, that the men who had been foremost in assailing it, now united in passing resolutions indorsing the course of the President with reference to it. He made a similar effort in the Legislature, and effectually broke down the opposition to the Treaty. President Washington attached so much importance to these services that he offered his old friend and comrade the position of Attorney-General of the United States, which was then vacant. Marshall declined the offer, as he was unwilling to give up his practice, which had now become very lucrative. He continued to hold his seat in the Legislature, which did not interfere with his private business, and remained the constant and vigilant friend of Washington's administration. In 1796, the President wished to appoint him Minister to France, to succeed Mr. Monroe, but he declined the offer for the reason that had made him refuse the Attorney-Generalship. In 1797, in the midst of the difficulties with France, President

Adams requested him to serve on the embassy to that country, with Pinckney and Gerry. He yielded to the entreaties of Washington, and went to France as an Envoy Extraordinary from the United States. As we have related elsewhere, the mission was a failure, but the spirited conduct of the American Envoys was a source of great gratification to their countrymen, and raised them still higher in the esteem and confidence of the people. Marshall reached New York in the summer of 1798, on his return, and was given a public reception by the citizens of that place, "as an evidence of affection for his person, and of their grateful approbation of the patriotic firmness with which he had sustained the dignity of his country during his important mission." Upon reaching Philadelphia, he was honored with a public dinner by the two Houses of Congress. He subsequently took a prominent part in the discussions of the times in support of the measures of the administration with respect to France. Returning to Richmond, he resumed the practice of his profession, but in a short while was summoned to Mount Vernon by Washington, who urged him to accept a seat in Congress, where his abilities and influence were needed by his party. He yielded with reluctance to the entreaties of his old chieftain, and in 1799 was elected to the House of Representatives in Congress, from the Richmond district. Just before the election, President Adams offered him a seat in the Supreme Court, but he declined it.

Though he remained in Congress but a short time, his career in that body was honorable and brilliant. He took his stand as the uncompromising champion of the Administration of President Adams. He defended the Alien and Sedition Laws—the only time in all his career when he was found on the side of a bad cause—and he did so with such force of logic that his opponents, though they had the right on their side, were scarcely able to answer him. Mr. Binney says of him that, in the debates on the great constitutional questions, "he was confessedly the first man in the House. When he discussed them he exhausted them; nothing more remained to be said; and the impression of his argument effaced that of every one else."

His greatest triumph in the House was won in a better cause than that of the Alien and Sedition Laws. Jonathan

Robbins, an English sailor, committed a murder on board of a British man-of-war, and fled to the United States for safety. The British Government, in accordance with one of the provisions of Jay's Treaty, demanded his surrender on the ground that he was a British subject, and he was accordingly surrendered by President Adams. The opposition in Congress made this act of the President a pretext for a determined assault upon the Administration, and a resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Livingston, of New York, censuring the course of the President. The Resolution was debated at great length, and Marshall defended the President in a speech of great force. "This speech," says Judge Story, "was *réponse sans réplique*—an answer so irresistible that it admitted of no reply. It silenced opposition, and settled then and forever the points of national law upon which the controversy hinged."

In May, 1800, Mr. Marshall was appointed by Mr. Adams Secretary of War, but before he could enter upon the duties of that office was made Secretary of State. In this capacity he conducted several diplomatic negotiations, and his State papers are regarded as among the ablest in our archives. The post of Chief Justice of the United States having become vacant, Mr. Marshall advised Mr. Adams to confer it upon a gentleman who was distinguished for his great abilities as well as by his devotion to the administration, but the President informed Marshall that, as he regarded him as the man of all others best qualified for the position, he had sent his name to the Senate for confirmation. The appointment thus came to him entirely unsolicited. It was made on the 31st of January, 1801, and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate. It was unquestionably one of the wisest acts of Mr. Adams's public life.

Marshall accepted the appointment, and at once entered upon his duties. He held the office of Chief Justice for over thirty-four years, and this period marks, perhaps, the most brilliant portion of our judicial history. His office was eminently suited to him, and he to it. It removed him from the arena of politics, and enabled him to devote himself to pursuits entirely congenial to his tastes. His administration of

his office was successful in the highest degree. It was marked by great wisdom, impartiality and firmness; it established his own fame on the surest foundations; and gave to the Supreme Court an authority which it had never enjoyed before. "The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States," says an eminent jurist, referring to Marshall's administration of it, "have raised the renown of the country not less than they have confirmed the Constitution. In all parts of the world its judgments are spoken of with respect. Its adjudications of prize law are a code for all future time. Upon commercial law it has brought us nearly to one system, befitting the probity of a great commercial nation. Over its whole path, learning and intelligence and integrity have shed their combined lustre."

Judge Marshall continued to take a warm interest in the affairs of his native State, to the close of his life. In 1828, he was a delegate to a convention which met at Charlottesville, to consider and recommend to the Legislature a plan of internal improvements best suited to the needs of the State. In 1829, he was a member of the Convention which met at Richmond to revise the Constitution of Virginia. Though he was now quite old and feeble, he took part in the debates with his accustomed vigor, and gave to the work of revision his great wisdom and vast experience. He was mainly instrumental in effecting the settlement of the disputes between the Eastern and Western sections of the State.

In 1805 he published, in five volumes, his "Life of Washington," which is still considered the best work on the subject in existence. The first volume was devoted to an admirable history of the Colonies from their settlement to the commencement of the Revolution. This work at once placed Judge Marshall in the front rank of American writers.

The sterling integrity, which was the basis of Judge Marshall's character, was exemplified in every action of his life. He would never argue in behalf of a cause he even suspected to be unjust, and he scorned to take a legal advantage at the expense of moral honesty. His promises were faithfully kept, no matter what the inconvenience to himself. He became surety on one occasion for a friend to the amount of several thousand dollars. His friend failed, and Marshall paid the

debt, although he knew he could avoid payment, as the holder had forfeited his claim, in law, by requiring more than legal interest.

He was a simple and earnest Christian, and held in the deepest abhorrence the fashionable skepticism of his time. His day opened and closed with the simple prayer he had learned at his mother's knee, and his daily life was an exemplification of his principles. He made no parade of his piety, for he was as modest and unassuming in this respect as in everything else; but it entered into all his acts, and governed him in every relation of life.

His generosity was proverbial. On one occasion, he stopped at the house of his old friend and comrade in arms, Captain Slaughter, of Culpeper. He found his friend in deep dejection and upon inquiring the cause, was told by Captain Slaughter, that his farm was burdened with a mortgage for \$3,000 which would soon be due, and that as he had not the means to pay it, he saw nothing before him but ruin. The next morning, upon taking his departure, Marshall handed the negro who brought him his horse, a note, which he told him to take to his master. This was done as Marshall was riding away, and upon opening the note Captain Slaughter found in it a cheque for \$3,000, the amount of the mortgage. Springing on his horse, he soon overtook Marshall, and though he thanked him warmly for his assistance, refused to accept it. Marshall was in great distress, and finally suggested a compromise. He took up the original mortgage and accepted a new one from his friend; but as the latter was never prosperous, he never asked for the payment of the debt.

William Wirt has left us the following description of Judge Marshall as he appeared late in life, and at the height of his fame: "He is tall, meagre, emaciated; his muscles relaxed, and his joints so loosely connected as not only to disqualify him apparently for any vigorous exertion of body, but to destroy everything like harmony in his air or movements. Indeed, in his whole appearance and demeanor—dress, attitudes, gestures, sitting, standing, or walking—he is as far removed from the idolized graces of Lord Chesterfield as any other gentleman on earth."

His memory is cherished with the deepest affection by the people of Richmond, which was so long his home. "In spite of his ungainly person, no one was a greater social favorite than the Chief Justice. The people of Richmond regarded his eccentric figure with strong personal affection as well as respect. The black eyes, under their bushy gray brows, beamed with good nature, and the lips were habitually smiling. The courtesy of the Judge was one of his most beautiful traits. It was the spontaneous exhibition of the simple and kindly emotions of his heart. Pure benevolence and philanthropy displayed itself in every word which he uttered. He gave his hand to the plain yeoman clad in homespun as courteously and sincerely as to the greatest personage in the country. He had the same simple and good-humored jest for both, and seemed to recognize no difference between them. It was instructive to estimate in the good Chief Justice the basis and character of true politeness. John Randolph, one of the most fastidious and aristocratic of men, left his opinion that Marshall's manner was perfect good breeding. In dress and bearing it would be difficult to imagine any one more simple than Judge Marshall. He presented the appearance of a plain countryman, rather than a Chief Justice of the United States. He had a farm in Fauquier County, and another near Richmond, and he would often return from the latter to take his seat on the bench with burrs sticking to his clothes. His great passion was the game of quoits, and he was a member of the club which met at Buchanan's Spring, near the city, to play at this game. Here the Governor of Virginia, the Chief Justice, and the most eminent lawyers of the Court of Appeals, were found by a French gentleman, Baron Quinet, with their coats off, gayly pitching quoits, with the ardor of a party of urchins. In these simple amusements passed the hours of leisure which Judge Marshall could steal from exhausting judicial toil. At such times he seemed to become a boy again, and to forget the ermine. His fondness for other social enjoyments was great. He was the centre of a brilliant circle of men, many of whom were famous, and the tradition of their dinner parties, and the jests which they circulated, is still preserved."

It was his custom, when at home, always to attend to his marketing in person, and he might be seen every morning at the Old, or Shockoe Hill Markets, with his basket on his arm, making his purchases. One morning he noticed a fashionably dressed young man, swearing violently because he could not find any one willing to carry home for him a turkey which he had just purchased, and which his foolish pride would not permit him to carry himself. Approaching him quietly, the Judge asked where he lived, and upon being told, said, "I am going that way, and will carry it for you." Taking the turkey, he placed it in his basket, set out, and soon reached the young man's door. Upon receiving the turkey, the young man thanked him for his trouble, and asked, "How much shall I pay you?" "Nothing," replied the Judge, smiling; "you are welcome. It was on my way, and no trouble." So saying, the Judge departed, and the young man, with a faint suspicion of the truth, turned to a gentleman standing by and asked, "Who is that polite old man who brought home my turkey for me?" "That is John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States," was the reply. "Why, then, did *he* bring home my turkey?" stammered the abashed fop. "To give you a deserved rebuke," said the gentleman, "and to teach you to conquer your silly pride."

The careless appearance of the Judge often led to amusing occurrences. A wager was once laid among his friends in Richmond that he could not dress himself without showing in his appearance some mark of his carelessness. The Judge, good-humoredly, accepted the wager. A supper was to be given to him upon these conditions: if his dress was found faultless upon that occasion, the gentlemen were to pay for the entertainment; but if any carelessness could be detected in his dress or appearance, the expense was to fall upon him. Upon the appointed evening the Judge and his friends met at the place agreed upon, and to the surprise of all present, the Judge's dress seemed faultless. He appeared the very perfection of neatness and taste. The supper followed, the Judge being in high glee over his victory. Near the close of the repast, however, one of the guests who sat next to Judge Marshall, chanced to drop his napkin, and stooping down to

pick it up, discovered that the Judge had put on one of his stockings with the wrong side out. The announcement of the discovery at once changed the state of affairs, and amid roars of laughter, the Judge acknowledged his defeat.

Judge Marshall was a great sufferer for many years before his death from an affection of the bladder, and was at length compelled to submit to a surgical operation for relief. Shortly after this operation, which was successful, he was seized with an affection of the liver, and repaired to Philadelphia for medical treatment. He grew rapidly worse after his arrival in that city, and died in Philadelphia on the 6th of July, 1835. His remains were conveyed to Richmond, and were buried in the Shockoe Hill Cemetery, by the side of his wife. His grave is marked by a plain slab, bearing a simple inscription dictated by himself, recording the date of his birth, his marriage, and his death.



JAMES MADISON.

THE father of Mr. Madison was a planter of ample means, and resided at Montpelier, in Orange County, Virginia. He was a descendant of John Madison, an Englishman, who had settled in Virginia about the year 1653. He married Eleanor Conway, by whom he had seven children.

JAMES MADISON, the eldest of these, was born at the seat of his maternal grandmother, near the village of Port Royal, on the Rappahannock River, in King George County, Virginia, on the 15th of March, 1751. At the age of twelve years he was sent to school in King and Queen County, to Donald Robertson, a Scotchman, with whom he remained three or four years. Here he learned some Latin, some Greek, some French, and the rudiments of mathematics. After leaving this school he spent about two years at home, pursuing his studies under the direction of the Rev. J. Martin. In 1769 he was sent to the College of New Jersey at Princeton, in preference to William and Mary, the climate of Williamsburg being considered unhealthy for young men from the upper counties.

Young Madison was a close, hard student, and gave himself up to his studies to a degree which seriously interfered with his health. For months together he allowed himself only three hours sleep out of the twenty-four. His constitution, never very strong, gave way under such severe labor, and he was obliged to increase his hours of sleep, but even then limited them to the shortest possible time consistent with his health. He thus inflicted upon himself an injury from which he never entirely recovered. In the summer of 1772 he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, but remained another year at Princeton, pursuing a course of reading under Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the College, for whom he conceived a warm regard.

He returned to Virginia in 1773, and entered upon the study of the law, to the practice of which he had determined to devote himself. He was soon drawn from his studies by the

controversy between the Colonies and Great Britain, in which he took an active part, defending the cause of his country and advocating the most decided measures of resistance. He especially distinguished himself by his exertions in behalf of religious freedom. At that time the Baptists were at the mercy of the Established Church, which persecuted them, and annoyed them in many ways, throwing their ministers into jail, and breaking up their meetings for religious worship. "In Virginia the Established Church had become more intolerant as the Colony increased in population. It seemed so hostile to liberty, that James Madison, after coming home from Princeton * * expressed the opinion that, if the Church of England had been established and endowed in all the Colonies as it was in Virginia, the King would have had his way, and gradually reduced all America to subjection." Madison deeply abhorred the manner in which the Baptists were treated. In 1774, he wrote to a friend in the North, "I want again to breathe your free air. * * * That diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages among some; and, to their eternal infamy, the clergy can furnish their quota of imps for such purposes. There are at this time, in the adjacent county, not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for publishing their religious sentiments, which, in the main, are very orthodox."

In the spring of 1776, Mr. Madison was elected a member of the Virginia Convention, which framed the first Constitution of the State. He did not acquire much reputation as a speaker in this body, for he was, as yet, too modest and diffident to take more than a nominal part in the debates. "He never shone resplendent in debate, he never wrote or spoke anything that was striking or brilliant; but few countries have possessed so useful a citizen as he. From 1776 to 1817, look where you will in the public affairs of the United States, you find this little man doing, or helping to do, or trying to get a chance to do, the thing that most wanted doing. He was the willing horse who is allowed to draw the load. His heart was in the business of serving his country. He was simply intent on having the right thing done, not to shine in doing it."¹

In this Convention Mr. Madison made the acquaintance of

¹ Parton's *Life of Jefferson*. p. 208.

Thomas Jefferson, with whom he was destined to coöperate so cordially in after life, and to whom he was to owe so much of the eminence he was to achieve. They remained life-long friends and allies. Mr. Jefferson has left on record this tribute to his friend: "Mr. Madison came into the House in 1776, a new member and young; which circumstances, concurring with his extreme modesty, prevented his venturing himself in debate before his removal to the Council of State in November, 1777. From thence he went to Congress, then consisting of a few members. Trained in three successive schools, he acquired a habit of self-possession which placed at ready command the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterwards of which he became a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical, and copious, soothing always the feelings of his adversaries by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great national convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia which followed, he sustained the new Constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason and the fervid declamation of Mr. Henry. With these consummate powers were united a pure and spotless virtue, which calumny in vain attempted to sully."

In 1777, upon the organization of the State Legislature, Mr. Madison was elected a member of that body. He was a candidate for reëlection the next year. It was the custom in those days, in Virginia, for candidates for public offices to canvass their districts, visiting from house to house, and soliciting, in person, the votes of their constituents, and, if possible, keeping open house and a full punch bowl during the canvass. On the three days of the election, at which every citizen was *compelled* to vote under penalty of a heavy fine, "the candidates supplied unlimited punch and lunch, attended personally at the polls, and made a low bow as often as they heard themselves voted for." Mr. Madison did not approve of this method of conducting a political campaign, and in 1778 refused to conform to it. He was therefore defeated by the indignant citizens, who ascribed his failure to treat to stinginess, and his refusal to can-

vass for votes to pride. Although defeated for the lower House, the Legislature, soon after assembling, elected him a member of the Executive Council, in which body he retained his seat until 1780, when he was elected to Congress as a delegate from Virginia.

Mr. Madison took his seat in Congress in March, 1780. There was a law in Virginia at the time rendering a delegate ineligible to reelection after three years' service in Congress, but Mr. Madison's services in that body were of such importance, and were so highly appreciated by the State of Virginia, that the law was repealed in order that he might serve a fourth year. He took a leading part in the deliberations of Congress, and the constant aim of all his measures was to draw the States nearer together. He favored the adoption of the Articles of Confederation as a step toward the Union which he saw was so necessary to the welfare of the common country, but the effort to conduct the government under these Articles soon revealed the defects of the system. In April, 1781, a committee of Congress, of which he was the chairman, presented a report drafted by him "proposing by an amendment to the Articles of Confederation to give to the United States full authority to employ their force as well by sea as by land, to compel any delinquent State to fulfil its Federal engagements; and the reason for the measure as assigned in the preamble was to cement and invigorate the Federal Union, that it might be established on the most immutable basis." "From that day," says Bancroft, "Madison never ceased his efforts till a better system was established." In his opinion it was absolutely indispensable that Congress should have power to raise as well as to disburse a revenue, and in the summer of 1782 he endeavored to induce Virginia to give her consent to the proposal to endow Congress with power to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports. "Congress," he said, "cannot abandon the plan as long as there is a spark of hope. Nay, other plans, on a like principle, must be added. Justice, gratitude, our reputation abroad and our tranquillity at home, require provision for a debt of not less than fifty millions of dollars; and I pronounce that this provision will not be adequately met by separate acts of the States. If there are not revenue laws which operate at the same time through all the

States, and are exempt from the control of each, the mutual jealousies which begin already to appear among them will assuredly defraud both our foreign and domestic creditors of their just claims." The measure was defeated through the opposition of the States.

Among the important services rendered in Congress by Mr. Madison was his preparation of the instructions of that body to Mr. Jay, Minister to Spain, in October, 1780, maintaining the right of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi River; and the address issued by Congress to the States at the close of the war, urging them to adopt some plan to enable the Federal Government to fulfil its promises of payment to the army and its other creditors.

Returning to Virginia, in 1784, Mr. Madison resumed his legal studies and also devoted himself to miscellaneous reading. Philosophy and Science received considerable attention at his hands. His favorite study was Natural History, which he pursued with eagerness whenever he had leisure to do so.

In 1784 Mr. Madison was again elected to the Legislature of Virginia, in which he served through the years 1785 and 1786. His influence and exertions in this body were all in favor of a liberal policy on the part of the State. He drew up the memorial and remonstrance against the project for a compulsory support of religion, which was perhaps made with a view to permanent establishment, and succeeded in defeating the scheme. When the plan for the separation of Kentucky from Virginia was proposed, he favored it, as he saw that Kentucky was resolved upon the separation, and he aided materially in securing its adoption. He gave his support to the adoption of the Code of Laws for Virginia as prepared by Jefferson, Wythe and Pendleton; he opposed the attempt to introduce paper money into the State; and favored measures for the recovery of the debts due British creditors. He was one of the most active members of the Legislature, yet amid all his engagements found time to carry on an extensive correspondence with four or five friends; and these letters give us perhaps the best picture of the State of Virginia at that time that can be found.

In January, 1786, he secured the adoption by the Virginia Legislature of a resolution inviting Commissioners from all

the States to meet at Annapolis, in Maryland, to devise new regulations for the management of the commerce of the country. As there was considerable jealousy of the Federal Government on the part of the States, Mr. Madison did not venture to offer this resolution, having been himself a member of Congress. He confided it to a member of the Legislature not open to the suspicion of being inclined to strengthen the Federal power, a design which he himself constantly advocated. In response to the invitation of Virginia, five of the States sent Commissioners to the proposed Convention, which met at Annapolis in September, 1786. Mr. Madison was one of the Commissioners from Virginia. This Convention accomplished nothing, but recommended the assembling of a Convention of all the States at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, to revise the Articles of Confederation.

Mr. Madison was chosen one of the five delegates from Virginia to the Federal Convention. He took a leading part in the deliberations of that body, and contributed so largely to the shaping of the Constitution as adopted by the Convention, that he has been justly called "the Father of the Constitution." He entered the Convention with the determination that the Articles of Confederation should be swept away and replaced by a new Constitution, which should secure a more perfect union of the States, and give them a better form of government. He favored a strong national government, and labored to secure it. Before the meeting of the Convention he addressed a letter to General Washington, giving his views as to the proper Constitution to be adopted. From this letter Washington made the following summary of Madison's plan of government:

"Mr. Madison thinks an individual independence of the States utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty, and that a consolidation of the whole into one simple republic would be as inexpedient as it is unattainable. He therefore proposes a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful.

"As the groundwork, he proposes that a change be made in the principle of representation, and thinks there would be no great difficulty in effecting it.

"Next, that in addition to the present Federal powers, the national government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity ; such as regulation of trade, including the right of taxing both exports and imports, the fixing the terms and forms of naturalization, etc.

"Over and above this positive power, a negative in *all cases* whatever on the legislative acts of the States, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative, appears to him absolutely necessary, and to be the least possible encroachment on the State jurisdictions. Without this defensive power, he conceives that every positive law which can be given on paper will be evaded.

"This control over the laws would prevent the internal vicissitudes of State policy, and the aggressions of interested majorities.

"The natural supremacy ought also to be extended, he thinks, to the judiciary departments; the oaths of the judges should at least include a fidelity to the general as well as local constitution ; and that an appeal should be made to some national tribunal in all cases to which foreigners or inhabitants of the States may be parties. The admiralty jurisdictions to fall entirely within the purview of the national government.

"The national supremacy in the executive departments is liable to some difficulty, unless the officers administering them could be made appointable by the supreme government. The militia ought entirely to be placed, in some form or other, under the authority which is intrusted with the general protection and defence.

"A government composed of such extensive powers should be well organized and balanced.

"The legislative department might be divided into two branches, one of them chosen every — years, by the people at large, or by the legislatures ; the other, to consist of fewer members, and to hold their places for a longer term, and to go out in such rotation as always to leave in office a large majority of old members.

"Perhaps the negative on the laws might be most conveniently exercised by this branch.

"As a further check, a council of revision, including the great ministerial officers, might be superadded.

"A national Executive must also be provided. He has scarcely ventured, as yet, to form his own opinion, either of the manner in which it ought to be constituted, or of the authorities with which it ought to be clothed. '

"An article should be inserted, especially guaranteeing the tranquillity of the States against internal as well as external dangers.

"In like manner, the right of coercion should be expressly declared. With the resources of commerce in hand, the national administration might always find means of exerting it either by sea or land; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a State, render it particularly desirable the necessity of it might be precluded. Perhaps the negative on the laws might create such a mutual dependence between the general and particular authorities as to answer; or perhaps some defined objects of taxation might be submitted along with commerce to the general authority.

"To give a new system its proper validity and energy, a ratification must be obtained from the people, and not merely from the ordinary authority of the legislature. This will be more essential, as inroads on the existing constitutions of the States will be unavoidable."

The reader can ascertain, by a perusal of the Constitution of the United States, how far the views of Mr. Madison are carried out in it.

During the sessions of the convention, Mr. Madison kept a faithful record of the debates of that body, the only complete or authentic account of its proceedings in existence. It was his habit to write out at night what had been said during the day. He would never permit this record to be published during his life-time, but after his death it was purchased by Congress from his widow, for the sum of thirty thousand dollars, and published by order of Congress.

After the formation of the Constitution, Mr. Madison united with Hamilton and Jay, in the preparation of the series of essays in advocacy of it, known as *The Federalist*. His articles

were signed "Publius," and were among the ablest of the series.

Mr. Madison was elected to the Convention of Virginia, to which the Constitution was submitted for ratification. This, as has been said elsewhere, was one of the ablest assemblies that ever met in America. Mr. Madison was regarded as in a great measure responsible for the adoption of the Constitution by the Federal Convention, and upon him devolved chiefly the task of carrying it through the Convention of his own State. There was a powerful opposition to it in the Virginia Convention, ably led by George Mason and Patrick Henry, who made such a determined fight against it that it required all the ability and tact of its friends to secure its adoption. The struggle in Virginia had more of a national interest than in any other State, and was watched with the deepest anxiety by the whole country; for it was well understood that the failure of the Constitution in the Virginia Convention would seal its fate in the other States. Mr. Madison proved himself equal to the task he had assumed, and by his cool and powerful reasoning, broke down the eloquent opposition of Mr. Henry and his colleagues, and secured the ratification of the Constitution by a decisive majority.

He was mainly instrumental in obtaining the cession by Virginia to the General Government of her Northwest Territory, now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, which the State claimed by royal grants and by her conquests during the Revolution.

The Constitution having been adopted, Mr. Madison was elected to the Lower House of Congress, and remained a member of that body until 1797. In 1794 he married Mrs. Todd, a widow of Philadelphia, but of Virginian parentage. He was very anxious after his marriage to withdraw from public life, and devote himself to his private affairs and to study, but his friends would not hear of his leaving Congress. He was needed there, and he came at length to see this, and became reconciled to the sacrifice of his inclinations demanded of him by his country.

He was regarded as one of the leading men in Congress, and no one in that body had more weight than he in influencing its

decisions. In the work of framing and securing the adoption of the Constitution he had cordially coöperated with Hamilton; but after the formation of the government he found himself compelled to differ from his former ally on many points. He favored a strict construction of the Federal Constitution, and regarded Hamilton's financial measures as violative of that instrument. He therefore opposed the unqualified assumption of the State debts by Congress, and the establishment of a National Bank. When the public debt was funded he made an unsuccessful attempt to secure to the soldiers of the Revolution and other original creditors of the country the benefits of the rise in the value of the public claims which speculators, as we have elsewhere stated, had purchased at about one-eighth of their nominal value. By his opposition to the financial policy of the government he became one of the minority in Congress from which sprang the Republican party, of which he was to be one of the leaders. His opposition was conducted in such a manner that the friendly relations existing between himself and the President were never disturbed. Washington always cherished a warm friendship for Madison, who, on his part, regarded the Father of his Country with affectionate reverence. As the close of his first term drew near, Washington, who was anxious to retire from office, conceived the idea of issuing a farewell address to his countrymen, and having made an outline of this document, sent it to Mr. Madison with a request to fill it up for him. Madison did as requested, but at the same time urged the President to serve a second term. When the close of the second term approached, Washington took Madison's draft of the farewell address, enlarged it and sent it to Hamilton to put in final shape. The address, as issued, contains many portions as they came from Mr. Madison's pen.

Hamilton had not the magnanimity of Washington. He resented opposition to his policy as an injury to himself. "I will not give him up yet," he said when he first heard of Madison's opposition to his financial schemes, "as though it were a moral aberration in his friend to object to his measures; and when it became clear that Madison was fixed in his opposition, he had the immeasurable insolence to say, 'Alas, poor human nature!'"

Mr. Madison, years afterwards, when he had passed out of the arena of politics into the retirement of his peaceful old age once gave the following reason for his separation from Hamilton: "I abandoned Colonel Hamilton," he said, "or Colonel Hamilton abandoned me—in a word, we *parted*—upon its plainly becoming his purpose and endeavor to *administration* the government into a thing totally different from that which he and I knew perfectly well had been understood and intended by the Convention which framed it, and by the people in adopting it."

The retirement of General Washington from the Presidency opened the floodgates of political passion. In the campaign of 1796, Mr. Madison supported Mr. Jefferson for the Presidency. He was warmly attached to him, had found him his best counsellor in many difficult portions of his life, and owed to his advice much of the success he had won. He was also in close sympathy with him in his political convictions. Both were republicans in the truest sense of the word, and both were in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution. The French Revolution had entered largely into American politics, as we have seen, and Mr. Madison, like Jefferson, was a warm sympathizer with the Revolutionists. He deplored their excesses and cruelties; but as he was confident that the movement would in the end be beneficial to the cause of freedom, he wished it God speed.

Mr. Adams was elected President, and in 1797 entered upon the duties of his office. In the same year Mr. Madison retired from Congress, and returned to Montpelier. He hoped he would now be permitted to carry out his plan of withdrawing from public life; but the country could not spare him yet. The passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws alarmed him, and he consented to enter the Virginia Legislature in order to oppose them more effectively. During the session of 1798 he prepared and carried through the Legislature the resolutions which denounced the Alien and Sedition Laws as violations of the Constitution, and invited the other States to take similar ground. The resolutions produced considerable discussion in pamphlets and in the newspapers throughout the country. Mr. Madison, in 1799, prepared the famous Virginia resolutions of that year,

with a preamble in which he examines the whole subject. This preamble is regarded as the most concise and powerful exposition of the relative rights of the States and the General Government ever written, and as one of the closest and most perfect pieces of reasoning in the English language. It is believed to have done more than anything else on the Republican side to destroy the Federalist party.

In the campaign of 1800 Mr. Jefferson was elected President. He was inaugurated in March, 1801, and placed Mr. Madison at the head of his Cabinet as Secretary of State. In this capacity Madison prepared the papers in defence of the claim of the United States to the right of deposit at New Orleans, and conducted the discussion with respect to the true boundary of Louisiana. He carried on the correspondence with Mr. Rose and Mr. Jackson, the British Ministers, with reference to the outrage upon the frigate *Chesapeake*, and won great credit by his firm and decided course. He drew up the instructions to Mr. Monroe for negotiating a treaty with England, and wrote the statement of the reasons which induced the President to reject the treaty when arranged. He also wrote the protests of the United States against the British Orders in Council and the French Decrees. While Secretary of State, he also wrote an "Examination of the Doctrines of National Law," which is regarded as the ablest production of his pen, and one of the clearest expositions of the relative rights of neutrals and belligerents in existence.

In 1808, Mr. Jefferson having declined a third term, Mr. Madison was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican party, and received one hundred and twenty two of the one hundred and seventy votes of the Electoral College.

Mr. Madison inherited the quarrel with England which had been gathering force during the administration of Mr. Jefferson. He was fully aware how poorly prepared the country was for war, and was anxious to postpone hostilities to the last moment consistent with the honor and dignity of the nation. He entered heartily into the proposal of Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, for a settlement of the dispute, and upon the assurances of that gentleman that his Government would rescind the obnoxious "Orders in Council" as far as they applied to the commerce of

the United States, issued his proclamation on the 19th of April, 1810, suspending the Non-intercourse Act, as regarded England, after the 10th of the following June. In the course of a few weeks over one thousand vessels, laden with American products, put to sea for foreign ports. They were scarcely at sea when the President was notified that Mr. Erskine had exceeded his powers, and that Minister was re-called and a Mr. Jackson appointed in his place. The President and his Cabinet were deeply mortified by the failure of the negotiation, and a proclamation was at once issued applying the terms of the Non-intercourse Act once more to Great Britain. Mr. Jackson was coldly received by both the Government and the nation, and was so insolent in his correspondence and conduct that the President refused to communicate with him, and demanded his recall. The British Government declined to appoint a successor to Mr. Jackson, and diplomatic intercourse between the two countries came to an end.

The outrages upon American commerce continued, and the quarrel between the two countries deepened. The sentiment of the American people was rapidly settling in favor of war, for they could see little difference between the existing state of affairs and open hostilities. The Indians of the Northwest were becoming very troublesome, and were instigated to hostilities by the agents of the British Government. The Republican party was anxious for war, and Henry Clay, the brilliant leader of that party, was resolved that England's arrogant aggressions should not go unpunished. He was now Speaker of the House of Representatives, one of the most influential officers of the Government. "Such was the temper of the public in those months, that the eloquence of Henry Clay, seconded by the power of the Speaker, rendered the war unavoidable." The struggle came at length. On the 18th of June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain and her dependencies.

It is not our purpose to relate here the events of the second war with England. Our task is to tell the story of Mr. Madison's life, and we shall refer to the events of the war only as they concern him. It is conceded that he made serious mistakes at the outset in his appointment of the commanding

officers of the Army, and in the plan of campaign resolved upon. Fortunately he was a friend to the Navy, and the infant marine of the Republic, by its victories over England in her native element, in a great measure atoned for the disasters of the army, and maintained the reputation of the country.

While determined to preserve the national honor untarnished, and to accomplish, if possible, the objects of the war, Mr. Madison was anxious to bring the conflict to a close at the earliest practicable moment, and in the spring of 1813 readily accepted the Russian offer of mediation, and appointed Gallatin, Bayard, and John Quincy Adams commissioners to negotiate a peace. As the offer was declined by Great Britain, nothing came of it.

In spite of the early disasters of the war, Mr. Madison was reëlected President by a majority of forty-two electoral votes over his competitor, De Witt Clinton, and the Republican party retained its majority in Congress.

During the winter of 1813-14, a communication was received from the British Government, stating that, although Great Britain had declined the Russian offer of mediation, she was willing to enter into direct negotiations with the United States for the close of the war. The President at once met this overture of England, and added Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell to the Commissioners already in Europe. Gottënburg, in Sweden, was at first chosen as the place for holding the peace conferences, but the Commissioners shortly after adjourned to Ghent, in Belgium.

The last year of the war brought many compensations for the earlier disasters of the struggle. The fall of Napoleon left England free to direct her whole strength against the United States, and a large number of the veterans who had followed Wellington were sent across the Atlantic. Washington was captured by a raid of the British troops under General Ross, in August, 1814, as there was no force at hand to defend it. The President and officers of the Government were forced to fly from the capital, and the public buildings were burned by the enemy. In spite of this disaster, however, the year was one of general success to the Americans. The earlier incompetents had been weeded out of the army, and the troops were

commanded by officers of ability, such as Brown, Scott, Gaines, Jackson and Ripley. The victories of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie, Plattsburgh and Baltimore, showed that the American troops would fulfil the expectations of their countrymen when properly commanded, and revived the confidence of the nation in the Army. With the new year the brilliant victory of New Orleans, won by American militia over the splendid veterans of Wellington, sent a thrill of pride through the whole country. The Navy continued successful throughout the entire war. The Indian power in the Northwest had been broken by General Harrison in the victory of the Thames, and the Northwestern frontier had been kept intact by Perry's splendid victory on Lake Erie. The United States were therefore in a condition to come out of the war with credit.

In the meantime the negotiations for peace had been going on at Ghent. The American Commissioners had been instructed to demand the settlement of the impressment question, and at the same time to give assurance that upon the relinquishment of that claim by England, Congress would enact a law forbidding the enlistment of English sailors in either the navy or the merchant service of the United States. On the 14th of December, 1814, the labors of the Commissioners were brought to a close, and a treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed. The treaty was silent about impressments—the cause of the war. Nevertheless, as Great Britain did not afterwards exercise this claim as far as this country was concerned, this question may also be regarded as having been settled by the war. The treaty was unanimously ratified by the Senate, and on the 18th of February, 1815, peace was proclaimed by the President. A few days later the President recommended to Congress the passage of a law forbidding the enlistment of foreign seamen in American vessels.

Immediately after the close of hostilities with England, the President dispatched a fleet of ten vessels of war, under Commodore Decatur, to the Mediterranean, to punish the Dey of Algiers for his outrages upon the commerce of the American States. Decatur captured the two best ships of the Algerine service on his voyage out, and compelled the Dey to indemnify the Americans from whom he had extorted ransoms, to surren-

der his American prisoners unconditionally, to renounce his claim to tribute from the United States, and to pledge himself to cease to molest American vessels in future. Tunis and Tripoli were then served in the same way, and compelled to give pledges for their future good behavior.

The close of the war with England found the United States suffering from the evils inseparable from such a struggle. The finances of the country were in a wretched condition; all the banks but those of New England had suspended specie payments, and none were now in a condition to return to a specie basis. The public debt was over \$100,000,000, and there was a general lack of confidence throughout the country. In view of the general distress, Mr. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, proposed to abolish a number of the internal taxes which had been levied for the support of the war. In their place he advised the imposition upon imports from foreign countries of duties sufficiently high not only to afford a revenue, but also to protect the manufactures of the country which had sprung up during the war, and which were threatened with ruin by the competition of English goods. The President, in a message to Congress, warmly endorsed this plan. Another important measure was also enacted. The Charter of the first Bank of the United States expired in 1811. Efforts had been made, without success, to obtain its renewal. In January, 1814, a bill for this purpose, which had passed both Houses of Congress, was vetoed by the President. In the Spring of 1816, a bill was passed by Congress chartering a new Bank of the United States for twenty years, with a capital of \$35,000,000. This bill was approved by the President on the 10th of April, and became a law. It gave the people of the Union a uniform paper currency, good in all parts of the country, and redeemable on demand in gold and silver, and did much to remedy the financial difficulties of the times.

Mr. Madison declined to be a candidate for a third term in the campaign of 1816, and supported the claims of his friend, Mr. Monroe, who was nominated and elected by the Republican party. In March, 1817, Mr. Madison retired from the Presidency, upon the inauguration of Mr. Monroe, glad to lay down at length the cares of office, and seek once more the repose of his

beloved Montpelier. The remainder of his life was passed in pleasant retirement, which was broken only once. He consented to serve in the Virginia Convention of 1829, which met at Richmond for the purpose of revising the Constitution of the State. He was the leading member of this body, and was looked up to by his colleagues with a respect and veneration that were peculiarly gratifying to him, and that were in every way deserved. Mr. A. J. Stansbury, Author of "Reminiscences of Public Men," thus sketches Mr. Madison's appearance in this Convention:

"I saw Mr. Madison for the first time. * * You may imagine the intense curiosity with which I gazed on an individual so illustrious. Among a crowd of gentlemen who entered the hall of the old House of Burgesses, in the capitol, where the Convention was about to open, I saw one of lower stature than any of his compeers, slender and delicate in form—dressed in a suit of black, not new, and now dusty from travel, with a hat distinguished by the width of its brim, and its total estrangement from the fashionable block of the day; in aspect grave, yet mild; in air and carriage perfectly simple and unassuming; of light, elastic step, and possessing, altogether, what might be called a winning address. I observed that he was approached by every one with an instinctive respect (though not with that expression of awe which was inspired by Washington), and I soon learned from every mouth that it was ex-President Madison. Many members of the Convention then saw him, like myself, for the first time. He looked to me like a gentleman farmer, emerging from retirement to give his vote at some important election, and then purposing to return home.

"He met his friends with courtesy, but with an unmoved calmness of manner, differing, as it seemed to me, from that warmth and cordiality which usually marks the intercourse of Virginians, and Southern people generally. Indeed, were I asked to point out Mr. Madison's distinguishing trait—I speak of his constitutional organization—I should say it was this very quality of dignified calmness. His tone of mind seemed pleasant, even cheerful, but totally undisturbed—ever self-possessed, self-balanced. Whenever I met him afterwards, this original impression remained unaltered. He was, in all

situations, gentlemanly, modest, retiring, and for so distinguished a character, more silent than I had expected. He never assumed the lead in conversation, and appeared always more disposed to listen than to speak. Nothing can be conceived more remote from all assumption and display. During the whole duration of the Convention (and it sat for sixteen weeks), although of all present he was best entitled to speak on subjects such as those which occupied that body, he spoke but twice. When he did speak, however, the effect of such retiring merit was at once obvious. While other members of the body, even the most distinguished among the *élite* of Virginia, were listened to with respectful attention, but without any special outward demonstration of interest, no sooner was Mr. Madison upon his feet, than there was in one moment a simultaneous rush from every part of the hall; the ordinary decorum of the body seemed forgotten; regardless of all obstacles, every man made a straight line to the spot, and he was at once so completely hemmed in by the crowd that thronged around to hear, that his small figure could scarce be seen. There was, indeed, one reason for this movement besides the homage which his character commanded.

“His voice, never very strong, was then very slender, and even feeble, (he was in his seventy-eighth year,) although his enunciation was perfectly distinct, and the universal eagerness not to lose a syllable that fell from him, may have quickened the effort to be as near him as possible. My professional occupation opened an avenue to me, since it was my duty to take down the speech; but such was the interest I felt, in common with all around me, to hear the speech, that it was with difficulty I could prevent my attention from being drawn from my task, leaving me a listener merely. I have still the MS. notes of that speech (the last he ever delivered), with corrections of it in his own hand. * * Connected with it is a little anecdote, characteristic in the highest degree of the meekness of wisdom which so eminently distinguished the author of ‘*The Federalist*.’ When I had finished writing out the speech, I left it with him for his revision. Next day, as there was a great call for it, and the report had not been returned for publication, I sent my son, with a respectful note, requesting the MS. My

son was a lad of about sixteen, (whom I had taken with me to act as an amanuensis,) and on delivering my note he was received with the utmost politeness, and requested to come up to Mr. Madison's chamber, and wait while he ran his eye over the paper; as company had, till that moment, prevented his attending to it. He did so: and Mr. Madison, pen in hand, sat down to correct the report. The lad stood near him, so that his eye fell on the paper. Coming to a certain sentence in the speech, Mr. Madison struck out a word, and substituted another; but hesitated, and not feeling quite satisfied with the second word, drew his pen through that also. My son was young, ignorant of the world, and unconscious of the solecism of which he was about to be guilty, when, in all his simplicity, *he suggested a word*. Yes, he ventured, boy that he was, to suggest to James Madison an improvement in his own speech! Probably no other individual then living would have taken such a liberty. But the sage, instead of regarding the intrusion with a frown, raised his eye to the boy's face with pleased surprise, and said, 'Thank you, sir, it is the very word,' and immediately inserted it. I saw him the next day, and he mentioned the circumstance with a compliment on the young critic.

"I was forcibly struck, while discharging my daily duty in the Convention, with the deportment of Mr. Madison. Punctual and unfailing in his attendance, he always occupied the same seat, and I do not think that in the hall there was another individual who paid as uniform and unremitted attention to the proceedings of the body. Whoever occupied the floor was sure of at least one attentive listener. John Marshall himself did not listen with more steadiness and condescension to the argument of a young member of the bar (and who was ever a young member there, and did not feel with the deepest gratitude that admirable trait in the character of the great jurist?) than did Mr. Madison to the speeches of every grade, from men of every calibre, on subjects of which none was so complete a master as himself."

Returning to Montpelier after the close of the Convention, Mr. Madison passed the rest of his life in retirement. He was one of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, in

which institution he took a deep interest, and after the death of Mr. Jefferson was elected its Rector. Except in the discharge of these duties, he never quitted his retirement. Although his constitution was exceedingly delicate, and he never enjoyed good health, he lived to the age of eighty-five. His last years were full of bodily suffering, which he bore with patience and cheerfulness. He died on the 28th of June, 1836.

Mr. Madison was small in stature and plain in appearance. His manner was reserved except among his intimate friends, when he was genial and bright. His disposition was sweet and winning, and his temper was kept under the most perfect control, his anger rarely manifesting itself in anything beyond a flush of the cheek or a flash of the eye. He was a devoted and tender husband; but his marriage was childless. He owned slaves, though he abhorred slavery, and was satisfied that the evil would be removed some day. He was a kind and indulgent master, and his slaves were more than ordinarily attached to him. He would never sell them save at their own wish to allow them to be with their families, though by disposing of them he might have relieved himself of the debts which always hampered him. He always said that his slaves were a pecuniary loss to him, but he kept them from motives of the purest philanthropy.

As a public man Mr. Madison was surpassed in brilliancy by many of the statesmen of this country; but for solid abilities and attainments, for disinterested usefulness, and in the amount of good he accomplished for his country, he was excelled by none. He was perhaps the best political writer this country has ever produced. Mr. Jefferson said of him: "From three and thirty years' trial I can say conscientiously that I do not know in the world a man of purer integrity, more dispassionate, disinterested and devoted to pure Republicanism; nor could I in the whole scope of America and Europe point out an abler head."

Mrs. Madison long survived her husband, and died in Washington on the 12th of July, 1849.

JAMES MONROE.

JAMES MONROE was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 28th of April, 1758. His father was Colonel Spence Monroe, a planter of ample means, who was descended from Captain Monroe, an officer in the army of Charles I., who emigrated to Virginia about the year 1652. His family was one of the oldest and most esteemed in Virginia.

At an early age young Monroe was sent to school to the Rev. Mr. Campbell, of Westmoreland. One of his fellow pupils at this school was a tall, awkward lad from Fauquier, named John Marshall, afterwards the great Chief Justice of the United States. From Mr. Campbell's school, Monroe passed to William and Mary College at Williamsburg. He had been a student at college a little more than a year when the Declaration of Independence was signed. Though but eighteen years old he was full of patriotic ardor, and resolved to give up his hopes of obtaining a collegiate education, and devote his best efforts to the cause of his country. He therefore left college, and hastening northward, entered the army as a cadet. It was a trying and gloomy period in the fortunes of America. The enemy were preparing for an attack in overwhelming force upon New York, and the early enthusiasm of the country was dying out before the difficulties which were crowding upon it. Soon after joining the army Monroe was appointed a lieutenant in Captain William Washington's company, with which he made the campaign of the Hudson. He was present at the engagements of Harlem Heights and White Plains, and took part in the trying retreat of the American army across New Jersey. He was with the army at the crossing of the Delaware, and distinguished himself at the battle of Trenton. In that engagement the advanced guard was led by Captain William Washington, with Monroe as his second in command. The enemy's pickets were surprised and driven in, and a way

was opened for the American artillery, which at once unlimbered and began firing. Early in the engagement the enemy attempted to plant a battery of two guns in the main street of the town, from which a raking fire would soon have been directed upon the Americans. Perceiving this, Captain Washington and Lieutenant Monroe dashed forward with their company, drove the British from their guns, and took the two pieces when on the point of being fired. In this affair Captain Washington was wounded in the wrist, and Monroe in the shoulder. Captain Washington was promoted for his gallant conduct, and Monroe was rewarded with the command of his company. He was soon after appointed aide-de-camp to Lord Stirling, with the rank of major, and won fresh distinction by his gallant and efficient services at the Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.

By his transfer to the staff Monroe lost his chance of promotion, and in order to regain it decided to return to the line. He went to Virginia, where he endeavored to raise a regiment under authority from General Washington and the Legislature of Virginia. He was unsuccessful in his efforts, and having lost his place in the army resolved to devote himself to the study of the law under Mr. Jefferson, who was then Governor of Virginia. He continued his studies until Cornwallis entered Virginia in his northward advance from Wilmington, when he again took the field as a volunteer, and continued with the army until the surrender of the British forces at Yorktown, in 1781. He then went back to his law studies, and in 1782 received his license to practice.

In 1782, Mr. Monroe was elected to the Legislature of Virginia, from the county of King George. He was but twenty-four years old; but such was his ability and tact as a legislator, that in 1783 the Legislature elected him a delegate from Virginia to the Congress of the United States. In that body he was regarded as one of the working members, and fully justified his reputation by his industry and zeal. In 1785, having become satisfied that the powers of Congress, under the Confederation, were far too limited to allow it to conduct the government of the country properly, he endeavored to enlarge them by offering a resolution that Congress should be given

the power to regulate trade. When the proposal for a Federal Convention to amend the Articles of Confederation was made, he gave it his hearty support. While in attendance upon Congress, Mr. Monroe married Miss Kortwright, a beautiful and accomplished lady of New York. His term of office expired in 1786, and in the latter part of that year he established himself at Fredericksburg, Virginia, with the intention of commencing the practice of law.

He was not allowed to withdraw from political life, however, and in 1787 was elected to the Legislature. The next year he was sent to the Convention of Virginia, which was to decide the ratification of the Federal Constitution. As much as he desired a closer and more perfect union of the States, Mr. Monroe did not approve the Constitution without certain radical amendments. He feared that the great powers committed to the General Government would destroy the independence of the States and the liberties of the people. He therefore sided with Patrick Henry and George Mason in opposing the Constitution, and voted against its ratification.

Though the Constitution was accepted by the Convention, its opponents, as we have stated in the sketch of Mr. Henry, had sufficient strength to control the elections for members of the two Houses of Congress under it. Mr. Grayson, one of the United States Senators from Virginia, died within a short time of the organization of the Government, and Mr. Monroe was elected to fill his unexpired term. He took his seat in the Senate of the United States in 1790, and remained a member of that body until 1794.

In 1794, the French Government, having complied with the demand of the United States for the removal of M. Genet, requested, as an act of reciprocity, the recall of Gouverneur Morris, the American Minister at Paris, whose political sympathies were with the defeated aristocratic party of France. President Washington promptly complied with this request, and at the instance of Mr. Jefferson, appointed Mr. Monroe to succeed Morris. Mr. Monroe accepted the appointment, and, resigning his seat in the Senate, proceeded at once to his post. He arrived in Paris a few days after the execution of Robespierre and his associates had brought the Reign of Terror to an end.

He was given a public reception by the National Convention, and was welcomed with an enthusiasm peculiarly French. He found himself one of the most popular men in Paris, and the first use he made of his popularity was to procure the release of Thomas Paine from his captivity in the Luxembourg. "He wrote consolingly to Paine in his prison, claiming him as an American citizen, concerning whose welfare Americans could not be indifferent, and for whom the President cherished a grateful regard. He received the sick and forlorn captive into his house, and entertained him for a year and a half."

Monroe got on very well in France until the negotiation of Jay's Treaty gave rise to the misunderstanding between the United States and France, which resulted in hostilities in the next administration. "Mr. Monroe, when sent envoy to France, had been especially instructed to explain the views and conduct of the United States in forming the treaty with England; and had been amply furnished with documents for the purpose. From his own letters it appeared, however, that he had omitted to use them. Whether this arose from undue attachment to France, from mistaken notions of American interests, or from real dislike to the treaty, the result was the very evil he had been instructed to prevent. The French Government misconceived the views and conduct of the United States, suspected their policy in regard to Great Britain, and when aware that the House of Representatives would execute the treaty made by Jay, became bitter in their resentment. Symptoms of this appeared in the capture of an American merchantman by a French privateer. Under these circumstances it was deemed expedient by Washington and his Cabinet, to recall Mr. Monroe, and appoint another American citizen in his stead."¹ Mr. Monroe was therefore recalled in 1796, and Mr. Pinckney was appointed to succeed him. "Immediately after this appointment, which took place in July, despatches were received from Mr. Monroe, communicating complaints which had been addressed to him, against the American Government, by M. de la Croix, French Minister of Exterior Relations, and his reply to the same. His reply, though it failed to change the policy of the French Directory, was deemed able and satisfactory by the Executive."

¹ Irving's *Life of Washington*. Vol. V., pp. 241-242.

On his return from Europe Mr. Monroe published a vindication of his course while Minister to France, and censured the Administration. He was elected to the Virginia Legislature immediately upon his arrival, and in 1799, was chosen by that body Governor of Virginia, which office he held for three years.

President Jefferson, soon after his inauguration, began his efforts to purchase Louisiana from France. In 1802 Mr. Livingston, the American Minister at Paris, was charged to open negotiations with the First Consul for that purpose. He could accomplish but little, however, and despaired of ultimate success. There was danger that the people of Kentucky and the western country would take forcible possession of New Orleans, and thus precipitate a fresh war with France. It was, therefore, of the highest importance that the negotiations should be brought to a speedy close, and Mr. Jefferson resolved to appoint another envoy to France to assist Mr. Livingston, and decided to send Mr. Monroe upon that mission. On the 10th of January, 1803, he wrote to his friend: "I have but a moment to inform you that the fever into which the western mind is thrown by the affairs at New Orleans (denying the right of deposit), stimulated by the mercantile and generally Federal interest, threatens to overbear our peace. * * * * I shall to-morrow nominate you to the Senate for an extraordinary mission to France. * * * Pray work night and day to arrange your affairs for a temporary absence, perhaps a long one." Mr. Monroe's nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and by the middle of April he was in Paris. He was empowered to purchase the whole of Louisiana, if possible; but, if not, to give two million dollars in cash for the island of New Orleans alone.

When Mr. Monroe reached Paris, Napoleon had entirely abandoned the scheme he had formed of colonizing Louisiana upon a grand scale, and was applying all his energies to preparing for the new war with England which followed the rupture of the peace of Amiens. He was aware that he would have his hands full at home, and would be unable to defend the distant province of Louisiana, which would quickly fall a prize to the superior naval power of England. "The English,"

he said, "shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I think of ceding it to the United States. * * If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana: but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it."

Such was the frame of mind in which Mr. Monroe found Napoleon. The First Consul wanted money, however, and instructed his Minister to demand one hundred million francs for Louisiana. Mr. Monroe lost no time in carrying the negotiation through, and eighteen days after his arrival in Paris, a convention was signed by which the whole of Louisiana was purchased by the United States for the sum of fifteen millions of dollars. The happy manner in which the negotiation was conducted reflected the highest credit upon Mr. Monroe's diplomatic abilities.

Soon after the completion of the Louisiana purchase, Mr. Monroe was appointed by President Jefferson to succeed Rufus King as Minister to the Court of St. James. The relations between the United States and England at this time were anything but friendly, as we have stated elsewhere; and the President being anxious to settle the differences between the two countries amicably, associated Mr. Pinckney with Mr. Monroe for the negotiation of a treaty for this purpose. These gentlemen succeeded in arranging a treaty with Great Britain in 1807, which they regarded as favorable to the United States. President Jefferson, as we have already stated, was not satisfied with it, and took the responsibility of rejecting it without sending it to the Senate. Mr. Canning, the British Foreign Minister, refused to continue the negotiation, and the efforts of Monroe and Pinckney therefore came to naught. Mr. Monroe at first resented the course of the President in rejecting the treaty, but a friendly correspondence removed his resentment, and restored the pleasant relations which had always existed between Mr. Jefferson and himself.

Upon the announcement of Mr. Jefferson's determination to retire from the Presidency, Mr. Monroe's claims to that office were advocated by a portion of the Republican party. Mr. Madison was the choice of the majority of the party, however, and was elected Mr. Jefferson's successor. Mr. Monroe considered himself badly treated by his party, and a coolness sprang up between Mr. Madison and himself. Mr. Jefferson, however, succeeded in healing the breach between them, and so prevented one in the Republican party.

In 1811 Mr. Monroe was again elected Governor of Virginia, but shortly after his election resigned that office to enter the Cabinet of President Madison, who had appointed him his Secretary of State. In September, 1814, General Armstrong resigned the post of Secretary of War, and Mr. Monroe was temporarily transferred to the head of the War Department. In his new position he displayed an energy and vigor which did much to render the close of the war as creditable to the country as its opening had been disgraceful. He urged Congress to increase the army to a strength of 100,000 men, and to raise troops by a draft from the whole able-bodied male population. This proposal was very unpopular, but as he was convinced that it was the only way to put an efficient army in the field, he adhered to it with firmness. Fortunately the close of the war soon followed, and rendered the measure unnecessary. He gave an efficient and determined support to the measures of the commanders of the army, and strained every facility of his department to supply their needs. Towards the close of 1814, the question of the defence of New Orleans was presented to the consideration of the War Department. Mr. Monroe was for defending the city to the "last ditch," and in order to raise the funds necessary to enable General Jackson to carry out his measures for that purpose, pledged his private property. This patriotic act saved to the country not only New Orleans, but the whole of the lower Mississippi, and was rewarded by the brilliant victory of General Jackson over the British army on the 8th of January, 1815. In August, 1815, the war having been ended, Mr. Monroe resumed his place as Secretary of State, and held it until the close of Mr. Madison's administration.

In 1816 Mr. Monroe received the nomination of the Republican party for the Presidency, and was elected by a handsome majority. He was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1817. The administration of Mr. Monroe covered a period generally known in our history as "the era of good feeling." Party lines were almost blotted out, and the people, in their support of the national measures of the country, were more united than at any previous or subsequent time. A few months after his inauguration, President Monroe made a tour through the Eastern States. He was everywhere received with marked attention, and Boston, a strong Federalist city, did itself honor by the heartiness of the welcome it gave him.

During the first term of Mr. Monroe, Florida was added to the territory of the Union by purchase from Spain, and he had thus the good fortune of being instrumental in removing the last traces of foreign dominion from the country which naturally belonged to the Republic. The other important measures of this administration were the perfecting of the National Bank, the gradual discharge of the public debt, the construction of fortifications at prominent points along the coast, the increase of the navy, and the encouragement, by protective duties, of the manufactures of the country. During this administration also the General Government began to give its aid to the public works of the country, a policy which it has since pursued. Mr. Monroe was at first opposed to such grants by the Government, basing his objections upon Constitutional reasons; but gradually became more favorable to them, yielding his own views to the plainly expressed wishes of the people.

In 1820 Mr. Monroe was reëlected President of the United States, receiving every electoral vote but one. The great question of his second term was the Slavery contest, which was settled for the time, in 1820, by the Missouri Compromise. It agitated the country profoundly, and aroused grave fears for the perpetuity of the Union. The Compromise was effected mainly by the exertions of Henry Clay. By its terms Slavery was forever prohibited in the territories of the Union north of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude.

During Mr. Monroe's second administration, the Spanish Provinces of Mexico and South America succeeded in bringing

their struggle against their Mother Country to a triumphant close. Some time before this Henry Clay had exerted himself to procure the recognition of their independence by the United States, but his efforts had been regarded as premature. In March, 1822, he succeeded, and a bill was passed by Congress in accordance with a recommendation of the President, recognizing the independence of Mexico and the South American States, and providing for the establishment of diplomatic relations with them. The next year President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress, laid down the principle that "the American Continents, by the free and independent position they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power." This claim that America belongs to Republicanism, and is not to be the scene of European schemes of territorial aggrandizement, has since then been known as the "Monroe Doctrine," and has been regarded as one of the cardinal points of the policy of the American Government.

In the last year of Mr. Monroe's Presidency, the venerable General Lafayette arrived in the United States on his second and last visit to this country.

As President of the United States, Mr. Monroe firmly adhered to his own policy. He was accustomed to hear, with respect and attention, the opinions of his Cabinet, and the arguments by which they were supported; but after all made up his own mind, and carried out his decisions with firmness and vigor. His manner was generally placid and good-natured, but he often startled his associates by sudden bursts of passion.

"I recollect," says Mr. Stansbury, "an instance of this that is highly characteristic of the man. He had issued an order of some kind, I forget its particular nature, to Commodore Porter, while on a distant station, which that ardent and somewhat independent officer took the liberty, for reasons deemed by him sufficient, to disregard. When the despatch came bearing this intelligence, the Secretary of the Navy himself waited on the President to communicate it. Monroe's face turned crimson; his eyes flashed fire; and starting up and pacing the room, he exclaimed, 'The fellow! does he dispute

my orders? He shall fight me. I'll call him out the moment he gets home.' There spoke out the man. It was not the President of the United States who spoke, but it was James Monroe. Taking Porter's conduct as a personal affront, his very first idea was to call him to the field, and make him abide the issue at the pistol's mouth. A curious interview they would have had of it, had not the prudence of the Chief Magistrate checked the fiery ardor of the soldier. Monroe's public conduct was eminent for prudence, and was always marked by good sense."

As the close of his second term drew near, Mr. Monroe, in accordance with what had now become the recognized custom of the President, announced his intention to retire from office. He was succeeded by John Quincy Adams, who was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1825.

Upon retiring from the Presidency, Mr. Monroe withdrew to his residence in Loudon County, Virginia. He was chosen a member of the Virginia Convention of 1827, and was unanimously elected President of that body. A gentleman who was present thus speaks of his appearance in the Convention: "The want of the habit of public speaking was very conspicuous in several of the older members of the Convention, and in none more than Mr. Monroe. It was well known that he was never a very eloquent speaker; but in former days his speeches were said to be remarkable for plain common sense, expressed in clear and intelligible language. He had lost all this, no doubt from long disuse, before he came to the Convention. His ideas appeared to be confused, his delivery awkward, his manner perplexed, and his whole demeanor that of a man overwhelmed by the magnitude of his subject. To have judged from his speeches on the floor, one might very well have supposed that he had no clear perceptions upon any subject, and that he had not mastered the particular one upon which he was engaged for the time being.

"Yet those who know the history of Mr. Monroe, are well aware that such was not the character of his mind. He was eminently a man of action; he saw his way clearly in every difficulty, political or diplomatic, and though he might not be able to point it out to others, he never lost it himself. * *

Though no orator, Mr. Monroe was, nevertheless, listened to with great respect by the Convention. And he was entitled to be thus listened to. He had filled the highest offices, had been twice elected President of the United States, and had conducted one of the most successful administrations the country had ever known." •

Mr. Monroe was compelled, by sickness, to withdraw from the Convention before its adjournment. In the summer of 1830, having lost his wife, he removed to New York and took up his residence with his son-in-law, Mr. Gouverneur. He died in that city on the 4th of July, 1831, at the age of seventy-two years, being the third ex-President who had died upon the anniversary of the nation's independence. His remains were interred in a cemetery on Second Street, in New York, but in the summer of 1859 were removed to Virginia, and were buried with imposing military ceremonies in Hollywood Cemetery, at Richmond. A tasteful mausoleum, erected by his native State, marks his grave, which is situated in one of the loveliest portions of this beautiful cemetery. From it one looks down on the capital of Virginia, and upon the broad and majestic James bursting over its rocky falls and stretching away in the distance in a calm, deep flood.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE Adams family enjoys the exclusive honor of having furnished two of its members to the Presidency of the United States; and apart from this distinction we may add that, since the Colonial period of our history, its members have been eminent for their great abilities and for their public services.

John Adams, whose history we have sketched in another part of this work, married Abigail Smith, and had surmounted his early difficulties, and was a rising young lawyer, when his oldest son, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, was born at Boston, on the 11th of July, 1767. He was named in memory of one of his great-grandfathers, who had been a man of eminence in Massachusetts about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The education of John Quincy was begun by his mother, who taught him the rudiments of English, and directed his attention to history and biography. In one of her letters to her husband, written while he was absent at his post in Congress, Mrs. Adams says: "I have taken a very great fondness for reading Rollin's 'Ancient History' since you left me. I am determined to go through with it, if possible, in these my days of solitude. I find great pleasure and entertainment from it, and I have persuaded Johnny to read me a page or two every day, and hope he will, from his desire to oblige me, entertain a fondness for it."

When "Johnny" had almost completed his tenth year, he wrote the following letter to his father, which will show the progress he had made:

"BRAINTREE, *June 2, 1777.*

"DEAR SIR: I love to receive letters very well; much better than I love to write them. I make but a poor figure at composition. My head is much too fickle. My thoughts are running after birds' eggs, play and trifles, till I get vexed with myself. Mamma has a troublesome task to keep me a studying. I own I am ashamed of myself. I have just entered the third volume of Rollin's History, but designed to have got half through it by this time. I am determined this week

to be more diligent. Mr. Thaxter is absent at Court. I have set myself a stint this week to read the third volume half out. If I can but keep my resolution, I may again at the end of the week give a better account of myself. I wish, sir, you would give me, in writing, some instructions with regard to the use of my time, and advise me how to proportion my studies and play, and I will keep them by me, and endeavor to follow them.

"With the present determination of growing better, I am, dear sir, your son,

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"P. S.—SIR: If you will be so good as to favor me with a blank book, I will transcribe the most remarkable passages I meet with in my reading, which will serve to fix them upon my mind."

In 1778 John Adams was appointed one of the American Commissioners to France in the place of Silas Deane, and sailed from Massachusetts Bay in the frigate *Boston* on the 13th of February of that year. He took John Quincy with him, in order to give him the advantages of education abroad. They remained in Paris about a year and a half, and during this time the boy attended a public school in that city. His leisure hours were passed mainly in the society of his father and Dr. Franklin, from whom he took his first lessons in statesmanship. He was a faithful student, and advanced rapidly in his studies, to the great delight of his father, who was very anxious that his son should prepare himself to be of service to his country. The progress of the boy was highly commended by Franklin who was much attached to him.

John Quincy returned to America with his father in the summer of 1779. In November of that year Mr. Adams sailed on his second mission to Europe, taking passage in the French frigate that had brought him home. He was again accompanied by John Quincy. On the voyage from France to America, the "*Sensible*" had brought the new French legation to the United States. Barbé de Marbois was the Secretary of this legation, and on the voyage out had taken a great interest in John Quincy, and "had been so much impressed by what he saw of this youth, then only ten years old, that he sent his father a special injunction to carry him back, to profit by the advantages of a European education." Upon reaching Paris John Quincy was placed at an academy, where he devoted himself with diligence to his studies.

When Mr. Adams left Paris in the summer of 1780, and repaired to Holland, he took his son with him, and placed him

at school in Amsterdam. Soon after this he entered the University of Leyden.

In July, 1781, John Quincy Adams may be said to have entered upon his public life. Francis Dana having been appointed Minister from the United States to Russia, was so much impressed with the young man that he appointed him his private secretary, though he was but fourteen years old, and took him with him to St. Petersburg. He held this position for fourteen months, discharging his duties to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Dana, and at the end of that time returned from Russia to Holland alone, and resumed his studies at the Hague. He went with his father to Paris in the autumn of 1782, and was present in that city at the signing of the preliminary and definitive Treaties of Peace between the United States and Great Britain. He accompanied his father in the visit of the latter to England in the winter of 1783-4, and was with him in his trying voyage on his return to Holland in the early spring of 1784. Mrs. Adams having joined her husband in the summer of 1784, John Quincy again had the advantage of his mother's society. The young man was apprehensive that his studies were being neglected, and in 1785 obtained leave to return to Massachusetts. He entered Harvard College, where he remained three years, graduating in 1788, with high honors, at the age of twenty-one.

Having chosen the profession of his father, Mr. Adams, after leaving college, repaired to Newburyport, and began the study of the law under Theophilus Parsons, one of the most learned lawyers this country has ever produced. In due time he completed his studies, received his license to practice, and opened an office at Boston. He found it hard to struggle into business enough to support him, and for three or four years had an abundance of leisure time.

The French Revolution, as we have stated elsewhere, entered largely into American politics, and this circumstance gave to Mr. Adams an opportunity of bringing himself more prominently and speedily before the public than he could hope to do in the exercise of his profession. With admirable skill he availed himself of the opportunity. In 1791 he published in the *Boston Sentinel* a series of papers over the signature of

"Publicola," in which he discussed with great ability the events and ideas of the French Revolution, taking strong ground against the extreme views and acts of the Revolutionists. These articles were widely copied and extensively read in the United States, and were reprinted in England, where they received the especial praise of Fox and Windham. They were generally attributed both at home and abroad to the elder Adams. "They were not his, however," says Charles Francis Adams, "excepting so far as the son may have imbibed with his growth the principles which animated his father through life." In 1773 Mr. Adams published another series of articles in the *Sentinel*, under the signature of "Marcellus," in which he advocated a strict and impartial neutrality between the parties to the European struggle as the only course consistent with the interests of the United States. These papers were even more widely read than those of "Publicola," and did much towards inducing the people to support the policy of neutrality subsequently resolved upon by Washington. The President was much impressed with them, and inquired for their author. They were in keeping with his own ideas on the subject, but were opposed to the prevailing sentiment of the country, and he recognized the service thus rendered by the younger Adams. Somewhat later, Mr. Adams published another series of essays over the signature of "Columbus," reviewing the violent and insolent course of M. Genet, the French Minister to the United States.

These writings made Mr. Adams a prominent man in the eyes of the public, and drew upon him the favorable consideration of the Federal Government. Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, was so well pleased with the ability displayed by the younger Adams that he advised the President to employ him in the diplomatic service of the country. President Washington readily accepted Jefferson's advice, having himself already formed a high opinion of Mr. Adams's talents, and on the 29th of May, 1794, appointed him Minister of the United States at the Hague. The appointment was confirmed the next day by the Senate. It was in the highest degree flattering to Mr. Adams. He was but twenty-seven years old at the time, and the appointment came to him entirely unsought.

Mr. Adams at once repaired to his post at the Hague. Holland was a prey to confusion and disorder in consequence of the French invasion, and in the course of a few months Mr. Adams, finding that he could accomplish nothing for his country, became discouraged, and expressed a desire to resign. Upon learning of this wish, the President wrote to the elder Adams, begging him to use his influence to induce his son to remain at his post, and expressing his own belief that the young Minister, if patient, would one day enjoy the highest honors of the diplomatic service of his country. Encouraged by these sentiments so generously expressed, Mr. Adams abandoned all thought of relinquishing his post, and remained in Holland until the close of Washington's administration, discharging his duties with ability and discretion.

Upon the accession of John Adams to the Presidency, in 1796, he was perplexed to know what course to pursue toward his son, and consulted Washington upon the subject. The latter advised him not to think of withholding the promotion to which John Quincy Adams's services in Holland richly entitled him. He declared that he considered him the most valuable representative the country had abroad, and that the relationship between the President and the Minister should have no influence in depriving him of advancement when fairly won. President Adams thereupon appointed his son Minister to the Court of Berlin.

During his residence at the Hague, Mr. Adams visited London to assist in the ratification of a commercial treaty with Great Britain. While in that city he met Miss Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, United States Consul at London. This acquaintance resulted in his marriage to the young lady on the 26th of July, 1797. A few months later, he repaired to Berlin and entered upon the discharge of the duties of his new position.

Mr. Adams's residence in Berlin was both pleasant and profitable to him. He was enabled to perfect his knowledge of German, and translated Wieland's "Oberon" into English verse. He made the acquaintance of many eminent German scholars and poets, whose society he enjoyed keenly. In the summer of 1800, he made a pleasant tour through Silesia, and

in a series of letters to a younger brother communicated his impressions of the country. These letters were published without his knowledge, and were reprinted in Europe. They contained much valuable information, and added considerably to the writer's literary reputation.

Mr. Adams was eminently successful in his public services in Prussia. In 1798 he negotiated a commercial treaty with Sweden, and in 1801 concluded a similar treaty between the United States and Prussia. In these negotiations he held his own against the veteran diplomatists of those countries, and by his prudence, vigilance and penetration, added greatly to his growing fame.

In March, 1801 John Adams retired from the Presidency, and with him the Federalist party passed out of power. As he wished to leave Mr. Jefferson unhampered by the presence of a son of the retiring President in one of the most important posts under the Government, one of his last official acts was to recall John Quincy Adams from Berlin. Mr. Adams therefore returned to the United States in the summer of 1801.

Mr. Adams had been absent from the country for eight years, and had consequently taken no part in the formation of either of the political parties into which the American people were divided. On his return he attached himself to neither, preferring to act with independence in any position he might assume. His reputation was too great, however, for him to remain in private life, and in 1802 he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, from the city of Boston. His course in that body was marked by a bold independence of party spirit which was thoroughly characteristic of him. In this case, it served to increase the esteem in which he was held by the people of his native State, and in 1803 he was elected to the Senate of the United States mainly by the votes of the Federalist party. He was but thirty-six years old at the time, and was one of the youngest Senators in Congress.

As he had been elected by Federalist votes, it was supposed that he would act with that party in Congress; but from the first he gave evidence of his intention to follow his judgment and conscience rather than the will of any party in the discharge of his public duties. He supported the Embargo meas-

ures of President Jefferson, because he thought such a policy warranted by the course of England and France, and believed that if faithfully carried out it would be efficacious in remedying the evils from which the country was suffering. The Embargo, however, was bitterly opposed by the Federalist party, and Mr. Adams's support of it subjected him to a storm of abuse from that party. He was charged with acting from interested motives, and the Legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions disapproving his course, and to make its displeasure still more marked, elected a Senator to succeed him at the expiration of his term. Mr. Adams was not the man to retain his seat under these conditions, and in March, 1808, resigned his Senatorship, and became once more a private citizen.

In the meantime he had been solicited to accept the Presidency of Harvard College, his literary fame being equal to his reputation as a statesman, but he declined the honor. In 1805 he was elected Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Harvard, and accepted the position on condition that it should not interfere with his duties as a Senator of the United States. He entered upon his professorship in June, 1806, and held it for nearly three years, winning considerable credit by his lectures on rhetoric and eloquence.

Mr. Jefferson was succeeded by Mr. Madison as President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1809. The new President, among his first acts, appointed Mr. Adams Minister from the United States to Russia. Mr. Adams sailed for St. Petersburg in the summer of 1809, and was received with great friendliness by the Emperor Alexander, and was admitted to a personal intimacy with that monarch. During his absence abroad he was nominated by Mr. Madison to a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court, made vacant by the death of Judge Cushing, and the nomination was confirmed by the Senate, but was declined, Mr. Adams preferring to remain in the diplomatic service.

Mr. Adams endeavored to turn the friendship with which the Russian Emperor regarded him to the advantage of his country, and the Emperor Alexander was induced to offer his mediation between the United States and Great Britain, with a view to terminating the war between those powers, which had bro-

ken out in the summer of 1812. The Russian offer was accepted by President Madison, as we have related, and a Commission, with Mr. Adams at its head, was appointed to conduct the negotiation. The offer was declined by Great Britain, and nothing resulted from it. The British Government, however, during the winter of 1813-14, notified the President of the United States that though it had declined the Russian offer, it was willingly to conduct direct negotiations with the United States. President Madison promptly responded to this overture, and to the Commission already in Europe, which consisted of Messrs. Adams, Bayard and Gallatin, added Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell. The negotiations were conducted at Ghent. Mr. Adams took a leading part in them, and contributed in a great measure to closing the war and securing the ends for which it was fought. His course was warmly approved by the people and Government of the United States.

In the spring of 1815, after the return of peace, Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Clay were sent to London to conclude a commercial Treaty with Great Britain. This was speedily accomplished, and Mr. Adams was appointed by the President Minister to the Court of St. James. The prediction of Washington was verified; John Quincy Adams now held the most important diplomatic post within the gift of his country.

In March, 1817, James Monroe was inaugurated President of the United States. He had been Secretary of State under Mr. Madison, and had had ample opportunity to observe the abilities of Mr. Adams, as displayed by his services abroad, and he at once offered him the important position of Secretary of State in his Cabinet. Mr. Adams accepted the position, and returned home in June, 1817. His appointment gave general satisfaction, and the able and successful manner in which he conducted the intercourse of this country with foreign nations during the eight years of the Presidency of Mr. Monroe showed that the high opinion which his countrymen entertained of his powers as a statesman was well founded.

In the campaign of 1824 all the candidates for the Presidency were taken from the Republican party, the Federalist party having disappeared from the political field. Mr. Adams was nominated and supported by the Eastern and Middle States.

He was very reluctant to enter upon the contest, but consented to accept the nomination at the urgent request of a large body of devoted friends. His competitors were Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson, who divided the support of the West between them, and William H. Crawford, whose claims were supported by the South. Mr. Adams's friends embraced a large and powerful party. "The qualifications on which his supporters depended," says Mr. Seward, "and to which they called the attention of the American people, as reasons for elevating him to the head of the general government, may be summarily enumerated as follows: 1. The purity of his private character—the simplicity of his personal habits—his unbending integrity and uprightness, even beyond suspicion. 2. His commanding talents, and his acquirements both as a scholar and a statesman. 3. His love of country, his truly American feelings, in all that concerned the welfare and the honor of the United States. 4. His long experience in public affairs, especially his familiarity with our foreign relations, and his perfect knowledge of the institutions, the internal condition and policy of European nations. 5. His advocacy of protection to domestic manufactures, and of a judicious system of internal improvements.

The campaign of 1824 was marked by the most intense excitement, and the election failed to result in a choice by the people. The contest was thus thrown into the House of Representatives. On the 9th of February, 1825, that body proceeded to vote by States for President of the United States. The first ballot stood as follows: For John Quincy Adams, 13 votes; for Andrew Jackson, 7 votes; for Wm. H. Crawford, 4 votes. Mr. Adams was therefore declared elected President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1825.

The result of the ballot in the House of Representatives was announced to Mr. Adams in the following note from his friend, Senator King, of New York:

"SENATE CHAMBER, 9 February, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR: We have this moment heard the issue of the election, and I send you and your venerable father my affectionate congratulations upon your choice as President of the United States on the first ballot of the House of Representatives. I include your father, as I consider your election as the best amends for the injustice of which he was made the victim.

"To me and mine, the choice has been such as we have cordially hoped for and expected.

RUFUS KING."

Mr. Adams at once enclosed this note in the following letter to his father—then ninety years of age:

“WASHINGTON, 9 February, 1825.

“MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER: The enclosed note from Mr. King will inform you of the event of this day, upon which I can only offer *you* my congratulations, and ask your blessings and prayers.

“Your affectionate and dutiful son,

“JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.”

The choice of Mr. Adams by the House was bitterly resented by the friends of General Jackson, who had received fifteen more votes in the Electoral College than his successful competitor; but as Mr. Adams had received the largest popular vote, the House, in its action, simply gave effect to the expression of the will of the people. John C. Calhoun had been chosen Vice-President by the Electoral College.

Mr. Adams was inaugurated President of the United States, with imposing ceremonies, at Washington, on the 4th of March, 1826. His administration was one of remarkable prosperity. The country was growing wealthier by the rapid advance of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and abroad it commanded the respect of the world. The Erie Canal was completed during this administration, and the construction of our magnificent railway system was begun. Mr. Adams was a constant and energetic advocate of governmental aid to the internal improvements of the country, and supported the Protective system by which our manufactures were built up. His ceaseless aim was to conciliate all parties, and to secure their support for the measures best calculated to make the Union strong and prosperous at home and respected abroad.

The opposition in Congress was very strong and very active throughout this administration. The Tariff and the Protective policy were the great questions of the day. The Eastern and Middle States were overwhelmingly in favor of a Protective Tariff; the South was a unit against that measure. The Tariff Bill of 1828 was approved by the President, and his course was bitterly denounced by the opposition. The President's schemes of internal improvement were also ardently opposed by this party.

Mr. Adams displayed, as President, the same independence

of thought and action that had marked his previous career. While this quality won him the praise of thoughtful and disinterested citizens, it rendered him unpopular with the great mass of the people, who were nevertheless forced to accord him their profound respect. "Mr. Adams's temperament," says Mr. Stansbury, "was peculiar, his manner and address cold, if not repulsive, and his mode of shaking hands especially, so much so that it attained an unenviable celebrity as 'the pump-handle shake.' He had been much abroad, had seen mankind, and appeared not to trust them. He flattered no man, and was not to be controlled by flattery from others. An old diplomatist himself, he was proof against all the approaches of the diplomatists of other governments. They could make nothing of him. He listened to their polite speeches, smiled and coldly bowed, but then went to business. His keen and piercing eye was kept steadily *ad rem*. Beneath the coldest manners, he possessed a depth and a power of passion as great as I ever witnessed in any human being. It seemed as if his soul glowed with an intensity precisely proportioned to the icy exterior which he presented to a stranger. This, it is true, was not so fully developed during his Presidency as afterwards, when he came into the House of Representatives. There his passions were called out into open play, and they often rose into a perfect storm. * * When attacked, or reflected on, he kept it in memory; and the first moment the occasion presented, never failed to repay, and with a fearful accumulation of interest. He was one of the last men a prudent man would assail in a deliberative body. He was a most able debater; skilled in dialectics, a practised, ready and forcible speaker, with a piercing voice, an iron memory, and such an array of facts on every subject he handled, as rendered him one of the most formidable adversaries any man could provoke. Staunch to his purpose, not to be baffled, not to be wearied, he pressed his point with a pertinacity and persevering vigor, both of intellect and passion, that was rarely withstood.

"One thing which powerfully helped him in the duties of his office was his habits of indefatigable application. So far as it was practicable, he read over all the papers connected with every question submitted to him. He trusted to no man's rep-

resentations where he could see with his own eyes. I have seen, in his business-room, in the Presidential mansion, a table at least twenty feet long and ten feet wide, covered thickly with papers, in bundles, to the depth of a foot, all of which he would at least look at, and the more important of which he would read through. To get time for this, he rose before the sun, and sat up late at night. He had two excellent preparations for business: One was his constant habit of bathing in the Potomac by dawn of day; the other, and far better one, was to read a chapter of the Bible before he touched a paper. Gentlemen have told me that they have often tried to anticipate the President in his morning bath, but never could succeed; come as early as they would, the old man was in the river, his bald head ducking and diving like a sea-fowl, and all of his motions indicating the lively enjoyment he experienced from a play in his favorite element. He was an excellent swimmer, and as much at home in the water as a duck."

In 1828, Mr. Adams was a candidate for reelection to the Presidency. The contest was very determined, and resulted in the election of Andrew Jackson by a large majority. Gen. Jackson entered upon his duties on the 4th of March, 1829, and Mr. Adams retired to his home at Quincy, which he had inherited from his father.

Mr. Adams now devoted himself to literary and scientific labors, and hoped to continue a private citizen. His hope was not to be realized, however, and he was to spend the remainder of his days in the service of his country. In 1830 the people of the Plymouth District nominated him for the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States. It was generally supposed that having held the highest office in the gift of the nation, he would decline this nomination, but to the surprise of the whole country, he accepted it. It was his conviction that a citizen's services belong to his country in whatever capacity she may choose to claim them, and he was willing to serve her in any position in which he could do good. He was elected by a handsome majority, and was regularly returned by his constituents until the close of his life, seventeen years later.

By his course in Congress Mr. Adams fully sustained his

splendid reputation. He was bold and independent in the pursuit of the thing he believed to be right, and no man was less influenced by party ties. He was universally respected, and even his enemies did justice to his ability and integrity. He generally acted with the Whig party in opposing the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren, but when he thought the measures of the Government deserving of his support, did not hesitate to give it. He was a ready and able debater, and his remarkable powers won him from Congress and from the country the title of "the old man eloquent." He was a stern and uncompromising opponent of slavery, and was the leader of the anti-slavery party of the House. This feeling led him to oppose the annexation of Texas. His course with regard to slavery drew upon him a storm of denunciation from the advocates of that system, and he was threatened with expulsion from the House, and even with assassination; but he never swerved from what he regarded as the line of his duty. On all other subjects he was listened to by the House with respect and attention. One of the most striking instances of his influence over that body is thus related by "An Old Colony Man" in his "Reminiscences of John Quincy Adams:"

"On the opening of the 26th Congress, in December, 1839, in consequence of a two-fold delegation from New Jersey, the House was unable, for some time, to complete its organization, and presented to the country and to the world the perilous and discreditable aspect of the assembled representatives of the people, unable to form themselves into a constitutional body. On first assembling, the House has no officers, and the clerk of the preceding Congress acts, by usage, as chairman of the body till a Speaker is chosen. On this occasion, after reaching the State of New Jersey, the acting clerk declined to proceed in calling the roll, and refused to entertain any of the motions which were made for the purpose of extricating the House from its embarrassment. Many of the ablest and most judicious members had addressed the House in vain, and there was nothing but confusion and disorder in prospect.

"The fourth day opened, and still confusion was triumphant.
* * Mr. Adams, from the opening of this scene of confusion and anarchy, had maintained a profound silence. He appeared

to be engaged most of the time in writing. To a common observer, he seemed to be reckless of everything around him—but nothing, not the slightest incident, escaped him. The fourth day of the struggle had now commenced; Mr. Hugh H. Garland, the clerk, was directed to call the roll again.

“He commenced with Maine, as was usual in those days, and was proceeding towards Massachusetts. I turned and saw that Mr. Adams was ready to get the floor at the earliest moment possible. His keen eye was riveted on the clerk; his hands clasped the front edge of his desk, where he always placed them to assist him in rising.

“‘New Jersey!’ ejaculated Mr. Hugh H. Garland, ‘and the clerk has to repeat that—

“Mr. Adams sprang to the floor.

“‘I rise to interrupt the clerk,’ was his first ejaculation.

“‘Silence! silence!’ resounded through the hall; ‘hear him, hear him. Hear what he has to say! Hear John Quincy Adams!’ was the unanimous ejaculation on all sides. In an instant the most profound silence reigned throughout the hall—you might have heard a leaf of paper drop in any part of it—and every eye was riveted on the venerable Nestor of Massachusetts. He paused for a moment; and, having given Mr. Garland a ‘withering look,’ he proceeded to address the multitude.

“‘It was not my intention,’ said he, ‘to take any part in these extraordinary proceedings. I had hoped that this House would succeed in organizing itself; that a speaker and clerk would be elected, and that the ordinary business of legislation would be progressed in. This is not the time, or place, to discuss the merits of the conflicting claimants for seats from New Jersey; that subject belongs to the House of Representatives, which, by the Constitution, is made the ultimate arbiter of the qualifications of its members. But what a spectacle we here present! We degrade and disgrace ourselves; we degrade and disgrace our constituents and the country. We do not, and cannot organize; and why? Because the clerk of this House, the mere clerk, whom we create, whom we employ, and whose existence depends upon our will, usurps the throne, and sets us, the representatives, the vicegerents of the whole American people, at

defiance, and holds us in contempt! And what is this clerk of yours? Is he to control the destinies of sixteen millions of freemen? Is he to suspend, by his mere negative, the functions of government, and to put an end to this Congress? He refuses to call the roll! It is in your power to compel him to call it, if he will not do it voluntarily.' (Here he was interrupted by a member, who said that he was authorized to say that compulsion could not reach the clerk, who had avowed that he would resign rather than call the State of New Jersey.) 'Well, sir, then let him resign,' continued Mr. Adams, 'and we may possibly discover some way by which we can get along without the aid of his all-powerful talent, learning, and genius. If we cannot organize in any other way—if this clerk of yours will not consent to our discharging the trusts confided to us by our constituents—then let us imitate the example of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, when the Colonial Governor Dinwiddie ordered it to disperse, refused to obey the imperious and insulting mandate, and *like men*——'

"The multitude could not contain or repress their enthusiasm any longer, but saluted the eloquent and indignant speaker, and interrupted him with loud and deafening cheers, which seemed to shake the capitol to its centre. * *

"Having, by this powerful appeal, brought the yet unorganized assembly to a perception of its hazardous position, he submitted a motion requiring the acting clerk to proceed in calling the roll. This and similar motions had already been made by other members. The difficulty was that the acting clerk declined to entertain them. Accordingly, Mr. Adams was immediately interrupted by a burst of voices demanding, 'How shall the question be put?' 'Who will put the question?' The voice of Mr. Adams was heard above the tumult, 'I intend to put the question myself!' That word brought order out of chaos. There was the master mind.

"As soon as the multitude had recovered itself, and the excitement of irrepressible enthusiasm had abated, Mr. Richard Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, leaped upon one of the desks, waved his hand, and exclaimed:

"'I move that the Honorable John Quincy Adams take the chair of the Speaker of this House, and officiate as presiding

officer, till the House be organized by the election of its constitutional officers! As many as are agreed to this will say *ay*; those'—

“He had not an opportunity to complete the sentence, for one universal *ay* responded to the nomination.

“Hereupon, it was moved and ordered that Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, and Richard Barnwell Rhett, conduct John Quincy Adams to the chair.

“Well did Mr. Wise, of Virginia, say, ‘Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers, I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give at once the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb this sentence, ‘I will put the question myself!’”

A few years before his death it was the good fortune of Mr. Adams to render a great service to humanity, and to afford a striking illustration of his devotion to the rights of man. A ship-load of Africans had been stolen from their native land and smuggled into Cuba, in defiance of the law of nations. Thirty-six of them were purchased from their captors by two Spanish planters named Ruiz and Montes, who embarked them in the schooner “*Amistad*,” and sailed for Guanaja, Cuba. On the third day out from Havana, the negroes rose in an attempt to recover their liberty, and murdered the master and crew of the vessel, sparing only the lives of Ruiz and Montes, their purchasers, whom they compelled to navigate the vessel. The negroes ordered the Spaniards to direct the course of the vessel to the coast of Africa, but the latter brought her to the coast of the United States, which they reached off the eastern end of Long Island. They were overhauled by the U. S. Coast Survey brig *Washington*, Lieut. Gedney, and carried into New London. The two Spaniards claimed the negroes as their property, and the Spanish Minister at Washington demanded of the President their surrender in order that they might be carried back to Havana and tried for piracy and murder. The case was submitted to the District Court of Connecticut, and in the meantime President Van Buren ordered a Government schooner to be held in readiness at New Haven to convey the negroes back to Havana, should such be the decision of the Court. The Court, however, decided that the

Government of the United States had no authority to return them to slavery, and ordered that they should be conveyed to their native country in a vessel of the United States. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States by the District Attorney.

The matter excited great interest throughout the country. In the Northern States there was a general sympathy with the Africans, and the hope was universally expressed that the Supreme Court would confirm the decision of the lower tribunal. The Government would, of course, be represented by its own counsel; but who would plead the cause of the poor negroes? At this juncture they found a champion in John Quincy Adams, who volunteered to defend them. "At the age of seventy-four," says Mr. Seward, "he appeared in the Supreme Court of the United States to advocate their cause. He entered upon this labor with the enthusiasm of a youthful barrister, and displayed forensic talents, a critical knowledge of law, and of the inalienable rights of man, which would have added to the renown of the most eminent jurists of the day."

"When he went to the Supreme Court," says Theodore Parker, "after an absence of thirty years, and arose to defend a body of friendless negroes, torn from their home and most unjustly held in thrall—when he asked the judges to excuse him at once for the trembling faults of age and the inexperience of youth, having labored so long elsewhere that he had forgotten the rules of court—when he summed up the conclusion of the whole matter, and brought before those judicial but yet moistening eyes, the great men he had once met there—Chase, Cushing, Martin, Livingston, and Marshall himself; and while he remembered that they were 'gone, gone, all gone,' remembered also the eternal Justice that is never gone—the sight was sublime. It was not an old patrician of Rome, who had been Consul, Dictator, coming out of his retirement at the Senate's call, to stand in the Forum to levy new armies, marshal them to victory afresh, and gain thereby new laurels for his brow; but it was a plain citizen of America, who had held an office far greater than that of Consul, King, or Dictator, his hand reddened by no man's blood, expecting no honors, but coming in the name of justice, to plead for the slave for the

poor barbarian negro of Africa, for Cinque and Grabbo, for their deeds comparing them to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, whose classic memory made each bosom thrill. That was worth all his honors—it was worth while to live fourscore years for that.”

Mr. Adams won his case. The Supreme Court decided that the negroes were entitled to their freedom, and ordered their unconditional release. Shortly afterwards they were aided by charitable persons to return to their native country.

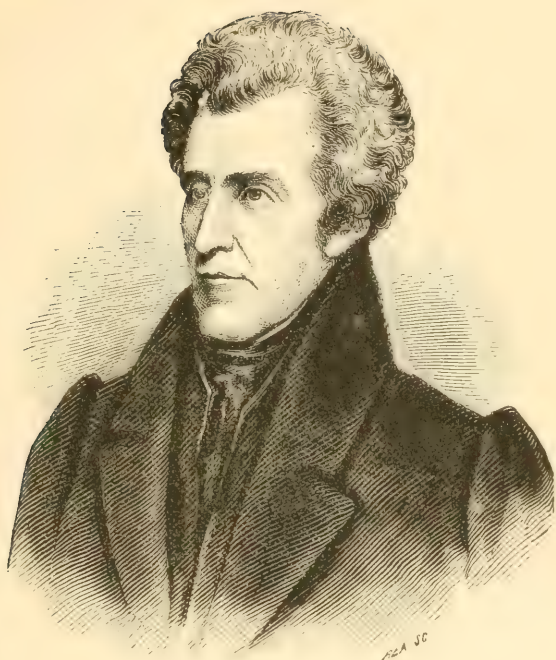
The vigorous health of Mr. Adams at length began to give way. On the morning of the 20th of November, 1846, while at Boston, he was stricken down with a paralytic stroke. He was confined to his bed for several weeks, but recovered at length sufficiently to enable him to proceed to Washington, to take his place in Congress. He did not take as active a part in the debates as formerly, but was in his seat with his usual regularity. On the 21st of February, 1848, a resolution was offered in the House returning the thanks of Congress to several Generals of the army who had distinguished themselves in the war with Mexico. Mr. Adams had just given his vote in favor of the resolution, when he was again stricken with paralysis. The members crowded around his insensible form, and the House adjourned. He was conveyed to the Speaker's room, and laid upon a sofa. The Senate adjourned as soon as informed of the sad event. The deepest anxiety was manifested on all sides. Mr. Adams lingered for two days, and expired on the evening of the 23d of February, 1848, in the eighty-first year of his age. Just before his death he murmured, “This is the end of earth—I am content.” He died as he had lived, at the post of duty.

After appropriate ceremonies in Washington, the remains of the dead statesman were conveyed to Massachusetts, and were buried by the side of his father and mother in the family burying ground at Quincy. All along the route the people of the Union testified, by their public demonstrations, their sorrow for the loss of him who had proved himself one of the ablest statesmen, as well as one of the most disinterested, faithful and incorruptible public servants the country has ever known.

ANDREW JACKSON.

ABOUT the year 1765 Andrew Jackson emigrated from Carrickfergus in Ireland, and settled in what was then called the Waxhaw district, about forty-five miles above Camden in South Carolina. He brought with him his wife and two sons, Hugh and Robert. The family were of the humblest condition in life, and the little farm upon which they settled barely afforded them a subsistence. It was there that ANDREW JACKSON, the youngest son and the subject of this memoir, was born on the 15th of March, 1767. Soon after the birth of young Andrew the elder Jackson died, leaving his widow to provide for her children by her own exertions. She was a woman of great strength of character, and executed the difficult task which devolved upon her with success. Her elder sons were set to earning their own living as soon as possible; but as she destined Andrew for the Presbyterian ministry, she determined to give him the advantages of an education. For this purpose he was sent to an old field school in the neighborhood. "Reading, writing, and arithmetic, were all the branches taught in that early day. Among a crowd of urchins seated on the slab benches of a school like this, fancy a tall, slender boy, with bright blue eyes, a freckled face, an abundance of hair, and clad in coarse copperas-colored cloth, with bare feet dangling and kicking, and you have in your mind's eye a picture of Andy as he appeared in his old field school days in the Waxhaw settlement." He gave no signs of future greatness, and the amount of learning within his reach was not such as to tax his brain too heavily.

Andrew soon acquired the reputation of being the most mischievous boy in the neighborhood. He was always playing pranks, and always getting into trouble. He was daring and reckless, and generous to a fault; passionate and quick, and never willing to submit to a defeat. He was fond of athletic sports, and especially of running, leaping, and wrestling. Being



ANDREW JACKSON

slight of frame he was often thrown. "I could throw him three times out of four," one of his old schoolmates said in after years, "but he would never *stay throwed*. He was dead game, even then, and never would give up." He was a generous friend and protector to younger boys, who acknowledged him as a leader, and would take any personal risk in their defense. "His equals and superiors found him self-willed, somewhat overbearing, easily offended, very irascible, and, upon the whole, 'difficult to get along with.' One of them said, many years after, in the heat of controversy, that of all the boys he had ever known, Andrew Jackson was the only bully who was not also a coward."

Andrew remained at school until the war closed the "Academy." When the Declaration of Independence was signed he was nine years old, and being rather a precocious boy, would listen eagerly to the accounts of the struggle with England which were related by his elders. His eldest brother, Hugh, joined the American army at an early period of the war, and was killed at the battle of Stono. Undiscouraged by this, Robert and Andrew Jackson, the latter now about fourteen, determined to take up arms in behalf of their country. Receiving the permission of their mother, who was no less enthusiastic in the cause, they joined a band of patriots.

Just before they set out from home, occurred the Waxhaw Massacre, on the 29th of May, 1780, in which Tarleton, with 300 British horsemen, surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of militia, killing 113 and wounding 150. The wounded, after the departure of the British, were collected in the Waxhaw meeting-house, which was used as a hospital, and were cared for by the settlers. Mrs. Jackson was very active in nursing the poor fellows, and her sons, Robert and Andrew, assisted her for three or four days. They thus had an opportunity of seeing war in its sternest aspect, but it did not discourage them.

The outrages of the British and Tories obliged the Waxhaw settlers to fly from their homes and seek refuge in North Carolina. Mrs. Jackson and her sons were among the number. Seeing their mother in a place of safety, Andrew and his brother joined a party of Waxhaw settlers under Colonel

Davie, and took part in Sumpter's attack on the British post at Hanging Rock on the 6th of August, 1780.

The war in South Carolina was a fierce partisan contest, waged with merciless fury on both sides. Father was arrayed against son, and brother against brother, and neither party asked nor gave quarter. Andrew and Robert Jackson took their share in this strife, joining small parties that went out on single enterprises of retaliation, mounted on their own horses, and carrying their own guns.

Shortly after the departure of Lord Cornwallis, from South Carolina, the Waxhaw settlers returned home from North Carolina, the Jacksons among the number. Upon learning of this, Lord Rawdon, who was at Camden, despatched a force of British infantry and dragoons, and a detachment of Tories under Major Coffin, to capture them. The settlers determined to stand their ground this time, and fight for their homes. The Waxhaw meeting-house was appointed as the place of rendezvous. On the designated day about forty of the settlers, including the two Jacksons, assembled there, in the expectation of being joined by a reinforcement under Captain Nesbit. They mistook the British and Tories, who wore the usual dress of the country, for this force, and did not perceive their error until they were attacked by the enemy. Eleven of the settlers were taken prisoners, and the rest escaped. Andrew and Robert Jackson were among the fugitives. They succeeded in reaching a place of concealment in a neighboring swamp, but the next day were driven by hunger to a friend's house in search of food. There they were surprised and captured by the British and Tories, who also sacked the house in which the young men were taken, and insulted the lady and children who occupied it. While his men were pillaging the house, the British officer in command of the party ordered Andrew Jackson to clean the mud from his boots. The young hero indignantly refused to perform the menial service, and the enraged officer made a savage cut at him with his sword, which Andrew parried with his left hand, receiving a cut the scar of which he carried with him through life. The Briton then turned to Robert Jackson, and ordered him to clean his boots. Robert also refused, and the officer cut him over the head, inflicting a wound which subsequently proved fatal.

The Jackson boys, with about twenty other prisoners, were now mounted on captured horses, and sent on to Camden, and on the road were denied both food and water. Upon reaching Camden they were thrown into prison, and were treated with great cruelty, their wounds being allowed to remain undressed and their food being of the coarsest quality and barely sufficient to sustain them. To add to the horrors of their captivity the small-pox broke out among the prisoners, and the brothers became infected with it.

Shortly after the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, the two Jacksons, through the exertions of their mother, were exchanged with five other American prisoners. They reached their mother nearly naked, emaciated, hungry, and so feeble as to be scarcely able to stand. The wound in Robert's head had never been dressed, and the small-pox was just breaking out upon him. He was placed on one of the two horses which accompanied the party, and was held on it by his companions, and the other horse was given to his mother. In this way the party set out from Camden to the Waxhaws, forty miles distant. It was a melancholy journey, and when their home was nearly reached the party was overtaken by a severe rain storm which drenched them. Robert and Andrew Jackson both took cold; the former died in two days, and Andrew, upon whom the small-pox had also broken out, became delirious. He was saved from death only by the careful and patient nursing of his mother. He recovered slowly, and had scarcely regained his health when his mother set out for Charleston with four or five other ladies to minister to the wants of the suffering American prisoners on board the Charleston prison ship. While engaged in this noble work she was seized with the fever prevailing among the prisoners, and died.

Andrew Jackson was now alone in the world, with no one to counsel or restrain him. He lingered at the Waxhaws until he had thoroughly recovered his health, and then took part in some of the partisan encounters which marked the close of the war in the South. The return of peace found him in possession of a small farm, inherited from his father, without slaves, and without the means of working it properly. He was a wild, hair-brained lad, and was fond of cock-fighting and horse-

racing. At last he came to the conclusion that it was time to fit himself for the business of life, and having determined to study law, he converted what was left of his little property into money, and removed to Salisbury, North Carolina, where he became a student in the office of Spruce McCay, afterwards an eminent judge of that State. He was now eighteen years old, and he began to take a more serious view of life and its duties than he had yet done. "Nothing is more likely," says Mr. Parton, "than that he *was* a roaring, rollicking fellow, overflowing with life and spirits, and rejoicing to engage in all the fun that was going; but I do not believe that he neglected his duties at the office to the extent to which Salisbury says he did. There are good reasons for doubting it. At no part of Jackson's career when we can get a *look* at him through a pair of trustworthy eyes, do we find him trifling with life. We find him often wrong, but always earnest. He never so much as raised a field of cotton which he did not have done in the best manner known to him. It was not in the nature of this young man to take a great deal of trouble to get a chance to study law, and then entirely throw away that chance. Of course he never became, in any proper sense of the word, a *lawyer*; but that he was not diligent and eager in picking up the legal knowledge necessary for practice at that day will become less credible to the reader the more he knows of him." His legal studies were completed in 1786, when he received his license to practice. He devoted himself to his profession with industry and energy, and made many friends. He remained in North Carolina until 1788, winning the increased regard of his friends by his excellent qualities.

He was now twenty-one years old, and had become satisfied that the eastern part of North Carolina offered but few inducements to a young man who wished to rise in the world. He therefore determined to emigrate beyond the mountains. The western part of North Carolina, which afterwards became the State of Tennessee, was recommended to him as offering many advantages to a young man in his position. Judge McNairy was about to start for the western counties to hold the first term of Supreme Court that had ever sat in that section of the State, and Jackson determined to accompany him. He reached

Nashville in October, 1786, and was so well pleased with the place and the opportunities it offered, that he determined to make it his home. He applied himself with industry his profession, and so won the regard of the people among whom he had cast his lot that he was soon in possession of a comfortable practice. Shortly after his settlement in Nashville, the Governor of the State, without any solicitation on his part, appointed him State's Attorney for the western district, in which capacity he served for several years.

Nashville was at this time but a village of log cabins, and the western border was still exposed to the attacks of the Indians. Jackson greatly increased his popularity with the people of the western district by his gallant conduct in one or two expeditions against the savages in which he took part. He boarded in the family of Mrs. Donelson, a widow. Residing with Mrs. Donelson was her daughter, Rachel, "who had married a man by the name of Robards, in Kentucky, but had separated from him on account of his violent temper and vicious habits. Judge Overton and Jackson occupied another cabin, a few steps distant from that in which Mrs. Donelson lived, but met with her family at the same table. Mrs. Robards was as distinguished for her beauty, her sweetness of temper, and her winning deportment, as was her husband for the possession of the opposite qualities. Through the mediation of Judge Overton, Robards was at one time reconciled to his wife, rejoined her at Mrs. Donelson's, and commenced preparations for erecting a cabin, on a tract of land that he had purchased, in which he intended to reside.

"Jackson was then a young man, frank and engaging in his manners, and fond of female society. He undoubtedly paid Mrs. Robards many flattering attentions, which—neither thinking aught of evil, or cherishing an impure thought—were reciprocated as they deserved, with kindness and friendly esteem, but nothing more. So far from rendering her husband more morose and ill-tempered, this should only have led him to appreciate better her charms and social virtues, and encouraged him to become more pleasing and agreeable. But Iagos were not wanting to instill the doubts and suspicions of jealousy, had not his gloomy and distrustful temperament predisposed him

to such impressions. She was, in consequence, rendered very unhappy. On being made acquainted with this fact, Jackson sought an interview with her husband, and remonstrated with him, in a manly and honorable way. This was of no avail, and he then left Mrs. Donelson's, and took board at Mansker's Station.

"The excited jealousy of the husband could not be allayed, however; and, in a few months, he abandoned his wife a second time, and started for Kentucky—declaring to a companion on the road, that he designed never to return. Mrs. Robards now determined that the separation should be final; and on being afterwards informed that he intended to visit Tennessee, and take her back with him to Kentucky, under the advice of her friends, accompanied the family of Colonel Stark to Natchez, in the spring of 1791. Stark was an elderly man, and fearing that the Indians might attack him, he invited Jackson to make one of the party. The latter, perhaps unwisely—though he certainly never regretted it—accepted the invitation, and descended the rivers with them to Natchez.

"Robards had previously applied to the Legislature of Virginia for a divorce, and soon after the return of Jackson to Nashville, the intelligence was received that his application had been granted. Desirous of testifying to the world in the highest and most solemn manner, his confidence in her purity and innocence—pleased alike with the charms of her person and the graces of her mind, and deeming her at perfect liberty to form a new connection, Jackson forthwith repaired to Natchez, and tendered his hand to Mrs. Robards. She at first hesitated but finally accepted him. They were married in the fall, and she returned with him to the Cumberland, where she was greeted with the warm and affectionate congratulations of her relations and friends.

"Two years after this marriage—in December, 1793—Jackson was on his way to Jonesborough with Judge Overton, when he learned for the first time, equally to his chagrin and surprise, that the intelligence received in 1791, and upon which he had acted, was incorrect. Robards had, in 1791, procured the passage of an act by the Virginia Legislature, authorizing a suit to be brought for a divorce in a court in Kentucky, which

suit had just been determined in his favor—no opposition of course being made to the proceedings. Communications between the Atlantic country and the interior were then very irregular, and the exact particulars of the affair were not known or inquired into, as it was universally supposed in Tennessee that the divorce had been actually granted. On his return home, in January, 1794, Jackson took out a license, and was now regularly married."

The circumstances of this marriage were afterwards tortured by Jackson's political enemies into the grossest calumnies, which gave him inexpressible pain. The testimony of all parties who were witnesses to the affair is, however, that neither Jackson nor Mrs. Robards had any cause of regret save for the mistake which led them into a marriage which they regarded as legal, before the lady was entirely free from her first husband. His passion for her was pure and lofty, and had nothing base in it, and he would have died to shield her good name. She made him an excellent wife, and was always regarded with respect and affection by all her associates.

After his marriage, Jackson devoted himself with redoubled ardor to his profession. About this time he discovered that extensive frauds had been committed in the North Carolina Land-office, and although he was no longer the District Attorney, he exposed them, and had the perpetrators tried and punished. Some of the most influential citizens of the Western District were concerned either directly or indirectly in these frauds, and Jackson's course drew upon him their powerful enmity. They endeavored in many ways to injure him; but heedless of them, he pursued his course, and by his firmness and independence greatly increased the number of his friends.

In 1790, the Western district was formally ceded by North Carolina to the United States, and in 1794 the Territory of Tennessee was organized. The next year the preliminary steps were taken to secure its erection into a State, and Jackson was chosen a delegate to the Convention which met at Knoxville for the purpose of framing a State Government in January, 1796. On the 1st of June, 1796, Tennessee was admitted into the Union. The new State was entitled to one Representative in Congress, and Jackson was unanimously

chosen to that position. He took his seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1796. The next year, having just reached the age prescribed by the Constitution, he was chosen a Senator from Tennessee, and took his seat in the Senate of the United States on the 22d of November, 1797. This was the session at which the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed. Jackson earnestly opposed them, and acted throughout his entire term with the Republican party. He became so much displeased with the measures of the administration, that he resigned his seat in the Senate and returned to Tennessee in April, 1798.

Upon his return home Jackson was appointed by the Legislature of Tennessee Judge of the Supreme Court of Law and Equity. He had not sought the appointment, and accepted it with diffidence. He held his first court at Jonesborough in the same year. Among the persons indicted by the grand jury was a man named Russell Bean, charged with cutting off the ears of his infant child. The fellow was a notorious desperado, and the Sheriff was afraid to arrest him, though the wretch had the audacity to present himself in the court yard. The Sheriff made his return to the court that Bean would not be taken. Judge Jackson sternly told the Sheriff that such a return was absurd, and that he must arrest the man if he had to summon the *posse comitatus* to assist him. The Sheriff accordingly summoned a *posse*, in which he included Judge Jackson and his colleagues. As it was plain that the Sheriff desired to evade the performance of his duty, Jackson decided to accompany him, and learning that Bean was armed, took with him a loaded pistol. As soon as Bean caught sight of the Judge among the *posse*, he attempted to make his escape; but Jackson, presenting his pistol, sternly ordered him to halt and submit to the law, or take the consequences. The fellow hesitated for a moment, and then threw down his arms and surrendered himself. After that no one attempted to disregard the processes of Judge Jackson's Court.

In 1801 Jackson was appointed a Major-general by the Governor of the State, and was assigned the command of the division of militia made vacant by the death of General Conway. In July, 1804, he resigned his position as Judge, and

retired to private life on a plantation he had purchased near Nashville.

Previous to this, he had been anxious to be appointed Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, which had just been purchased from France. His claims were strongly urged for the place, but he would not consent to make the request in person of President Jefferson, although a firm supporter of the policy of the President. "Andrew Jackson," says Mr. Parton, in his "Life of Jefferson," "who was then getting tired of serving as Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, was strongly urged for the place; and *because* he had been urged, and *because* he would have liked the appointment, he refrained from calling upon the President when he was in Washington in April, 1804. So I gathered in Nashville from a yellow and musty letter of the learned judge—which was, perhaps, the worst spelled and most ungrammatical letter a judge of the Supreme Court ever wrote. He said that if he should call upon the President, it would be regarded as 'the act of a court-teor;' and, therefore, he 'traviled on, enjoying his own feelings.' He confessed, too, that the Governor of Louisiana ought to be acquainted with the French language. People can forgive bad spelling when it expresses sentiments so honorable; and happy the President when expectants of office behave in so considerate a manner."

General Jackson greatly enjoyed the retirement of his plantation. His fortune was moderate, but was sufficient for his wants. He superintended the labors on the plantation, often guiding the plow with his own hands, and conducting his affairs with a precision and method thoroughly characteristic of the man. He was very fond of society, and his house was always full of visitors. He was not to enjoy his good fortune long, however. He had formed a partnership with a merchant in Nashville, but took no part in the business, leaving everything to the management of his partner. Their affairs prospered for a while, but at length Jackson's suspicions were aroused. He examined the books of the firm, and found that they were not only insolvent, but that their liabilities exceeded their assets by a very considerable amount. To a man of his character, there was but one course to be pursued, and he did

not hesitate to adopt it. He closed the business at once, sold his plantation, paid the debts of the firm, and removing to a log cabin on another plantation, began the world anew. Such a man could not long remain poor, and a few years of industry and economy placed him once more upon a prosperous footing.

In 1812 war was declared by Congress against England. Jackson had expected it, for he had been an eager observer of the course of affairs. As may be supposed, he had not forgotten the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the British in the Revolution, and he was not one of those who regarded the war with regret. He at once issued a stirring appeal to his division, and 2,500 of his men volunteered to serve under his orders wherever he might see fit to carry them. The services of this body were offered to the President, through the Governor of Tennessee, and were accepted.

On the 1st of November, 1813, General Jackson was ordered by the Governor, in compliance with a requisition from the War Department, to equip a force of 1,500 infantry and riflemen and descend the Mississippi and reënforce Gen. Wilkinson at New Orleans. He at once issued his call for volunteers, and by the 10th of December over two thousand men had assembled at Nashville. Jackson promptly descended the Cumberland and Mississippi rivers to Natchez, where he was met by an order from Gen. Wilkinson to halt and await further instructions from him. The order was complied with, and Jackson's command remained at Natchez until the middle of March, 1813, when instructions were received from the Secretary of War to dismiss his troops, and turn over all the public property to Gen. Wilkinson. The execution of the mandate of the Secretary of War would have thrown the Tennessee troops helpless upon the world, far from their homes, and without the means of reaching them or of supplying the ordinary necessities of life. General Jackson determined to disobey the orders of the Government, to march his command back to the country where it was raised, and that too at the expense of the United States. General Wilkinson and others endeavored to persuade him from such a course, but he was inflexible. He obliged the quartermaster to provide transportation for the sick, and set out with his command for Tennessee, which was

reached after a fatiguing march. The troops were then dismissed to their homes. Jackson's conduct was approved by President Madison, who ordered the expenses of the homeward march to be paid out of the Federal treasury.

Toward the close of 1813 Jackson was again in the field. In the spring of 1813 Tecumseh, the famous Shawnee chief, visited the Creek tribes in the southwest and induced them to take up the hatchet against the Americans. His appeals were sustained by the representations of British agents, who promised the savages assistance from England. In August seven hundred Creeks, led by Weatherford, their principal chief, attacked and captured Fort Mims, on the west bank of the Alabama, near the mouth of the Tombigbee. The garrison and between three and four hundred settlers, who had taken refuge in the fort, were massacred. This disaster spread a general alarm throughout Alabama. The settlements north of Mobile were abandoned, and the settlers fled down the river to that place for safety.

The States of Tennessee and Georgia and the Territory of Mississippi promptly took measures to crush the savages. Tennessee placed a force of five thousand men in the field, and the command was conferred upon General Jackson. Though he was still suffering from a painful wound received in a duel with Colonel Thomas H. Benton, Jackson promptly assembled his troops, and marched into the Creek country, entering it before the troops from Georgia or Mississippi. The principal villages of the hostile Creeks lay on and near the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and their hunting grounds extended much farther north. A number of unimportant encounters occurred between Jackson's troops and the Indians, and on the 3d of November he inflicted a stunning defeat upon them in the bloody battle of Tallasehatche.

Among the prisoners taken in this engagement was an Indian babe, found clinging to the breast of his dead mother. Jackson, touched with pity at the sight of the little one, endeavored to induce some of the captive women to take it and care for it; but they refused. "All his people are dead," they said; "kill him too." Jackson caused the child to be fed, and subsequently sent it to Huntsville, where it was nursed at his expense. At

the close of the campaign he took it with him to the Hermitage, where the little orphan was tenderly raised and educated. When old enough, he was apprenticed to a saddler, but he pined for his native woods. Civilization was fatal to him, and he died of consumption before reaching manhood; nursed during his last illness by Jackson and his wife, who mourned him with genuine affection.

General Jackson established a post at the Ten Islands, on the right bank of the Coosa, which he named Fort Strother. His supplies began to run short, and the contractors were so remiss in their duty that "the army could not be furnished with regular rations, and it was hardly known one day what they were to subsist on the next." While matters were in this state, Jackson was informed that Fort Talladega, about thirty miles south of Fort Strother, which was occupied by a force of friendly Indians and their families, was threatened by a strong body of hostile Creeks. He at once marched to its relief, and on the 8th of November defeated the Creeks at Talladega, and pursued them hotly for several miles. This was a hard won victory for the Americans, and a terrible blow to the Creeks.

The victorious army was obliged to retreat at once to Fort Strother, as its provisions were exhausted, and no supplies were to be had at Talladega. Fort Strother was reached on the 11th of November, but the contractors had failed to furnish provisions, and the troops were in danger of starvation. In consequence of this they became dissatisfied and mutinous, and were continually on the point of deserting their colors and returning home. Jackson was full of anxiety, but kept up a brave and determined spirit. He declared he would remain at Fort Strother if only two of his men would stand by him. The troops at last determined to abandon the post, and seek Fort Deposit, where they hoped to find provisions. Jackson argued with them, entreated them to return to their duty, and threatened them; but without avail. At last, in sheer desperation, he seized a musket, threw it across his horse's neck, and placing himself before the column, declared that he would shoot down the first man that moved a step in advance. The musket was too much out of order to be fired, and Jackson's wounded arm would not have allowed him to use it, but the mutineers

were not aware of this. They were awed by the stern and determined manner of their commander, and after a moment's hesitation returned to duty. During the winter the expiration of the enlistments of the men reduced Jackson's force to six hundred militia, two companies of spies, one of artillery, and a few volunteers. By urgent appeals to the Governor of Tennessee he succeeded in obtaining a force of eight hundred and fifty mounted men, who had volunteered for sixty days. They reached him on the 13th of January, 1814.

It was necessary to strike with promptness at the Indians, as the enlistments of these troops were for so brief a period. The Creeks had assumed the offensive, undaunted by their reverses of the previous year, and were concentrating in a bend of the Tallapoosa River, near the mouth of Emuckfaw Creek. Leaving a force to hold Fort Strother, Jackson set out with 750 men on the 16th of January, 1814, to attack the savages. At Talladega he was joined by 250 friendly Creeks and Cherokees. On the 21st the army encamped in front of the Indian position at Emuckfaw, and was attacked by the savages before daybreak the next morning, the 22d. Jackson had anticipated such an attack, and was prepared for it. The Creeks met with a bloody defeat, and were pursued for over two miles. In spite of his victory, Jackson was obliged, by the failure of his provisions, to fall back to Fort Strother. On the 25th his army was again attacked at Enotchhopo, but repulsed the savages with heavy loss. Upon reaching Fort Strother the sixty days' men were dismissed with thanks for their good conduct.

The brilliant successes of General Jackson in the Creek country had made him one of the most famous men in the Union, and volunteers were now found ready and anxious to serve under him. Early in February, he was joined by reinforcements from Tennessee, amounting to about 5,000 men, and at the same time the Choctaws offered their services to him.

The Creeks had their principal settlement at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa. It was defended by a series of strong intrenchments garrisoned by a thousand picked warriors. Here they had rallied for a final stand against the whites. On the

16th of March, 1814, Jackson set out from Fort Strother, and advanced into the Indian country with a force of 4,000 Tennesseans. On the march he detached a force to build Fort Williams, at the mouth of Cedar Creek, and with about 2,000 men advanced to Horseshoe Bend. On the 26th of March he attacked the Indian camp at this place, and carried it after a desperate struggle, in which nearly 800 Indian warriors were slain. This victory utterly destroyed the Creeks as a tribe. They became a band of wretched fugitives, and were hunted and destroyed like wild beasts.

Knowing that the Indian power was broken, Jackson continued to advance into their country, and destroyed a number of their towns. In April he encamped at Hickory Ground, and many of the hostile chiefs and Indians came in and submitted to his terms of peace. Among these was Weatherford. Jackson compelled the Indians to purchase peace by the surrender of more than two-thirds of their hunting grounds. They were required to retire to the country north of Fort William, and were informed that if their conduct was good they would be allowed to remain there unmolested, but that if they again became troublesome, they would be exterminated.

The war being now ended, Jackson returned to Tennessee to recruit his health and strength, which had suffered considerably during the campaign. The remarkable endurance he had displayed under the hardships demanded of him in his enfeebled condition, had won for him from his men the soubriquet of "Old Hickory," which he retained through life. He had entered upon the war an almost unknown man, and he now emerged from it with a national reputation. He had been one of the most successful, as well as one of the ablest and most energetic officers engaged in the struggle.

The General Government, to mark its appreciation of his services, now appointed him a brigadier-general in the regular army of the United States, with the brevet rank of Major-General. Shortly afterwards General Harrison's resignation of his commission having created a vacancy in the list of major-generals, Jackson was given the full rank of Major-General.

In the summer of 1814 he was placed in command of the Seventh Military District, and established his headquarters at

Mobile. During the summer, he, together with Colonel Hawkins, negotiated a favorable treaty with the Creek Nation, by which the latter pledged themselves not to take up arms against the United States during the continuance of the war with England. A small portion of the Nation, however, had taken refuge in Florida, and were not included in the Treaty.

Reconnoissances made by trustworthy officers revealed the fact that the British had taken possession of Pensacola in Florida, which was Spanish territory. Several British vessels of war were in the harbor, Fort Barrancas was held by about three hundred British troops, a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition had been landed, and a large force of Indians was being organized and drilled by the British officers, and all this with the knowledge and consent of the Spanish Governor of Pensacola. On the 29th of August, Colonel Nicholls, the British commander at Pensacola, issued a proclamation addressed to the people of the Southern and Southwestern States, calling upon them to join his standard against their countrymen, and informing them that he was "at the head of a large body of Indians well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers; a good train of artillery, with every requisite; seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war."

Jackson was determined to put a stop to this movement as soon as possible. He despatched an express to the Governor of Tennessee, asking him to put the whole quota of the militia of that State in the field without delay, and in the meantime determined to drive the British from Pensacola. Before he could put this plan in operation, Colonel Nicholls, with four ships and a strong force of troops, appeared before Fort Bowyer at the entrance to Mobile Bay, on the 15th of September, and attacked that work. The fort was defended by a garrison of 120 men, under Major Lawrence, and was defended with such spirit that the enemy were repulsed with the loss of one of their ships and over 200 men. They returned to Pensacola.

In the meantime Jackson had continued his preparations for breaking up the band of British, Spanish, and Indians at Pensacola. He had no authority from the Federal Government

for such a step, and, as Spain was nominally friendly to the United States, was aware that he was assuming a serious responsibility in invading her territory; but as the Spanish Governor at Pensacola had sanctioned the violation of the neutrality of his country by the British, Jackson regarded himself as fully justified in attacking the place. He assumed a grave personal responsibility also, for his own Government might disavow his act, and dismiss him from the service. Nevertheless, it was of the first importance to drive the British from Pensacola, which furnished them with a safe and convenient base for operations against either Mobile or New Orleans; and he resolved to accomplish this without delay.

Having received about 2,000 fresh troops from Tennessee, Jackson set out on the 2d of November, 1814, with a force of over 3,000 men. A small part of these were regulars; the remainder were militia from Tennessee and Mississippi. On the 6th the American army arrived before Pensacola. The British and Spaniards had made preparations to resist. Jackson sent a flag of truce to the Spanish Governor, informing him that he had come to drive the British from Pensacola, and demanding his coöperation in the attempt. The flag was fired upon and driven back by the batteries of the town. Jackson now made his dispositions to carry the town, which was done the next day after a short conflict, in which the British troops and their vessels in the bay participated. The Spanish Governor was forced to surrender Pensacola and its defences to General Jackson. The British withdrew to Fort Barrancas, which they evacuated and blew up a little later, and sailed away from the harbor. The Indians fled to the Everglades, and were pursued by a detachment from the American army.

Having broken up the rendezvous at Pensacola, General Jackson returned to Mobile, which he feared would be the next object of attack. Upon reaching that city he began to put it in a state of defence. Late in November General Winchester arrived. Jackson placed this officer in command at Mobile, and transferred his own headquarters to New Orleans, having previously sent forward the Tennessee troops under General Coffee.

New Orleans was at this time a city of about twenty thous-

and inhabitants, less than one half of whom were whites. The whites were principally of French birth or parentage, and cared little for the United States. They could not be relied upon to hold the city against the British, and were demoralized and insubordinate, and spies and traitors abounded among them. The defences of the city were in a miserable state. Jackson was aware that his only reliance was upon the few regulars he had with him—the Tennessee volunteers under General Coffee, and such troops as the States along the Mississippi and Ohio might be able to send him. His health was feeble at the time, and he was greatly oppressed with the difficulty of the task before him. At heart he was anxious and depressed, but to the public he presented a cheerful and determined front, and prepared with vigor to put the city in a state of defence. He proclaimed martial law, and put down with a firm hand the opposition to his measures for the safety of the city. He called for volunteers, and urged the freemen of color to enroll themselves. They responded in great numbers. The prisons were emptied, and the prisoners took their places in the ranks of the army. The services of Lafitte, a noted smuggler chief of Baratania bay, and of his band, were accepted. The British had endeavored to secure the aid of this band as pilots, as they knew the coast thoroughly, but Lafitte and his men refused to hold any communication with them.

Jackson was right in believing that the next blow of the enemy would be struck at New Orleans, and while he was engaged in his preparations, a British fleet arrived on the coast of Louisiana, and cast anchor off Lake Borgne, the shortest passage by water to New Orleans. It had on board a force of 12,000 veteran troops, just released from the wars against Napoleon, and 4,000 marines and sailors. The British army was commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and an officer of tried ability, and under him were Generals Gibbs, Keene and Lambert, veterans of the Peninsular War.

The Americans had a small flotilla in Lake Borgne, and General Jackson, by extraordinary exertions, managed to collect a force of five thousand troops, only one thousand of whom were regulars. On the 14th of December, the British sent

their boats into Lake Borgne, and after a severe engagement captured the American flotilla and opened the way to the city. On the 22d of December they landed twenty-four hundred men, under General Keene, who advanced to a point on the shores of the Mississippi, about nine miles below New Orleans. Jackson, unwilling to allow this force to obtain a lodgment so close to the city, attacked it on the night of the 23d with the regulars, and Coffee's Tennesseans dismounted, and drove the enemy a mile or two and forced them to take shelter behind the levee of the river, which served them as a breast work. The success of the Americans in this engagement greatly encouraged them.

The next day Jackson took a position on solid ground behind a broad and deep trench that extended across the Plain of Chalmette, from the Mississippi, to an impassable swamp, and covered his position with intrenchments. The enemy, supposing his force to be much stronger than it really was, made no attempt to interfere with him for several days, and he employed this delay in strengthening his line. The British, on their part, pushed their advance, to a point opposite the American lines, and erected several batteries of heavy guns, from which, on the 28th of December, they opened a severe cannonade upon the American position. Jackson replied with his artillery, and the firing was continued for several hours without any definite result. On the 1st of January, 1815, the enemy attempted a second cannonade, but the American guns soon silenced their fire. On the 4th of January, a body of 2,200 Kentucky riflemen, who had descended the Mississippi to his assistance, reached Jackson's camp. Only one-half of them were armed. As he could not supply the remainder with arms, Jackson set them to work to construct a second line of defences in the rear of his first position.

Having finished his preparations, the British commander ordered a general assault to be made upon the American lines on the morning of the 8th of January. The attack was made in gallant style at the time appointed. The British centre was led by General Pakenham in person, and their right and left by Generals Gibbs and Keene. Jackson's force consisted of a little more than 5,000 men, and 16 pieces artillery. The enemy's

storming columns amounted in the aggregate to between six and seven thousand men, exclusive of their reserves. The open space over which the enemy were obliged to pass was completely commanded by Jackson's guns. The British advanced in splendid style, suffering heavily from the rapid and accurate fire of the American batteries, but closed up their ranks and pressed on with firmness. As they came within musket shot of the works, the Tennessee and Kentucky riflemen opened a fatal fire upon them, which literally mowed them down. They bore up against it for awhile, but at length wavered and broke. General Pakenham attempted to rally them, but was shot down. Generals Gibbs and Keene were wounded while engaged in the same attempt, the latter mortally. The command then passed to General Lambert, who, seeing that the day was lost, made no further effort to storm the works, but withdrew his men to a place of safety, and sent in a flag of truce to General Jackson proposing an armistice until noon the next day, in order to attend to the work of burying the dead and relieving the wounded. This was granted. The American loss in the battle was seven killed and six wounded. The British lost two thousand men killed and wounded.

The two armies held their position for several days after the 8th, and the American batteries kept up a steady fire of balls and shells upon the British camp. On the 11th the British squadron made an attempt to pass the forts on the lower Mississippi, but was driven back. General Lambert, now thoroughly disheartened, abandoned his position below New Orleans and fell back to the shore of the Gulf. Apprehensive that the enemy might renew the attack from another quarter, Jackson marched to New Orleans and occupied the city with his forces. His reception was enthusiastic by the citizens. The enemy made no further demonstrations against the city.

In March one of the New Orleans papers announced that peace had been concluded between the United States and Great Britain. As he had not been officially informed of the treaty, General Jackson regarded this statement as an effort to introduce discontent among his troops. The journal referred to, at the same time, published other statements which were notoriously false and dangerous, and Jackson demanded of the editor

the retraction of all of them. As he refused to comply with this demand, the city being still under martial law he was arrested. Judge Hall, of New Orleans, issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, but Jackson, instead of regarding it, arrested the Judge and sent him out of the city. "I have thought proper to send you beyond the limits of my encampment," he wrote to the Judge, "to prevent a repetition of the improper conduct with which you have been charged. You will remain without the line of my sentinels, until the ratification of peace is regularly announced, or until the British have left the Southern coast."

Under the circumstances General Jackson was justified in this arbitrary action. The enemy were still on the coast, and though peace had been made, neither he nor the British commander had been informed of it, and it behooved him to watch over the safety of the city with the utmost vigilance. He had been obliged to proclaim martial law, and the safety of the country demanded that he should maintain it with the utmost strictness. He could not permit any interference with his orders.

On the 13th of March, 1815, the official announcement of the close of the war was received at New Orleans, and was immediately proclaimed to the citizens. Judge Hall returned to the city, and issued an order for the arrest of General Jackson for a contempt of Court in imprisoning the Judge. Jackson promptly submitted to the order, but was not allowed to make any defence, and was fined by the Judge in the sum of one thousand dollars. The Court room was filled with citizens, who manifested their disapproval of this order in a turbulent manner. They were silenced by Jackson, who promptly paid the fine, and refused the solicitations of the citizens of New Orleans to allow them to reimburse him. Shortly before the death of General Jackson, Congress refunded the fine, and thus did justice to him.

At the close of the war Jackson returned to his home at Nashville, though he still retained the command of the Southern Division. He was rewarded for his brilliant services by a gold medal voted him by order of Congress in honor of his victory at New Orleans, and by the thanks of Congress and of the Legislatures of many of the States.

After the close of the war with England, the Seminole Indians of Florida began to be troublesome, and committed many outrages along the American frontier. They were joined by the Creeks, and the Federal Government was compelled to interfere. General Gaines was sent by the War Department to protect the frontier. He built three forts, and endeavored to make peace with the Indians, but without success. Early in 1818, a party of forty men, under Lieut. Scott, was attacked by the Seminoles at the mouth of the Flint river, and all but six, who escaped, were massacred. As soon as he was informed of this outrage, General Jackson raised a force of 2,500 men, and marched into the Indian country. On the 1st of April he reached the Mickasucky villages, which he found deserted. He burned them, laid waste the country, and killed or carried off the cattle.

Being satisfied that the Indians were incited to their hostile acts by the Spaniards in Florida, Jackson now marched into Florida and seized St. Mark's on Appalachee Bay, the only fortified town of the Spaniards in that part of Florida. An armed American vessel, cruising off the Florida coast, hoisted the British colors, and two prominent hostile Creek chiefs were decoyed on board, and were summarily hanged by order of Jackson. Two British traders, Ambrister and Arbuthnot, by name, were captured by Jackson about the same time. They were accused of aiding the Indians against the United States, were tried and found guilty by a court martial, and were hanged. The Spanish Governor indignantly protested against the invasion of Florida, but Jackson, unmoved by his protest, advanced in May to Pensacola, the seat of the Spanish provincial government, which place was immediately surrendered to him. The Spanish Governor fled to Fort Barrancas, below the town. Jackson attacked the fort, and compelled it to surrender after a brief resistance, and the Governor continued his flight to Havana. The invasion of Florida by Jackson drew forth an indignant protest from the Spanish Government, but his conduct was sustained by a decisive majority in both Houses of Congress. The Spanish Government did not press the matter, and negotiations were entered upon which finally resulted in the purchase of Florida by the United States in 1821.

On the 2d of June, 1818, General Jackson informed the Secretary of War that the hostilities of the Seminoles were at an end. A little later he returned to Nashville, and soon after resigned his commission in the regular army.

In June, 1821, General Jackson was appointed by President Monroe Governor of Florida, which had just been purchased by the United States. In August he took possession of the territory in accordance with the terms of the cession. He held this position but a few months, and then resigned it and returned to Nashville.

In the fall of 1823, he was elected by the Legislature of Tennessee to the Senate of the United States, and took his seat in that body in December. He cast his vote for the Protective Tariff of 1824. In the campaign of 1824 General Jackson was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. There was no choice by the people, and the election passed into the House of Representatives, by which John Quincy Adams was chosen President.

In 1825, having been nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee as Mr. Adams' successor, General Jackson resigned his seat in the Senate and withdrew to his home. In 1828 he was elected President by a handsome majority over Mr. Adams.

Early in 1829 Mrs. Jackson died. This was a severe blow to the General, but he bore it with firmness and resignation. On the 4th of March, 1829, he was inaugurated President of the United States. Although he had been elected by an overwhelming majority of the votes of his countrymen, his entrance upon his office was regarded with no little anxiety, for while his merits as a soldier were conceded by all, it was feared that his imperious temper would seriously disqualify him for the delicate duties of the Presidency. Nature had made him a statesman as well as a soldier, however, and his administration was marked by the fearless energy that characterized every act of his life, and was on the whole successful, and was satisfactory to the great body of his countrymen.

The first indication of the determined will with which the new President meant to conduct his administration, was given in his first annual message to Congress in 1829, in which he declared his opposition to a renewal of the Charter of the

Bank of the United States, which was about to expire. The bank was the most powerful institution in the Union, and to oppose it so decidedly indicated no little moral courage on the part of the President. Undismayed by this declaration, the stockholders applied to the Twenty-Second Congress at its first session, which began in December, 1831, for a renewal of their charter, and in the spring of 1832, a bill renewing this charter was passed by both Houses of Congress. The President was opposed to the bank on constitutional grounds. He held that Congress had no power to charter such an institution, and regarded its existence as detrimental to the best interests of the country. He therefore returned the bill to Congress with his objections. As the friends of the bill could not command the two-thirds vote necessary to pass it over the President's veto, it failed to become a law. The Bank was therefore obliged to suspend operations at the expiration of its charter in 1836. The President's course arrayed a powerful opposition against him.

During the last session of the Twenty-first Congress, President Jackson learned that Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President, while Secretary of War under Mr. Monroe, had endeavored to prevent the President from sustaining him in his invasion of Florida in 1818. General Jackson deeply resented this, and a marked coldness sprang up between the Vice-President and himself. Soon after this Mr. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency, and was elected a Senator from South Carolina in 1831.

In 1832 the Asiatic cholera scourged the country; and in the same year occurred the Black Hawk War, which was brought to a speedy and successful close by General Atkinson. In the fall of 1832 occurred the Presidential election. General Jackson was the candidate of the Democratic party for reelection, and was chosen by a large majority over Henry Clay, the candidate of the Whig party. The contest was exceedingly bitter, for the President's opposition to the Bank had made him many enemies.

Another question had arisen to increase the opposition to the President. During the year 1832 the Tariff was revised by Congress, and that body, instead of diminishing the duties,

increased many of them. The Southern States were in favor of free trade, and resented the Protective Tariff as a great wrong done to them. They were willing to submit to a Tariff for revenue, but were utterly opposed to the one adopted. The States of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina were the most energetic in their opposition to the Tariff, but upon its passage the first two submitted to it, hoping to enforce their views by Constitutional means at some future time.

The State of South Carolina determined to resist the Tariff, as it held that any State, in the exercise of its sovereign power, had the right to declare null and void, within its own limits, any act of Congress which it deemed unconstitutional. A convention of the people of the State was held, which adopted a measure known as the "Nullification Ordinance." This ordinance declared that the Tariff Act of 1832, being based upon the principle of protection, and not upon the principle of raising a revenue, was unconstitutional, and was therefore null and void. Provision was made by another clause for testing the constitutionality of the Act before the courts of the State. The convention forbade the collection of the duties imposed by the Tariff within the limits of the State; and, in the event of an effort of the General Government to enforce the Tariff, the State of South Carolina was declared no longer a member of the Union. The ordinance was to take effect on the 12th of February, 1833, unless in the meantime the General Government should abandon its policy of protection, and return to a Tariff for revenue only.

Matters were at this stage when the presidential election of 1832 occurred. The country at large was utterly opposed to the course of South Carolina, and denied the right of that State to nullify a law of Congress, or to withdraw from the Union on such a pretext. Intense excitement prevailed throughout the country, and the course of the President was watched with the gravest anxiety. He was known to be opposed to the protective policy; but it was generally believed that he was firm in his intention to enforce the laws, however he might disapprove of them. This conviction did much to swell the majority by which he was chosen for a second term.

President Jackson had determined upon his course. He

meant to enforce the laws, and to put down the resistance in South Carolina. He was anxious at the same time to remove the cause of the trouble, and at the meeting of Congress, in December, 1832, recommended, in his annual message, a reduction of the Tariff. On the 10th of December the President issued his famous proclamation against nullification. It was moderate in language, but firm and decided in tone. He declared that the course of South Carolina was unlawful and wrong, and that he would exert the power entrusted to him to compel obedience to the constitution and laws of the United States. He appealed to the people of South Carolina not to persist in the enforcement of their ordinance, as such a course on their part must inevitably bring them in collision with the forces of the Federal Government; and told them plainly that any citizen of any of the States who should take up arms against the General Government in such a conflict would be guilty of treason against the United States.

The leaders of the South Carolina movement were Robert Y. Hayne, the Governor of the State, and John C. Calhoun, then a Senator of the United States. Governor Hayne replied to the President with a counter proclamation, in which he warned the people of the State against "the dangerous and pernicious doctrines" of the President's proclamation, and called upon them to disregard "those vain menaces" of military force, and "to be fully prepared to sustain the dignity and defend the liberties of the State, if need be, with their lives and fortunes." The State prepared to maintain its position by force. Troops were organized, and arms and military stores were collected.

The President, on his part, took measures promptly to enforce the law, and was sustained in his course by the sentiment of the better part of the country. He ordered a large body of troops to assemble at Charleston, under General Scott, and a ship of war was sent to that port to assist the Federal officers in collecting the duties on imports. Civil war seemed for a time inevitable. The President was firmly resolved to compel the submission of South Carolina, and to cause the arrest of Mr. Calhoun and the other leading nullifiers, and bring them to trial for treason. The issue of such a conflict could not be

doubtful. Fortunately, through the intervention of the State of Virginia and the efforts of Henry Clay, a peaceful settlement was effected. South Carolina receded from its hostile attitude to the Union, and the Tariff was modified. The firmness of the President was generally approved by his countrymen, and won him great credit.

On the 4th of March, 1833, General Jackson entered upon his second term of office. The troubles which had disquieted the country had been satisfactorily settled, and the President took advantage of the peaceful condition of affairs to visit New York and the New England States. He was everywhere received with such enthusiasm that his journey was a continuous ovation.

Returning to the Capital the President took a step which plunged the country into great excitement once more. The Charter of the Bank of the United States made that institution the legal depository of the funds of the United States. As the Bank was now approaching the end of its career, the President believed that the public funds were not safe in its keeping. The Secretary of the Treasury, under the sanction of Congress, alone had power to remove them. In his annual message to Congress in December, 1832, the President had recommended the removal of the public funds from the custody of the Bank, and the sale of the stock of the Bank belonging to the United States. Congress, by a decided vote, refused to authorize the measure, and the President, after his return from his New England tour, resolved to assume the responsibility. He accordingly ordered William J. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the funds, then amounting to nearly \$10,000,000; but the Secretary refused to obey the order. He was at once removed from his position by President Jackson, who appointed Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, his successor. Mr. Taney issued an order to the collectors of the revenue, forbidding them to deposit the public moneys paid them in the Bank of the United States. As for the funds already in the possession of the Bank, they were withdrawn as they were needed to pay the current expenses of the Government, the whole amount being withdrawn in about nine months.

The effect of the removal of the funds was a sudden and

universal prostration of the business of the country, "because its intimate connection with the National Bank rendered any paralysis of the operations of that system fatal to commercial activity. * * The fact that the connection of the Bank with the business of the country was so vital, confirmed the President in his opinion of the danger of such an enormous moneyed institution."

Intense excitement prevailed throughout the country. The President was waited upon by numerous committees of merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who urged him to take some measures to afford them relief. He was firm, and to all of them answered, in effect, that "the Government could give no relief, and provide no remedy; that the banks were the occasions of all the evils which existed, and that those who suffered by their great enterprise had none to blame but themselves; that those who traded on borrowed capital ought to break." The State banks received the Government funds on deposit and loaned freely. Confidence gradually returned, and the country settled down upon a prosperous basis.

The President's course produced open war between the Senate and himself. He was opposed by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, and was defended by Benton and Forsyth. In spite of the efforts of his friends, the Senate adopted a resolution severely censuring his course as unconstitutional. The President submitted an able protest against this resolution of censure. He was sustained in his acts by the House of Representatives, and by the aid of that body was able to defeat the Bank on every point. The Senate subsequently recognized the propriety of the President's action, and of its own motion expunged its resolution of censure from its journal.

In 1835 the Seminole war, which proved so troublesome to the Government, broke out in Florida. It was prosecuted with vigor during General Jackson's term of office.

In the last years of his administration General Jackson brought to a close the vexatious disputes with France, Spain, Naples, and Denmark, by a series of treaties which pledged those countries to make restitution for their spoliation of American vessels and property during the wars of Napoleon.

One of the most important acts of President Jackson's

administration was the payment of the national debt. He not only left the nation free from debt, but handed over to his successor a surplus of forty millions of dollars in the national treasury.

At the close of his second term of office, President Jackson issued a farewell address to his countrymen, reviewing the progress of the nation, and warning them of the perils that lay in their path. Having declined to be a candidate for re-election, General Jackson gave his support to Martin Van Buren, of New York, who accordingly received the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, and was elected. It is related that a committee of Mr. Van Buren's friends called upon the President previous to the assembling of the nominating convention, to ascertain his wishes as to the selection of his successor. He was asked who was his first choice, and answered promptly, "Martin Van Buren." "Who is your second choice, Mr. President?" asked one of the committee. "By the Eternal, sir," exclaimed the President quickly, "I never had a second choice in my life."

On the 4th of March, 1837, after witnessing the inauguration of his successor, General Jackson withdrew from Washington to his home at the Hermitage, near Nashville. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement. Late in life he connected himself with the Presbyterian Church, and remained an earnest and consistent Christian to his death. A gentleman, who called on him by appointment early one winter morning, at the White House, near the close of his term of office, relates that he found him, up and dressed, though it was still dark. Lights were burning on his table, on which lay an open Bible which he had been reading, and a small portrait of his dead wife.

"Jackson's face and figure," says Mr. Stansbury, "were so remarkable that nothing could be an easier task to an artist than to get a likeness of him. His face confirmed every *dictum* of the physiognomist. It was long and narrow, and prominent below. A mouth and chin more expressive of stern decision can scarce be imagined; the nose high and long, and a little drooping, indicating the strength of character, with a mixture of shrewdness. This quality was also strongly marked in the large folds of skin about the eyes, (often called *crow's feet*;) his

cheeks were hollow, the eye itself was the eye of an eagle—cold, gray, piercing in the highest degree, and when contracted by rage, darting like fire; the brow was fretful, serious, and lowering. His figure was tall and commanding, but thin and sinewy; his hair, of iron gray, was stiff and unyielding, very abundant, and stood erect upon his head. He looked well when standing, still better when on horseback, and his appearance was much improved by a splendid uniform. When sitting he usually crossed one knee over the other. His hands were long and bony; towards the close of life he had a little stoop in the back, when seated."

The close of his life was peaceful. He retained possession of his faculties until the last, and died at the Hermitage on the 8th of June, 1845, at the age of seventy-eight.

Perhaps his best epitaph was spoken by a rough, unlettered Tennessean, who, upon being asked what sort of a man General Jackson was, answered readily: "He was this kind of a man—if Andrew Jackson had joined a party of strangers traveling in the woods, and, half an hour after, they should be attacked by Indians, he would instantly take command, and all the rest would obey him."



HENRY CLAY.

HENRY CLAY was born in that part of Hanover County, Virginia, known as "The Slashes," on the 12th of April, 1777. His father, the Rev. Charles Clay, was a Baptist preacher. At that time the great majority of the people of Virginia, and all the better classes, were members of the Episcopal Church, and the Baptists were poor and struggling, just beginning to enjoy the precious equality won for them by Jefferson and his brother Radicals. Consequently they were in no condition to do much for their preachers, and were scarcely able to give them a bare subsistence. This was the lot of the Rev. Charles Clay, who managed, however, to struggle along until 1782, when he died, leaving a small and encumbered property to his widow and seven children.

Of these children Henry was the fifth. He was a bright, cheerful, intelligent lad, but gave no special indication of superiority to the children by whom he was surrounded. When quite young he was sent to one of the old field schools of the country. The teacher was an Englishman, good-natured, but fond of his bottle, and allowed his pupils to do pretty much as they pleased. Under him Henry learned to read and write, and to cipher as far as Practice. This was the only school he ever attended, for his widowed mother was not able to do more for him, and as soon as he was old enough he was obliged to take his place on the farm to assist in cultivating it. He did not like this life of drudgery, however, and in 1791, when he was fourteen years old, his mother obtained for him a situation in a drug store in Richmond, where he served as errand boy and clerk of all work for a year.

In 1792 Mrs. Clay married Mr. Henry Watkins, and removed to Kentucky. Previous to their departure, Mr. Watkins obtained for Henry a place as copying clerk in the office of Mr. Peter Tinsley, clerk of the High Court of Chancery. It was decided that Henry should remain in this situation. His



HENRY CLAY.



mother went to Kentucky with her new husband, and Henry never saw her again. He applied himself with diligence to the duties of his position. "The young gentlemen then employed in the office of the Court long remembered the entrance among them of their new comrade. He was fifteen at the time, but very tall for his age, very slender, very awkward, and far from handsome. His good mother had arrayed him in a suit of pepper and salt figginy, an old Virginia fabric of silk and cotton. His shirt and shirt-collar were stiffly starched, and his coat tail stood out boldly behind him. The dandy law clerks of metropolitan Richmond exchanged glances as this gawky figure entered and took his place at a desk to begin his work. There was something in his manner which prevented their indulgence in the jests that usually greet the arrival of country youth among city blades; and they afterwards congratulated one another that they had waited a little before beginning to tease him, for they soon found that he had brought with him from the country an exceedingly sharp tongue."

Young Clay attended faithfully to his duties, and soon lost his "country manner." His position enabled him to catch glimpses of the great men of Virginia, as they often came into the Court and the clerk's office, and he determined to emulate their example. In order to supply his deficiencies in education, he devoted the better part of his leisure time to reading and study. While his companions were bent on enjoying themselves, he was preparing himself for the place in life to which he had already begun to aspire. He had no low vices. He was sound and healthy in body and soul, and was "a clean, temperate and studious young man."

His faithful attention to his business drew upon him the favorable regard of Chancellor Wythe, one of the wisest and best men America has ever produced. The Chancellor's hand had now begun to tremble so that it was with difficulty he could write, and he was compelled to seek a copyist in the office of the clerk of his Court. He chose Henry Clay for this purpose, chiefly because of his remarkably neat and clear handwriting, and, perhaps, because he discerned in the young man such a character as the good Chancellor loved to mould for future greatness. He had already done his work well upon

While he devoted himself to his profession, Mr. Clay gave considerable attention to politics. In 1798 a Convention was summoned to meet the next year for the purpose of remodeling the Constitution of the State. Henry Clay, in 1798, began, in a series of newspaper articles, to urge upon the State the wisdom of adopting a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky, and subsequently made a number of addresses in favor of the same object. He was regarded as the leader of the party in favor of this measure; but his efforts were in vain, for the proposition was voted down in the Convention by a decisive majority. Thirty years later, when opposing the nullification schemes of Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Clay declared that it was among the proudest memories of his life that he had, at the very outset of his career, striven to free Kentucky from the curse of slavery.

“Young Clay came to the Kentucky stump just when the country was at the crisis of the struggle between the Old and the New. But in Kentucky it was not a struggle; for the people there, mostly of Virginian birth, had been personally benefited by Jefferson's equalizing measures, and were in the fullest sympathy with his political doctrines. When, therefore, this brilliant and commanding youth, with that magnificent voice of his, and large gesticulation, mounted the wagon that usually served as platform in the open-air meetings of Kentucky, and gave forth, in fervid oratory, the Republican principles he had imbibed in Richmond, he won that immediate and intense popularity which an orator always wins who gives powerful expression to the sentiments of his hearers. * * * At thirty he was, to use the language of the stump, ‘Kentucky's favorite son,’ and incomparably the finest orator in the Western country. Kentucky had tried him, and found him perfectly to her mind. He was an easy, comfortable man to associate with, wholly in the Jeffersonian taste. His wit was not of the highest quality, but he had a plenty of it; and if he said a good thing, he said it in such a way as to give it ten times its natural force. He chewed tobacco and took snuff—practices which lowered the tone of his health all his life. In familiar conversation he used language of the most Western description; and he had a singularly careless, graceful way with him, that

was in strong contrast with the vigor and dignity of his public efforts. He was an honest and brave young man, altogether above lying, hypocrisy, and meanness—full of the idea of Republican America and her great destiny. The splendor of his talents concealed his defects and glorified his foibles; and Kentucky rejoiced in him, loved him, trusted him.”¹

In 1803 Mr. Clay was elected to the Legislature of Kentucky. While a member of this body he was applied to by Aaron Burr to defend him against the prosecution which Colonel Daviess had instituted against him by order of President Jefferson. Though an ardent supporter of Jefferson, Clay consented to do so upon Burr’s solemn assertions as a man of honor that he was guiltless of the charges against him. Burr was acquitted, but Clay would accept no fee. In 1806, after his election to the Senate, Mr. Jefferson sent for Clay and showed him the cipher letters of Burr which convinced him that Burr was certainly a liar and might be a traitor. On his return from Ghent, in 1815, Mr. Clay met Burr on the street in New York, but, disgusted with his duplicity, turned his back upon him.

In 1806, Mr. Clay was elected to the Senate of the United States to fill the unexpired term of one of the Kentucky Senators. He was warmly welcomed to the Capital by Mr. Jefferson, who cherished a cordial regard for him. In the Senate Mr. Clay gave the first indications of his adhesion to the system of protecting and assisting American interests by the power of the General Government, of which he was the champion throughout his life. His first speech in Congress was in support of the bill to authorize the General Government to build a bridge over the Potomac. A little later he introduced a bill for the construction of a canal around the falls of the Ohio at Louisville; and later still, submitted a resolution directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report a system of canals and roads for the consideration of Congress.

In 1807, his term in the Senate having expired, he returned home and was elected to the lower House of the Kentucky Legislature, of which body he was chosen speaker in 1808. In this capacity he was mainly instrumental in defeating a prop-

¹*Famous Americans of Recent Times.* By Jas. Parton, pp. 16, 17.

osition for the repudiation of the Common law and all British decisions in the Courts of Kentucky. In the Legislature he supported the policy of Mr. Jefferson. The non-intercourse policy of the President found him a hearty champion, and he proposed that the members of the Legislature should bind themselves not to wear anything that was not of American manufacture. Mr. Humphrey Marshall, a leading Federalist, ignorant of the good use the men of the Revolution had made of this policy, denounced Mr. Clay's proposition as the trick of a shameless demagogue. Clay at once challenged him, and a duel ensued. Two shots were exchanged, and Marshall was wounded at the first, and Clay at the second fire.

In 1809 Mr. Clay was again elected to the Senate of the United States, this time to fill an unexpired term of two years. During this term he was the constant advocate of the non-intercourse policy, and urged upon the nation the establishment of a system of manufactures which should render it independent of foreign countries. He also opposed the re-charter of the first Bank of the United States. His speech upon this subject was often quoted against him after his change of views in 1816.

In 1811 Mr. Clay was elected to the House of Representatives in Congress, from the Lexington District. The troubles with Great Britain caused President Madison to summon the Twelfth Congress to convene on the 3d of November, 1811, a month earlier than usual. Mr. Clay took his seat in the House, and upon its organization was chosen Speaker by a decisive majority.

Mr. Clay had watched the course of the quarrel between the United States and Great Britain with the deepest interest, and had come to the conclusion that war was inevitable, and that the honor and interests of his country demanded it. He was resolved that the insolence and injustice of Great Britain should not go unpunished, and in arranging the Committees of the House constituted them with especial reference to a vigorous support of the President in the event of war. He was but thirty-four years old, but he was already one of the most influential men in America. His voice was for war; he used the whole power of the Speaker to bring about that end; and

urged the President to a vigorous and determined course towards England. When the President wavered, Clay infused fresh courage into him, and when the House hesitated, he descended from the speaker's chair to the floor, and reassured it with his matchless eloquence. On the 1st of April President Madison, who had been visited by a Committee of the war party in Congress, and urged to an early declaration of war, submitted a message to Congress proposing an embargo for sixty days. The proposition was bitterly denounced by John Randolph, of Virginia, and Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, but the effect of their opposition was neutralized by the unanswerable reply of Clay. War was declared at length, and mainly through the influence of Henry Clay. This much being gained, Clay gave a powerful support to the President, who thought so highly of him that, when the first year was about to close in disaster, he proposed to appoint Clay Commander-in-chief of the army. Gallatin changed the President's intention by the well-timed question, "What shall we do without him in the House of Representatives?"

Upon the receipt of the offer of Great Britain to conduct negotiations directly with the United States, Mr. Clay and Jonathan Russell were added by President Madison to the commission already in Europe, and at once sailed upon their mission.

The negotiations for peace were conducted at Ghent, in Belgium. Mr. Clay proved himself a match for the British Commissioners, and added greatly to his reputation by his part in the conferences. He refused to concede to England the free navigation of the Mississippi, and thus removed a dangerous commercial rival from the path of the infant inland trade of the Union.

After the treaty was signed, Mr. Clay made a visit to Paris, where he spent some weeks. He left for London in March, 1815, just before the return of Napoleon from Elba. Though he abhorred his principles, Mr. Clay could never rid himself of a lurking regard for the great Emperor. Upon reaching London, Mr. Clay was received with distinguished honor by the leading men of Great Britain, especially by the Prime Minister, Lord Castlereagh, for whom the American statesman cherished a warm admiration. Dining one day with the

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Premier, the conversation turned upon the second abdication and flight of Napoleon, who was then supposed to have sailed for America. "Will he not make you a great deal of trouble should he reach your country?" asked Lord Liverpool. "Not the least, my Lord," promptly responded Mr. Clay. "We shall be very glad to receive him, shall treat him with all hospitality, and very soon make him a good Democrat."

Mr. Clay reached New York, on his return home, in September, 1815, and was enthusiastically welcomed. He hastened to his home, and on the 7th of October, was entertained at a public dinner by the people of Lexington. He had been elected to Congress during his absence; but as some doubts were entertained of the validity of an election while the candidate was out of the country, he resigned, and was at once reelected. On the meeting of Congress he was chosen Speaker of the House on the 14th of December, 1815.

The country had suffered severely from the war, and it was now called upon to build again its destroyed prosperity. Mr. Clay was of the opinion that Congress should give such protection to American industry as would save it from the competition of the cheaper markets of Europe, and enable it to place itself on a firm basis. The war had taught him many lessons, and its financial experiences had entirely reversed his views upon the subject of a National Bank. He now avowed himself in favor of such an institution, and supported the Bank of 1816. Though his enemies charged him with interested motives in this change, there can be no question that he was sincere and disinterested in his convictions and action. He held these views throughout his life. He gave his cordial support to the Protective Tariff of 1816, though the chief credit of defending that measure belongs to John C. Calhoun.

At the close of the Fourteenth Congress, a measure was adopted by that body, which, in spite of Mr. Clay's popularity in Kentucky, came near costing him his seat in the House. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, introduced a bill changing the compensation of members of Congress from \$8 per day during the session to \$1,500 per annum. The bill was passed and Mr. Clay gave it his support. The country, exhausted by the losses of the war, deeply resented the action of

Congress as an effort to better its own condition at the expense of the people, and would listen to no argument in favor of the measure. In Kentucky the opposition was very great. Mr. Clay, at the next election, found himself opposed by Mr. John Pope, an able and popular man. His own popularity had been greatly injured by his support of the Compensation Bill, and though he made extraordinary efforts he managed to secure his election only by a majority of six hundred votes.

In the heat of this canvass Mr. Clay met an old hunter, who had always been one of his warmest supporters. The old man told him with sorrow that he utterly disapproved of his course in supporting the Bill, and should withdraw his support, and do all he could to elect Mr. Pope. Mr. Clay looked at him for a moment, and then laying his hand on his shoulder, said with that winning grace which few men could resist: "My friend, have you a good rifle?" "Yes," answered the hunter in surprise. "One that you have tried, and know you can rely upon?" "Yes." "Did it ever flash?" "Only once." "What then; did you throw it away?" "No," said the hunter, "I picked the flint, and tried it again." "Did I ever flash but on the Compensation Bill?" "No." "Will you throw me away?" "No! no!" exclaimed the old man, seizing his hand with enthusiasm. "I'll try you again."

At the next session, the House made haste to repeal the Compensation Bill.

In recognition of his services during the war of 1812, Mr. Madison tendered to Mr. Clay the Mission to Russia and a place in his Cabinet, but each offer was declined.

In 1817 Mr. Monroe was inaugurated President. During the eight years of his administration, with the exception of an interval of two years which he spent in retirement, endeavoring to restore his fortune, which had become somewhat impaired by his devotion to public affairs, Mr. Clay was regularly returned to Congress, and as regularly chosen Speaker of the House. In a certain sense he was opposed to the Administration, as he was anxious to go farther in his support of the policy of internal improvements and a protective tariff than the President was willing to venture. He contemplated the building up of a vast system of American manufactures, which

should render this country a formidable rival to the European nations, and draw skilled workmen from abroad. This he knew could be done only by imposing upon articles of foreign manufacture duties which should render competition with American products impossible. Mr. Monroe was not prepared to go so far. Although Speaker of the House, Clay was still the leader of that body, for the House was very fond of hearing him speak, and was constantly affording him opportunities of doing so by going into the Committee of the Whole.

"At Washington, during the thirteen years of his Speakership, he led the gay life of a popular hero and drawing-room favorite; and his position was supposed to compel him to entertain much company. As a young lawyer in Kentucky he was addicted to playing those games of mere chance which alone at that day were styled gambling. He played high and often, as was the custom then all over the world. It was his boast, even in those wild days, that he never played at home, and never had a pack of cards in his house; but when the lawyers and judges were assembled during court sessions, there was much high play among them at the tavern after the day's work was done. In 1806, when Mr. Clay was elected to the Senate, he resolved to gamble no more, that is, to play at hazard and 'brag' no more; and he kept his resolution. Whist, being a game depending partly on skill, was not included in this resolution; and whist was thenceforth a very favorite game with him, and he greatly excelled in it. It was said of him, as it was of Charles James Fox, that, at any moment of a hand, he could name all the cards that remained to be played. He discountenanced high stakes, and we believe he never, after 1806, played for more than five dollars 'a corner.' These, we know, were the stakes at Ghent, where he played whist for many months with the British Commissioners during the negotiations for peace in 1815."

Mr. Clay was an ardent advocate of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish Republics of South America.

In 1820 and 1821 occurred the famous controversy between the North and the South on the slavery question, which arose out of the application of Missouri for admission into the Union as a slaveholding State. The struggle between the sections

was fierce and exciting, and it seemed for a time that the Union would be destroyed by the violence of the contending parties. It was a period of extreme peril to the Republic, and there was grave reason to fear that our institutions would not survive this decisive trial of their strength. Mr. Clay had been absent from Congress during the earlier attempts to admit Missouri and returned in January, 1821, in the midst of the struggle. He at once perceived the danger to the country, and threw his whole soul into the effort to effect a settlement. As neither party would withdraw from its position, he saw that the controversy could be settled only by a compromise. Senator Thomas, of Illinois, had proposed in the Senate to consent to the admission of Missouri with her slaveholding constitution on condition that slavery should be excluded from all the territory of the Union north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. Mr. Clay determined to take this proposition as the basis of his Compromise. It was almost impossible to accomplish anything, for the question had been debated in Congress with such fierceness that the members were well nigh incapable of hearing it mentioned with calmness.

Mr. Clay did not despair, however, and for six weeks worked night and day to secure the acceptance of the plan he had adopted. He procured the appointment of a joint Committee of the two Houses, and succeeded in inducing the House to elect the members selected by himself. His strong personal influence and his patriotic exertions secured a unanimous acceptance of his plan by the Committee, and he carried it through Congress by a decisive majority. The Missouri Compromise gained for the Union a respite of thirty years, and put an end for the time to the dangers which threatened it. For this great achievement the country was indebted to Henry Clay. As for Mr. Clay himself, he was so worn out by his efforts that he declared that if the struggle in Congress had been protracted for two weeks longer, it would have killed him.

In the fall of 1821, Mr. Clay declined a reelection to Congress and devoted the next two years to a successful effort to repair his shattered fortunes. In 1823 he returned to the House, and was chosen its speaker by an overwhelming ma-

jority. In this Congress he seconded the efforts of Webster and others to procure the recognition of the independence of Greece, and delivered a thrilling appeal in behalf of that country. In 1824, upon the occasion of the visit of Lafayette to Washington City, Mr. Clay, as Speaker, welcomed him in the name of the House of Representatives in a speech of matchless beauty.

Mr. Clay's great services in securing the Missouri Compromise caused him to be nominated by a large party as a candidate for the Presidency in the campaign of 1824. His opponents were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. Mr. Clay, in the debate in the House in 1819, upon General Jackson's course in executing the British traders Arbuthnot and Ambrister in 1818, to which we have referred elsewhere, had felt called upon to severely condemn the course of the General, while doing full justice to his motives, and passing a high eulogium upon his previous services. Jackson could never bear opposition, and he never forgave Clay for this speech. There never lived a better hater than Andrew Jackson, and in his wrath he attributed Clay's opposition to him to interested and unworthy motives. At the earnest request of his friends, he consented to a nominal reconciliation with Mr. Clay, but the hatred he had conceived for him was not extinguished. It was only covered over by the mask of friendliness. The events of the Presidential contest were to cause it to burst forth again with increased fury.

The popular vote at the elections of 1824 failed to secure the choice of either of the candidates, and it became the duty of the House of Representatives to choose the President. Mr. Clay had received 37 electoral votes, the lowest number on the list. Had he received eight more, which he had a right to expect from New York, he would have been the third candidate, and his name would have gone before the House. In such a case his election would have been sure, for the House was devoted to him, and would have been only too glad to seat him in the Presidential chair. By the terms of the Constitution but three names—those possessing the highest number of electoral votes—can be presented to the House. Mr. Clay being the fourth in the number of votes received, was therefore dropped from the contest.

It now became necessary for Mr. Clay to decide which of his rivals he would support for the Presidency, and it was well known that his decision would settle the question, as he would be sure to carry the House with him. He was convinced that Mr. Adams was the best qualified for the Presidency, and gave him his support and secured his election. Mr. Clay was sincere in his conviction, and was influenced entirely by public considerations in his act, but he aroused the furious wrath of General Jackson. He was made suddenly aware of this by the attacks of Jackson and his friends, who denounced him as having plotted with Adams to defeat the wishes of the people, and with having sold his influence to Adams for the place of Secretary of State. Mr. Adams had determined to offer Clay the Secretaryship of State, and did so immediately upon his inauguration. Clay, indignant at the slanders of the Jackson party, accepted the position. He regarded the calumny which had anticipated his acceptance of the office as a defiance. He knew he had acted conscientiously and from the purest motives, and with characteristic boldness accepted the position tendered him by the President. It required an immense amount of moral courage to do this, for his assailants at once triumphantly pointed to his presence in Mr. Adams' Cabinet as proof of their charges. They were in a measure successful, and a blow was dealt at the popularity of Mr. Clay from which he never entirely recovered. Seventeen years later he said to his fellow citizens at Lexington (in September 1842): "My error in accepting the office arose out of my underrating the power of detraction and the force of ignorance, and abiding with too sure a confidence in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives."

The violence with which the charges of "bargain and corruption" were hurled at him, astonished and wounded him deeply. He had not believed that his countrymen would do him such injustice. While smarting under his wrongs, he issued a card daring his defamers to come forward and give him an opportunity to refute their charges, and declared his readiness to meet them "on the field of honor." Somewhat later he addressed a "letter" to his constituents, in which he said, "I ought not to have put in it (the card) the last para-

graph; because, though it does not necessarily imply the resort to a personal combat, it admits of that construction; nor will I conceal that such possible issue was within my contemplation. I owe it to the community to say, that, whatever I may heretofore have done, or, by inevitable circumstance may be forced to do, no man in it holds in deeper abhorrence than I do that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgment and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man, it is an affair of feeling, about which we cannot, though we should, reason. Its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription."

Not long after this letter was written, John Randolph, of Virginia, denounced Mr. Clay's support of Mr. Adams as "the coalition of Puritan with blackleg." Clay at once demanded an explanation, which was refused. He then challenged Randolph, who accepted the defiance. The meeting took place on the 8th of April, 1826, Randolph having previously declared to his second that he would receive Clay's shot, but would not fire at him. Two shots were exchanged, but to the great joy of the principals, were without effect. The seconds then interfered, and put a stop to the affair. Randolph and Clay remained unreconciled for seven years. At last the former, then on the verge of the grave, was carried into the Senate to hear his rival speak once more. Clay was speaking on the Tariff question at the time, and when he had concluded, crossed over to the dying Virginian and greeted him cordially.

As Secretary of State, Mr. Clay greatly added to his reputation as a statesman. He pursued a thoroughly disinterested policy, and in his selection of newspapers for the publication of the laws, would not consider their political character. He gave an efficient support to the resolve of President Adams not to remove any man from office because of his political opinions. He negotiated a number of treaties with foreign powers, and endeavored to secure the acceptance of the doctrines that paper blockades are not to be regarded, and that private property at sea, in time of war, shall be safe from seizure. He won the cordial regard of the Diplomatic Corps at Washington by his frank and hospitable treatment of its members.

In 1828 Mr. Adams was a candidate for reelection, and was defeated by General Jackson. The next March, Mr. Clay withdrew from office, and returned to Kentucky. His journey home was a continuous ovation. For the next two years he remained in retirement, devoting himself to the care of his farm and the raising of blooded animals. He enjoyed this mode of life very greatly, and his health improved rapidly. Occasionally he made a business journey to some distant city, and everywhere was received with an enthusiasm which showed him that the people still loved and trusted him.

"The President, meanwhile," says Mr. Parton, "was paying such homage to the farmer of Ashland as no President of the United States had ever paid to a private individual. General Jackson's principal object—the object nearest to his heart—appears to have been to wound and injure Henry Clay. His appointments * * seem to have been chiefly inspired by resentment against him. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, who had taken the lead in that State in giving currency to the 'bargain' calumny, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Eaton, who had aided in the original concoction of that foul slander, was appointed Secretary of War. Branch, who received the appointment of Secretary of the Navy, was one of the few Senators who had voted and spoken against the confirmation of Henry Clay to the office of Secretary of State in 1825; and Berrien, Attorney General, was another. Barry, appointed Post Master General, was the Kentuckian who had done most to inflict upon Mr. Clay the mortification of seeing his own Kentucky siding against him. John Randolph, Clay's recent antagonist in a duel, and the most unfit man in the world for a diplomatic mission, was sent Minister to Russia. Pope, an old Kentucky Federalist, Clay's opponent and competitor for half a life-time, received the appointment of Governor of the Territory of Arkansas. General Harrison, who had generously defended Clay against the charge of bargain and corruption, was recalled from a foreign mission on the fourth day after General Jackson's accession to power, though he had scarcely reached the country to which he was accredited. In the place of General Harrison was sent a Kentuckian peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. Clay. In Kentucky itself there was a clean sweep

from office of Mr. Clay's friends; not one man of them was left. His brother-in-law, James Brown, was instantly recalled from a diplomatic post in Europe. Kendall, the chief of the Kitchen Cabinet, had once been tutor to Mr. Clay's children, and had won the favor of Jackson by lending a dextrous hand in carrying Kentucky against his benefactor. Francis Blair, editor of the *Globe*, had also been the particular friend and correspondent of Mr. Clay, but had turned against him. From the Departments in Washington, all of Mr. Clay's known friends were immediately removed, except a few who had made themselves indispensable, and a few others whom Mr. Van Buren contrived to spare. In nearly every instance, the men who succeeded to the best places had made themselves conspicuous by their vituperation of Mr. Clay. He was strictly correct when he said, 'Every movement of the President is dictated by personal hostility toward me.'

"It was not only the appointments and removals that were aimed at Mr. Clay. The sudden expulsion of gray hairs from the offices they had honored, the precipitation of hundreds of families into poverty—this did not satisfy the President's vengeance. He assailed Henry Clay in his first Message. In recommending a change in the mode of electing the President, he said that, when the election devolves upon the House of Representatives, circumstances may give the power of deciding the election to one man. 'May he not be tempted,' added the President, 'to name his reward?' He vetoed appropriations for the Cumberland Road, because the name and honor of Henry Clay were peculiarly identified with that work. He destroyed the Bank of the United States, because he believed its power and influence were to be used in favor of Mr. Clay's elevation to the Presidency. He took care, in his Message vetoing the recharter of the Bank, to employ some of the arguments which Mr. Clay had used in opposing the recharter of the United States Bank in 1811. Miserably sick and infirm as he was, he consented to stand for reelection, because there was no other candidate strong enough to defeat Henry Clay; and he employed all his art, and the whole power of the administration during his second term, to smooth Mr. Van Buren's path to the Presidency, to the exclusion of Henry Clay."¹

¹*Famous Americans of Recent Times.* By Jas. Parton, pp. 41, 42.

The course of President Jackson made it impossible for Mr. Clay to remain in his retirement, and he consented to become a candidate for the Senate of the United States. He was elected by a handsome majority, and in December, 1831, took his seat in the Senate after an absence from it of twenty years. His journey from Ashland to Washington was a triumphal progress, and he was greeted all along the route by enthusiastic multitudes. In the Senate he was the recognized leader of the Whig Party, as the opposition to the Administration had come to be called. Congress was strongly Jacksonian, and Mr. Clay found himself in the minority. He supported the bill for the re-charter of the Bank of the United States, and carried it through by a handsome majority. It was vetoed by the President, and Mr. Clay found that he could not command the necessary two-thirds vote to pass it over the President's veto. He had supposed the people of the Union would follow him with enthusiasm, but he found that they could not be made enthusiastic in behalf of a moneyed corporation.

In 1832 it became necessary to revise the Tariff. The country was very prosperous, and the National Debt was within a year or two of being paid. To keep the Tariff at its existing rate would be, in the course of a few years, to burden the Government with a considerable surplus in the Treasury. It was argued that it was a proper time to decrease the rate of duties; but Mr. Clay maintained that no duty should be lessened which protected an American interest. He was willing to see the others diminished. His views prevailed, and the Tariff of 1832 was adopted by Congress.

The Tariff gave great offence to the Southern States, and South Carolina undertook to nullify it, as we have related in our account of General Jackson. For a while it seemed that a conflict between the State and the General Government was inevitable. Henry Clay once more gave himself to the effort to save the country. He came forward with a compromise in the Senate, which, he hoped, would save the dignity of the Government and put an end to the danger. His compromise involved the surrender of his protective system, for which he had labored so long; but he did not hesitate to make the sacrifice, as the welfare of the country demanded it. He introduced

a bill providing for the gradual reduction in ten years of all the duties to a revenue standard. This measure, with some modifications, was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and was approved by the President on the 2d of March, 1833, and the quarrel was settled.

"Mr. Clay, on this occasion," says Alexander H. Stephens, "had to break with his old political friends, while he was offering up the darling system of his heart upon the altar of his country. Whatever else may be said of him, no one can deny that Henry Clay was a patriot—every inch of him—a patriot of the highest standard. It was said that when he was importuned not to take the course he had resolved upon, for the reason amongst others that it would lessen his chances for the Presidency, his reply was: 'I would rather be right than be President.' This showed the material he was made of. It was worthy a Marcellus or a Cato."

In 1832 Mr. Clay was nominated by the Whigs for the Presidency, and committed the error of accepting the nomination. He had not the remotest chance of success, for General Jackson's popularity had been greatly increased by his veto of the Bank bill, and the slave-holding States, with the exception of Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware, were unanimous in their support of him. As President he wielded a patronage unprecedented in our history, and every species of power in the hands of the Administration was exerted to secure his reelection. Mr. Clay was overwhelmingly defeated.

The removal of the Public Funds from the Bank of the United States by the President, was warmly opposed by Mr. Clay. On the 26th of December, 1833, he introduced into the Senate the resolutions censuring the course of the President, and carried them through that body by a vote of 28 yeas to 18 nays. Three years later, when Colonel Benton moved to expunge the resolutions, Mr. Clay opposed the motion with more than his usual warmth.

The system adopted by the President of depositing the funds in the State banks was also opposed by Mr. Clay. "He argued the unsoundness of the system," says Horace Greeley, "the flimsiness of the securities and safe-guards relied on by the Secretary of the Treasury (who had just reported, March 17th,

1836, that all was as it should be), and insisted that a failure of the cotton crop, or any occurrence which should create a necessity for large exportations of specie to Europe, would compel a general contraction of loans, and a consequent panic and crash, in which the public moneys would disappear or become unavailable. To the superficial observer, nothing seemed less probable than this anticipation, the whole country being then in the high tide of seeming prosperity; yet a little more than a year saw his worst apprehensions fully realized."

In the autumn of 1836 Mr. Clay was chosen President of the Colonization Society, in the place of Mr. Madison, who had recently died.

In the campaign of 1836 Mr. Clay refused to allow his name to be presented for the Presidency by the Whig party, and Mr. Van Buren was elected without difficulty. Had Mr. Clay consented to enter the field upon this occasion, it is probable that he would have been successful.

He led the opposition to the Administration of Mr. Van Buren, and endeavored, but without success, to prevent the adoption of the sub-Treasury scheme.

In the Whig Convention of 1840 Mr. Clay was passed by, and General Harrison received the nomination for the Presidency. Mr. Clay's friends, believing that he was badly treated, threatened to oppose the action of the Convention; but he promptly prevented them from doing so, and induced them to side with him in supporting the nomination.

The death of General Harrison, within a month after his inauguration, changed the entire character of the Administration. Mr. Clay's influence in Congress was now very great, and he secured the repeal of the sub-Treasury Act, and the incorporation of a new Bank of the United States. To his surprise President Tyler vetoed the Bank bill, and Mr. Clay found that, in spite of his great influence, he could not command votes enough to pass the bill over the veto. The action of President Tyler split the Whig party into two fragments. Mr. Clay was the recognized leader of the opposition to the President. He succeeded in 1842 in securing the passage of a new Tariff Bill, in which the principles of the Compromise of 1833 were altogether set aside, and the Protective Policy restored.

On the 31st of March, 1842, Mr. Clay resigned his seat in the Senate, and returned to his home in Kentucky. In 1844 he was again the candidate of the Whig party for the Presidency. The leading question of the day was the annexation of Texas. Mr. Clay, while in the Senate, had supported the recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States, and was not now opposed to annexation *per se*, nor on account of extending the area of slavery, which he regarded as a temporary institution destined to fall before the increasing civilization of the country. He *was* opposed to the annexation of Texas, however, under the existing circumstances, as he thought it an act of bad faith to Mexico, and calculated to embroil the United States in a war with that country. Thus, his views suited neither party. His opposition to slavery did not go far enough to satisfy the North, and the South resented his opposition to the annexation scheme, which was a favorite measure with that section. The consequence was that Mr. Clay was again defeated, and Mr. Polk, the Democratic candidate was elected President. At the last moment before the election Mr. Polk declared himself in favor of the protective policy, and by so doing carried the States of Pennsylvania and New York. Had he withheld this declaration those States would have preferred Mr. Clay, and their electoral votes would have ensured his success.

Mr. Clay remained in retirement until 1849, speaking only twice during that time, once at New Orleans, in behalf of the effort to send relief to the sufferers by the famine in Ireland, and once at Lexington in opposition to the war with Mexico. He was much opposed to that war, and regarded its outbreak with regret. It brought him a sore affliction, for among the officers who fell in the arms of victory at Buena Vista was his favorite and most promising son, Henry Clay, Jr. "My life has been full of afflictions," wrote the father to a friend, "but this last is one of the severest of them."

"Henry Clay's last years were his best; he ripened to the very end. His friends remarked the moderation of his later opinions, and his charity for those who had injured him most. During the last ten years of his life no one ever heard him utter a harsh judgment of an opponent. Domestic afflictions,

frequent and severe, had chastened his heart; his six affectionate and happy daughters were dead; one son was a hopeless lunatic in an asylum; another was not what such a father had a right to expect." Just after the death of his son Henry, Mr. Clay was baptized and confirmed in the Episcopal Church. He remained a faithful and earnest member of that communion until his death.

In 1848 the Whig Convention had it in its power to reward their great leader with the Presidency; but the fear that he could not be elected, as he had so been often defeated, caused his rejection and the selection of General Taylor in his place. Mr. Clay keenly felt the wrong done him by his party, but cheerfully sustained the action of the Convention.

In 1849 a State Convention assembled for the purpose of changing the constitution of Kentucky. Mr. Clay took advantage of the occasion to address a long letter to the people of the State, in which he urged them to make provision for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky. The proposition was rejected by the Convention.

The effort to organize the territory won from Mexico brought on a fierce revival of the slavery question. The struggle was much more threatening than it had been during the Missouri Compromise contest, and the danger to the Union was much greater. Though in feeble health, Mr. Clay, who was thoroughly alarmed for his country, consented to be returned to the Senate of the United States, and in 1849 was chosen for the full term of six years from March 4, 1849. He took his seat in the Senate in December of that year, and devoted himself with all his energy to the task of bringing about a settlement of the slavery contest. During this session of Congress he addressed the Senate seventy times. He introduced into the Senate, on the 29th of January, 1850, a series of resolutions designed to settle the points in dispute, and was the chairman of the Committee which reported the "Omnibus Bill," which embodied the Compromise of 1850. While the Compromise was under discussion, he was never absent from the Senate a day, though he was often so sick and feeble that even with assistance he could scarcely reach his seat. In reply to the proposition of Senator Jefferson Davis to extend the Missouri Compromise

line to the Pacific, and thus throw open to slavery the country south of that line obtained from Mexico, Mr. Clay declared that "no earthly power can induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it has not existed, either north or south of that line. * * * I am unwilling that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New Mexico should reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us. * * If the citizens of those Territories come here with constitutions establishing slavery, I am for admitting them into the Union; but then it will be their own work, and not ours, and their posterity will have to reproach them, and not us."

His last great speech on the Compromise subjected him to a physical strain which he was not able to endure, and from which he never recovered. On the morning it was to be delivered, as he alighted from his carriage at the foot of the long flight of steps which led up the Capitol, he said to a friend who accompanied him: "Will you lend me your arm, my friend? for I find myself quite weak and exhausted this morning." "Had you not better defer your speech?" asked his companion. "My dear friend," said the dying statesman, "I consider our country in danger, and if I can be the means, in any measure, of averting that danger, my health or life is of little consequence." When he rose to address the Senate he was so weak as to be hardly able to stand, and was so much interrupted by his cough that he could scarcely proceed. Rallying all his force, however, he continued; his cough left him, and he spoke with all the fervor and eloquence of old, and with more effect, as all who heard him knew it was the last effort of his genius. On the second day he was so much exhausted that his friends repeatedly proposed an adjournment until the next day; but he persisted in speaking until he had closed his address, as he felt, he afterwards declared, that had he given way to an adjournment, he would never have been able to resume his speech.

In this speech he declared that any one who should raise the flag of disunion and seek to follow it up by corresponding acts would be a traitor, "and I hope," he added, "he will meet a traitor's fate." "If Kentucky to-morrow should unfurl the banner of resistance unjustly," he declared, "I will never fight

under that banner. I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union—a subordinate one to my own State. * * If any one State, or a portion of the people of any State, choose to place themselves in military array against the Government of the Union, I am for trying the strength of the Government. I am for ascertaining whether we have a Government or not. * * * The Senator speaks of Virginia being my country. This Union, sir, is my country; the thirty States are my country, Kentucky is my country, and Virginia no more than any State in the Union. * * * There are those who believe that the Union must be preserved by an exclusive reliance upon love and reason. That is not my opinion. I have some confidence in this instrumentality; but, depend upon it, no human government can exist without the power of applying force, and the actual application of it in extreme cases."

Mr. Clay's efforts were at last crowned with success, and in September, 1850, the Compromise measures were adopted by Congress, and received the approval of the President. The course of Mr. Clay in securing the passage of these measures was justly regarded as the crowning glory of his life. It won for him the love and confidence of the whole country, without regard to party, and the man who "had rather be right than be President," had the proud satisfaction of seeing all the faults and mistakes of his earlier years forgotten in the confidence and gratitude with which his countrymen regarded him.

Mr. Clay now ceased to take an active part in the questions of the day, for it was fitting that his life should close with this great service to his country. His health failed rapidly, but he continued to hold his seat in the Senate. He died at Washington on the 29th of June, 1852, at the age of seventy-five. He was honored with a public funeral at Washington, and his remains were conveyed to Ashland, and interred in his family burying ground on his farm. Honors were showered upon his memory in all parts of the Union, and he was laid to his rest amid a nation's unaffected mourning.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

EBENEZER WEBSTER was a native of New Hampshire, and a farmer, as his fathers had been before him. He had served in the French War, entering the struggle as a private, and coming out of it a Captain. For his services in this war he received a grant of land in the mountainous region at the head of the Merrimack River. He settled on this grant, and by hard work and true New England energy, converted it into a farm capable of yielding him a support for his family. He took up arms for his country at the outbreak of the Revolution, and commanded his company in the battles of White Plains and Bennington, and returned home only at the close of the war. The hardships he encountered in his two wars greatly impaired his physical vigor, and afflicted him with rheumatism. His little farm afforded him a small dependence, and his salary as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, to which office he was appointed soon after the close of the Revolution, was but four hundred dollars. He was a man of strong, earnest character, of independent views, and pure life. He was a Federalist by nature as well as from conviction, and was much respected and looked up to by his neighbors. His second wife was Abigail Eastman. He had ten children, and as he was a poor man throughout his life, it taxed his resources sorely to provide for them during their childhood and start them in their several callings in the world.

DANIEL WEBSTER, the youngest son of Judge Webster and his second wife, was born at Salisbury, on his father's farm, on the 18th of January, 1782. He grew up on the farm, and was a delicate, sickly boy, incapable of hard work, and very fond of play. This delicacy of constitution induced his father to decide upon giving him an education which would enable him to earn his living in one of the professions, as it was evident he would never be fit for the rough manual labor of a farmer.

The schools of the mountainous region of New Hampshire



DANIEL WEBSTER.

were poor at that day, but it was at one of these that Daniel gained the rudiments of his education. He became a noted reader at an early age, a gift which he inherited from his father, but he gave no other indications of unusual talent. He was fond of fishing, and always had strength enough to tramp over the hills, gun in hand, after squirrels; and was an adept in the art of cock-fighting. He was obliged to assist in running his father's saw mill, and this he used to say was the best school he ever attended. He would take his book with him, and when the saw had been set and the water turned on, he was sure of fifteen minutes of quiet before the log would again need his attention, and this period he gave to his book. "We had so few books," he said, in after life, "that to read them once or twice was nothing. We thought they were all to be got by heart." He derived considerable benefit from the small town library, founded at Salisbury by his father, the clergyman of the town, and Mr. Thompson, the lawyer of the place. "The Spectator" was a favorite, and he read it over and over again. It was to it that he doubtless owed the simple and straightforward style he was noted for in after life.

Judge Webster at first intended to make a school-master of Daniel, and finding that he had passed far beyond the reach of the rustic schools of the vicinity, sent him to the Academy at Exeter in 1796. He made rapid progress while at this school, but could never conquer the shyness which prevented him from taking part in the declamation exercises of the pupils. In other respects he gave great promise. Mr. Nicholas Emery, afterwards a distinguished lawyer and judge of Massachusetts, was an assistant tutor at the Exeter Academy. He relates that when Daniel Webster was first placed under him he assigned him to one of the lowest classes. At the end of the first month, he said to him, "Webster, you will pass into the other room, and join a higher class. Boys," he added to the rest of the class, "you will take a final leave of Webster; you will never see him again."

Judge Webster was not able to bear the expense of keeping his son at Exeter, and in February, 1797, Daniel was called home, and was placed in the family of the Rev. Samuel Wood, of the neighboring town of Boscawen, whose whole charge

for board and tuition was one dollar per week. Judge Webster had been so much pleased with Daniel's progress at Exeter that he had determined to strain his resources to the utmost, and send him to college. His object in placing him under Mr. Wood was to prepare him for college. On the ride to Boscawen, he informed Daniel of his intention concerning him. "I remember," says Mr. Webster, "the very hill which we were ascending through deep snows, in a New England sleigh, when my father made known this purpose to me. I could not speak. How could he, I thought, with so large a family and such narrow circumstances, think of incurring so great an expense for me? A warm glow ran all over me, and I laid my head on my father's shoulder and wept."

Daniel spent a year and a half under Mr. Wood, studying manfully, and in the autumn of 1797, entered the Freshman class of Dartmouth College, engaging to make up his deficiencies by extra study. He spent four years at college, and studied faithfully. He was fond of Latin and learned it so well that in after years he read the Roman authors with pleasure. Greek he had no liking for, or mathematics either. He was an indefatigable reader, and it was from the college library, rather than from his text books, that he derived most of his learning. He read largely in history and English literature, a practice which he continued throughout life. Biography was also a favorite study with him. While at Dartmouth he succeeded in overcoming his shyness, and engaged with ardor in the debates of the College Societies. He won the distinction of being the first speaker in the college, and in 1800, while a Junior, and but eighteen years of age, delivered the Fourth of July Oration, which was spoken of as an admirable effort for so young a man.

The vacations of the young student were passed in teaching school. Though the expense of his college career averaged but one hundred and fifty dollars a year, it put his father to great straits to raise that sum, and Daniel was very willing to lighten his father's load by his own exertions whenever possible. His earnings were also devoted to another purpose. He was deeply attached to his brother Ezekiel, and he was anxious that he too should enjoy the advantages of a collegiate educa-

tion. A part of his earnings went therefore to assist in paying Ezekiel's expenses. Daniel won his father's consent to the arrangement, but with some little difficulty. "His father, now advanced in years, infirm, 'an old man before his time' through hardship and toil, much in debt, depending chiefly upon his salary of four hundred dollars a year as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and heavily taxed to maintain Daniel in college, had seen all his other sons married and settled except Ezekiel, upon whom he leaned as the staff of his declining years, and the main dependence of his wife and two maiden daughters. Nevertheless, Daniel, after a whole night of consultation with his brother, urged the old man to send Ezekiel to college also. The fond and generous father replied, that he had but little property, and it would take all that little to carry another son through college to a profession; but he lived only for his children, and, for his own part, he was willing to run the risk; but there were the mother and the two unmarried sisters, to whom the risk was far more serious. If they consented, he was willing. The mother said: 'I have lived long in the world and have been happy in my children. If Daniel and Ezekiel will promise to take care of me in my old age, I will consent to the sale of all our property at once, and they may enjoy the benefit of that which remains after our debts are paid.' Upon hearing this, all the family dissolved in tears, and the old man gave his consent." Fortunately, it did not require such a sacrifice on the part of the parents. In due time Ezekiel was sent to prepare for college at the cost of one dollar per week, an expense which Daniel's earnings helped to lighten.

Daniel was universally regarded in the college as the first man in his class, but in graduating he took a very low position. He left college in 1801, and returning home entered the office of Mr. Thompson, the lawyer of the town, as a student of law. His father had abandoned the plan of making a teacher of him, and had entered readily into his son's desire to embrace the more promising profession of the law. Here he remained until he began to perceive that his duty to his father required that he should support himself.

He obtained the place of principal of the Academy at Freyburg, Maine, at a salary of \$350 per annum, and entered upon

his new duties in January, 1802. He boarded with the Register of Deeds at Freyburg, at a cost of \$2 per week. In order to increase his slender income he devoted his evenings to copying deeds, a labor which he detested, and earned sufficient money in this way to enable him to lay by the greater part of his salary to pay a part of the expenses of his professional education, and help Brother Ezekiel through college. He was very poor, and says he was generally threadbare and out at the heels, but managed to send a part of his earnings to his father, to whom the assistance was most grateful. In the midst of his poverty and struggles, however, he was an innocent-hearted, merry lad, always ready to enjoy a joke or to perpetrate one, and quick to see and relish the humorous side of his own troubles. This abundance of animal spirits was a part of his nature, and distinguished him through life.

In September, 1802, Daniel's school teaching came to a close, and he went back to his legal studies at Salisbury. The little money he had saved was exhausted at length, and in the winter of 1804 he went to Boston to try to get something to do. He had but one acquaintance in the town, Dr. Cyrus Perkins, then a struggling young physician, who had opened a private school to enable him to live while he was establishing himself in his profession. Dr. Perkins now considered himself sufficiently established to enable him to dispense with the school, and he was willing to give it up. Daniel saw in it a capital opening for Ezekiel, and hastened home with the good news. Ezekiel, who had now been some time at Dartmouth, obtained permission from the Faculty of the College to assume the charge of the school without severing his connection with the college, on condition of keeping up with his class by private study, a condition which he faithfully fulfilled. He at once hastened to Boston and relieved Dr. Perkins of his school. He did so well with it that he not only supported himself, but found himself able to send for Daniel to come to Boston and finish his legal studies.

Daniel gladly obeyed the summons, and on the 17th of July, 1804, arrived in Boston. He had no acquaintances there but his brother and Dr. Perkins, and was well-nigh penniless. For a little while he hesitated what to do, but as he could not afford to

lose any time in idleness, soon made up his mind. Mr. Christopher Gore, an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, who was afterwards Governor of the State and United States Senator, had just returned to Boston from London, where he had been residing as the agent of the United States under Jay's Treaty, and had resumed the practice of his profession. Daniel Webster resolved to ask him to take him as a law student and clerk. "A young man as little known to Mr. Gore as myself," he says, "undertook to introduce me. In logic this would have been bad; *ignotum per ignotum*. Nevertheless it succeeded here. We entered Mr. Gore's rooms, and my name was pronounced. I was shockingly embarrassed, but Mr. Gore's habitual courtesy of manner gave me courage to speak. I had the grace to begin with an unaffected apology; told him my position was very awkward, my appearance there like an intrusion, and that if I expected anything but a civil dismissal, it was only founded on his known kindness and generosity of character. I was from the country, I said, had studied law for two years, and had come to Boston to study a year more; had some respectable acquaintances in New Hampshire, not unknown to him, but had no introduction; that I had heard that he had no clerk, and thought it possible he might receive one; that I came to Boston to work and not to play; was most desirous on all accounts to be his pupil, and all I ventured to ask at present was, that he would keep a place for me in his office till I could write to New Hampshire for proper letters showing me worthy of it. I delivered this speech trippingly on the tongue, though I suspect it was better composed than spoken. Mr. Gore heard me with much encouraging good nature. He evidently saw my embarrassment, spoke kind words, and asked me to sit down. My friend had already disappeared. Mr. Gore said what I had suggested was very reasonable and required little apology; he did not mean to fill his office with clerks, but was willing to receive one or two, and would consider what I had said. He inquired of me and I told him what gentlemen of his acquaintance knew me and my father in New Hampshire. He talked to me pleasantly for half an hour, and when I rose to depart, he said: 'My friend, you look as though you might be trusted. You say you came to study, and not to waste time. I will take you at

your word. You may as well go hang up your hat at once, go into the other room, take your book, and sit down to reading it, and write at your convenience to New Hampshire for your letters.' ”

Mr. Webster very justly regarded his admission to Mr. Gore's office, as “a good stride onward.” He remained in Mr. Gore's office from July 20th, 1804, to March, 1805, and during this period devoted himself with energy to his studies, and was regular in his attendance upon the Courts. During this time he read, besides the strictly professional works laid down for him by Mr. Gore, “Ward's Law of Nations,” Vattel for the third time, Lord Bacon's “Elements,” and Pufendorf's Latin Compendium of the History of Europe. His miscellaneous reading was also extensive. His studies were mainly in the Common Law, which he traced back to its sources, studying it in the old Latin and Norman-French writers.

While he was with Mr. Gore, his brother Ezekiel went back to Dartmouth to graduate, and during his absence from Boston, Daniel took charge of his school.

Just before his legal studies were completed, Daniel was offered the clerkship of his father's Court, with a salary of \$1500 per annum. Judge Webster was very anxious that his son should accept this offer, as it would not only give him a competence, but enable him to do something for the assistance of his family. Daniel made up his mind to give up his legal studies and take the clerkship, and hastened to Mr. Gore, and exultingly told him of his good fortune. Mr. Gore had a thorough appreciation of the capabilities of Daniel Webster's character, and was resolved that this promising young man should not forsake his true destiny for so insignificant a career as that of the clerk of a country court. He met Daniel's joy with a coldness which thoroughly checked it, and then set to work to reason seriously with him, and finally succeeded in inducing him to reject the clerkship, and continue his legal studies. Judge Webster was sorely disappointed by his son's decision; but in an interview with him, in which Daniel stated the reasons for his course, acknowledged that the young man had acted wisely.

In the spring of 1805, Daniel Webster was admitted to the bar in the Court of Common Pleas of Boston. Mr. Gore pre-

sented his application, and in the brief address customary on such occasions, predicted that his pupil would rise to an unusual eminence at the bar. He lived to see his prediction more than verified.

After receiving his license, Daniel Webster went back home, and opened an office at Boscawen, close by, resolved to devote himself to his father's support for the balance of the old man's life. His first case was tried before his father as judge, and his success was sufficient to give him a moderate but fair start in business. He remained at Boscawen for a little more than a year, and in the spring of 1806, was admitted to the Bar of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. In the same year his father died, and the incentive to his remaining at his old home being thus removed, Mr. Webster resolved to seek a wider field of action. Towards the close of 1806 he resigned his practice to his brother Ezekiel, and removed to Portsmouth.

Portsmouth was then, as now, the largest town and principal seaport of New Hampshire, and enjoyed then the additional honor of being the capital of the State. Among the lawyers practicing at its bar were many of the most superior men of New England. At the head of the New Hampshire bar stood Jeremiah Mason, whose gigantic frame was matched by a massive intellect, and around him gathered a score or more of able men. The courts of Portsmouth were regularly attended by the best men at the Massachusetts bar also, such as Samuel Dexter, who shared with Theophilus Parsons the leadership of his profession in New England, and Joseph Story. These were the men who were Mr. Webster's associates in his new field of labor; and though so young, he from the first took his place among them, and was recognized by them as a worthy co-laborer. He was regarded from the first by the people of New Hampshire as the only man in the State capable of contending successfully with Jeremiah Mason. "Mason was a vigilant, vigorous opponent, sure to be well up in the law and the facts of a cause, sure to detect a flaw in the argument of opposing counsel. It was in keen encounters with this wary and learned man that Daniel Webster learned his profession; and this he always acknowledged. 'If,' he said once in conversation, 'if anybody thinks I am somewhat familiar with the law on some

points, and should be curious to know how it happened, tell him that Jeremiah Mason compelled me to study it. He was my master.' It is honorable, too, to both of them, that rivals as they were, they were fast and affectionate friends, each valuing in the other the qualities in which he was surpassed by him, and each believing that the other was the first man of his time and country."

Mr. Webster settled in Portsmouth at a critical time in the history of the country. The British Orders in Council and the French Decrees were subjecting the United States to constant and heavy losses, and the whole country was intent upon finding a way to put an end to the evil. President Jefferson had resolved upon the Embargo, a measure which was particularly odious to Federalist New England. Mr. Webster was a thorough Federalist, and was heartily opposed to the policy of the President. He took part in the public demonstrations at Portsmouth against the President's policy, and by his speeches and resolutions won considerable credit from his party.

He did not take a very active part in politics just yet, however; for in 1808 he married Grace Fletcher, the daughter of a clergyman of Hopkinton, an elegant and accomplished lady, who bore him three sons and a daughter. But one of these, Fletcher Webster, survived him. He fell at the head of his regiment at the second battle of Bull Run, August 29th, 1862. The necessity of providing for his wife and his children, as they came, caused Mr. Webster to devote himself to his practice with more than his ordinary energy. He soon acquired a comfortable support, and his practice increased as rapidly as he could desire.

In the summer of 1812 the quarrel with England culminated in war with that country. The Federalist party now had need of its best talent in Congress, and Mr. Webster was induced to enter that body. He was elected to the House of Representatives in November, 1812, and took his seat at the special session in May, 1813. Mr. Clay, the Speaker, appointed him on the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

The Thirteenth Congress is conspicuous in our history for the number of great men who served in the Lower House—such men as Clay, Calhoun, Lowndes, Pickering, Gaston, and

Forsyth. Among these giants Mr. Webster at once took his place as an equal. He had opposed the policy of President Madison in declaring war, but now that the conflict had come, he was in favor of carrying it on with energy and decision. He was especially anxious that the Navy, which had already shown its ability to cope with England, should be strengthened, in order that the war might be waged as vigorously at sea as on land.

Early in September, 1813, he introduced the resolutions offered in the House upon the repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees of France, and took this occasion to deliver his first important speech in Congress. The House was taken by surprise, and Mr. Webster was regarded from this time as one of its ablest members. Chief Justice Marshall was present, and was delighted with the orator. "At the time when this speech was made," he wrote to Judge Story, "I did not know Mr. Webster; but I was so much struck with it, that I did not hesitate then to state that Mr. Webster was a very able man, and would become one of the very first statesmen in America, perhaps the very first."

After this speech Mr. Webster took a very active part in the proceedings of the House. He remained the constant friend of the Navy, and insisted that the money spent in the fruitless invasions of Canada would be better used if applied to the building of first-class frigates and ships of the line. He advocated with all his powers the repeal of the Embargo. His speeches in Congress displayed such remarkable resources of learning, and such familiarity with international and parliamentary law and usage, that Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, said of him, "the North had not his equal nor the South his superior." Mr. Webster had the good fortune to make no enemies in Congress. He expressed his views with independence and vigor, but with the most courteous deference to his opponents. As a consequence he made friends in the ranks of the Republicans, as well as among his own party.

In August, 1814, Mr. Webster was re-elected to Congress. He opposed the proposition made before the close of the war to charter a new Bank of the United States, on the ground that the proposed bank was relieved by the Act of incorporation

of the obligation to redeem its notes in specie. The same course was pursued by Lowndes and Calhoun. Mr. Webster's speeches on the subject showed him to have mastered the difficult questions of banking, finance, and currency. The ease and self-possession with which he conducted the debate were natural to him, and were the result of his confidence in his own powers.

During the recesses of Congress Mr. Webster devoted himself to his profession, and his practice increased yearly. Had he been more careful in money matters, he would soon have been independent. In December, 1813, a large part of Portsmouth was destroyed by fire. Among the buildings burned was Mr. Webster's office, and with it went his library, his papers, and all the accumulation of his professional labors. It was a severe blow to him, but he bore it without flinching.

The Fourteenth Congress was called upon to inaugurate measures for restoring to the country the prosperity of which the war had deprived it. As a member of the little band which still clung to the name of Federalist, though the party that had borne it was no more, Mr. Webster opposed the policy of the administration. He opposed the scheme for the revival of the Bank of the United States in 1816, and voted against the bill for that purpose. He introduced and secured the passage of an amendment to the bill requiring the payment of deposits as well as the notes of the bank in specie, and his speeches against the bank compelled its friends to strip it of some of its most objectionable features. He also opposed the Protective Tariff of 1816, and in the debate with Mr. Clay upon the subject had decidedly the advantage, though he did not succeed in defeating the Tariff. He introduced the bill requiring all payments into the Treasury of the United States, after February 20th, 1817, to be made in specie or its equivalent. He carried the measure through Congress, and had the satisfaction of seeing it restore the value of the depreciated currency of the United States.

Having decided to leave Portsmouth and seek a field of labor which should afford him the opportunity of earning a more ample support for his family, Mr. Webster hesitated for some time whether to settle in Boston or Albany, but at last decided

in favor of the former place, and removed there from Portsmouth in the summer of 1816. His professional life in New Hampshire, and his career in Congress, had already made him one of the most noted men in New England, and he at once took a prominent position at the Massachusetts Bar. He was cordially welcomed by his professional brethren in Boston, and was regarded as a decided acquisition to the social circles of the New England metropolis.

He now withdrew from politics, and for the next seven years devoted himself entirely to his profession. He worked hard, and always had as much as he could do. Besides earning a handsome income, he established his great professional reputation upon an enduring basis. "He took a position as a counsellor and an advocate," says Edward Everett, "above which no one has ever risen in this country. A choice of the best business of New England, and of that of the whole country which was adjudicated at Washington, passed into his hands. Besides the reputation which he acquired in the ordinary routine of practice, Mr. Webster, shortly after his removal to Boston, took a distinguished lead in establishing what might be called a school of constitutional law. It fell to his lot to perform a prominent part in unfolding a most important class of constitutional doctrines, which, either because occasion had not, as yet, drawn them forth, or the jurists of a former period had failed to deduce and apply them, had not yet grown into a system. It was reserved for Mr. Webster to distinguish himself before most, if not all, of his contemporaries in this branch of the profession."

The first of these causes was that of Dartmouth College, his *Alma Mater*. In June and December, 1816, the Legislature of New Hampshire passed a series of laws altering the charter of the college, and changing its name to Dartmouth University. The number of trustees was enlarged and the corporation entirely reorganized. The trustees of the college entered a formal protest against these acts, but it was disregarded by the Legislature, and the objectionable laws were enacted in spite of it and received the Governor's sanction. The new Board of Trustees appointed under these laws took possession of the college, and assumed the management of the institution.

The old trustees had all been named members of the new Board, but they refused to serve, and determined to test the constitutionality of the action of the Legislature. In order to accomplish this, they brought suit against the Treasurer of the new Board for the record books, original charter, the common seal, and other corporate property of the college. The general issue was pleaded by the defendants and joined by the plaintiffs. The case turned upon the points whether the acts of the Legislature above referred to were binding upon the old corporation without their assent, and were not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. It was argued twice in the New Hampshire Courts, and at the second trial Mr. Webster, Jeremiah Mason, and Judge Smith appeared for the plaintiffs, and argued the case before the Court of Appeals. Chief Justice Richardson, of New Hampshire, decided that the acts of the Legislature were constitutional and valid. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and was argued before that body on the 10th of March, 1818. Mr. Webster and Mr. Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, appeared for the plaintiffs; the defendants in error were represented by Wm. Wirt, the Attorney General of the United States, and John Holmes, of Maine.

One of the judges, as the case was called, glanced over the record, and declared to one of his associates that he did not see what could be said on the side of the plaintiffs. Mr. Webster, however, took the broad ground that the acts of the Legislature of New Hampshire were not only in violation of common right and of the Constitution of the State, but were also—and this was his main point—in violation of the Article of the Constitution of the United States which forbids the individual States to pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. He argued his case with such force and effect, and displayed such great learning in the principles of the English and American law that he held the attention of the court throughout. His arguments proved conclusively that the endowment of a college is private property; and that the charter of a college is that which constitutes its endowment private property. His views were accepted by the Supreme Court, and at the term of 1819, Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of

the court, to which there was but one dissenting voice, declaring the acts of the New Hampshire Legislature unconstitutional, and reversing the decision of the court below. By this decision, the law of the United States with reference to collegiate institutions was firmly established on a basis of common right and justice. From his time American colleges have held their property and franchises by the same tenure as private individuals, and have been freed from the capricious interference of State Legislatures.

Another case of this kind in which Mr. Webster acquired considerable fame was the suit of Livingston against certain citizens of New Jersey for a violation of the monopoly of the navigation of the waters of New York granted to Fulton and Livingston by the Legislature of New York. Mr. Webster went to the bottom of the controversy in a brief sentence. "The commerce of the United States, under the Constitution of 1787," he said, "is a unit," and "what we call the waters of the State of New York are, for the purposes of navigation and commerce, the waters of the United States," and he held that no State could grant exclusive privileges in such waters. The Supreme Court held that this was the true doctrine; Mr. Webster won his case; and the inland waters of the Union were thrown open to the enterprise of the whole nation.

These cases established Mr. Webster's reputation as a jurist, and from this time he was acknowledged as the equal of Emmet, Pinckney and Wirt, the great leaders of the American Bar. He never lacked for business of the most honorable and profitable nature after this, and was retained in almost every case of importance tried before the Supreme Court. After his return to Congress his residence at Washington for the greater part of the year enabled him to continue his practice in the Supreme Court, and attend to his Congressional duties at the same time.

During his retirement from politics, Mr. Webster served as a member of the Convention which met to revise the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts. He was regarded as its ablest member, and rendered valuable service in framing the new Constitution.

During the session of this Convention, Mr. Webster was selected to deliver the address at Plymouth, on the 22d of

December, 1820, the two hundredth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. His address was a noble effort, and was read with deep interest in all parts of the Union. It was the first of a series of similar orations which were in themselves enough to establish his fame as an orator, and which constitute a peculiar school of their own, to which Mr. Everett applies the name of "patriotic eloquence." The other addresses of this series were delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825; at the completion of the Monument, June 17, 1843; the Eulogy upon Adams and Jefferson in 1826; and at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Capitol at Washington in 1851.

At this time the elections in Massachusetts for members of Congress were held a year or two in advance, and in the fall of 1822 Mr. Webster was elected to the 18th Congress, in which he took his seat at its opening in December, 1823. Early in the session he delivered an eloquent address in favor of the recognition of the independence of Greece, in which he denounced the Holy Alliance, and the efforts of that league to quench the spirit of popular freedom in Europe. During this session also he opposed the Tariff of 1824, and declared that the Protective system was not only wrong, but unnecessary. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House he reported and secured the passage of a bill for the revision of the entire criminal code of the United States.

It became the duty of the House of Representatives at the second session of the 18th Congress, in 1825, to elect a President of the United States. The Massachusetts delegation naturally supported Mr. Adams. Mr. Webster threw the whole weight of his influence in Mr. Adams's behalf, and did much to win for him the votes of other States. The election of Mr. Adams took Mr. Webster out of the ranks of the opposition, and made him a supporter of the Administration. He was returned to the 19th Congress in 1825, but the next year was elected by the Legislature of Massachusetts to the Senate of the United States to succeed Mr. Mills, who had resigned on account of ill health.

In the debate of the Tariff of 1828, which was far more protective than that of 1824, Mr. Webster supported the Tariff,

and advocated the protective policy as warmly as he had opposed it in 1824. The opponents of the measure taunted him with his sudden change of opinion, and he replied that New England having been compelled by the act of 1824 to transfer the better part of her capital from commerce to manufactures, he was bound, as her representative, to demand the continuance of the system. It must be confessed that while this answer may have satisfied Mr. Webster's New England friends, it will add nothing to his fame as a statesman.

In the 21st Congress occurred the famous debate between Mr. Webster and Senator Hayne, of South Carolina. On the 29th of December, 1829, Senator Foote introduced into the Senate a resolution of inquiry concerning the sales and surveys of the public lands in the West. The resolution was debated at some length, but the debate did not attract much attention until the 19th of January, 1830, when Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, delivered an elaborate speech in the Senate, calling in question the conduct of the New England States towards the West, and accusing them of a selfish desire to retard the growth of the new States—a design, he said, originating in the policy of the Tariff, which required the New England States to keep their population from emigrating to the West. He endeavored to show that there existed a natural sympathy between the Western and Southern States upon the questions of the distribution and sale of the public lands, which ought to make those sections natural allies against the tendencies and consequences of the Tariff policy of New England.

Mr. Webster was very busy in the Supreme Court at this time, and merely chanced to walk into the Senate chamber as Mr. Hayne was speaking. He had no intention of taking any part in the debate, but seeing the drift of Mr. Hayne's remarks, stopped and heard him out. Thinking that the speech demanded a reply, he arose to answer Mr. Hayne when the latter sat down. Col. Benton, however, moved an adjournment, to which Mr. Webster consented. This of course gave him the right to the floor the next day—the 20th—on which occasion he delivered a powerful reply to Mr. Hayne, effectually repelling the charges of the latter against New England. The next day, the 21st, Mr. Hayne replied to Mr. Webster, but, owing

to an adjournment of the debate, did not finish the speech until the 25th. He touched upon a great many topics in the course of his remarks, assailed New England with great bitterness, attacked Mr. Webster in the most personal manner, called in question the patriotism of Massachusetts, and concluded by repeating in terms of warm eulogium the doctrine he had announced in his first speech, that a State in the exercise of its sovereign power might render inoperative, or nullify, within its limits, any act of Congress which it deemed unconstitutional. Apart from its personalities, Mr. Hayne's speech was able and argumentative, and calculated to do much harm if left unanswered. As the Senator from South Carolina resumed his seat, Mr. Webster rose to reply to him, but gave way to an adjournment.

The debate had now aroused the greatest interest in Washington, and on the 26th the Senate Chamber was crowded to its utmost capacity. The galleries were filled with a brilliant and distinguished throng, and every available place on the floor of the Senate was occupied. Mr. Webster was deeply impressed with the importance of the occasion, and never appeared to better advantage than he did on this memorable day. He was in his forty-eighth year, his hair still retained its raven blackness, his form was stately, his eye clear and bright, and his massive forehead unwrinkled by time. He rose amid a profound silence, and throughout held his audience spell-bound. He spoke for two days, and his speech was in all respects the grandest outburst of eloquence ever heard within the walls of the capitol. He denied the doctrine that the Union was merely a compact of sovereign, independent States, from which any one of them could withdraw at pleasure; and argued that the Constitution was the work of the people themselves, not as separate States, but as members of a great nation, and was designed to make the Union perpetual; that the controversies between the States and the General Government were to be decided by the Supreme Court, the tribunal created for that purpose by the Constitution, and not by the States themselves; and that any attempt on the part of the people of a State to withdraw from the Union was treason. He vindicated Massachusetts from Mr. Hayne's assault upon her, and met his per-

sonal attacks with good-natured sarcasm. In conclusion he dwelt upon the necessity of the Union to the people of America, and closed his address with a noble peroration which affected his hearers profoundly.

"I have not allowed myself, sir," he said, "to look beyond the Union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recesses behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that, I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant and belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, and drenched, it may be, with fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured; bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first, and Union afterwards;' but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, 'Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"¹

¹"The whole of his previous life had been an unconscious preparation for these

Mr. Hayne delivered a rejoinder, which was answered by Mr. Webster; but the great oration of the latter was unanswerable. It utterly overturned the doctrine of Nullification, and brought home to the country the value and importance of the Union. From that time Daniel Webster was incomparably the first man in the North. He had made himself the champion of the Union, and his ringing words had found an echo in every patriotic heart in the country.

During the Administrations of Jackson and Van Buren, Mr. Webster acted generally with the Whig party. He opposed Mr. Clay's Compromise on the Tariff question, as he held that the Government should make no concession to South Carolina until that State had submitted unqualifiedly to the law. He also opposed the sub-Treasury scheme of Mr. Van Buren, and delivered one of his most famous addresses upon this subject. Mr. S. Lloyd Jones, afterwards Lord Overstone, the highest authority in England at that day on financial questions, declared to a committee of the House of Commons that this

great debates. It was one of the recollections of his childhood, that in his eighth year, he had bought a handkerchief upon which was printed the Constitution of 1787, which he then read through; and while he was a farmer's boy at home, the great question of its acceptance or rejection had been decided. His father's party was the party for the Constitution, whose only regret concerning it was that it was not so much of a Constitution as they wished it to be. The Republicans dwelt upon its defects and dangers; the Federalists, upon its advantages and beauties: so that all this receptive lad heard of it at his father's fireside was of its value and necessity. We see in his youthful orations that nothing in the history of the continent struck his imagination so powerfully as the spectacle of thirty-eight gentlemen meeting in a quiet city, and peacefully settling the terms of a national union between thirteen sovereign States, most of which gave up, voluntarily, what the sword alone was once supposed capable of extorting. In all his orations on days of national festivity or mourning, we observe that his weightiest eulogy falls upon those who were conspicuous in this great business. Because Hamilton aided in it, he revered his memory; because Madison was its best interpreter, he venerated his name, and deferred absolutely to his judgment. * * His own triumphs at the bar—those upon which he plumed himself—were all such as resulted from his lonely broodings over, and patient study of, the Constitution of his country. A native of one of the smallest of the States, to which the Union was an unmixed benefit and called for no sacrifice of pride, he grew up into nationality without having to pass through any probation of States' rights scruples. Indeed it was as natural for a man of his calibre to be a national man, as it is for his own Monadnock to be there thousand feet above the level of the sea."—*James Parton.*

speech was the ablest and most satisfactory discussion of these questions that he had ever seen.

Mr. Webster rendered sufficient aid to the effort to overthrow the Democratic administration, which was successfully accomplished in the election of General Harrison to the Presidency in 1840. General Harrison was anxious that Mr. Webster should be the Secretary of the Treasury in his Cabinet, but Mr. Webster preferred the Secretaryship of State, and was appointed to that position by the President. The death of General Harrison so soon after his inauguration raised Vice-President John Tyler to the Chief Magistracy. The first act of the new President was to retain the Cabinet of his predecessor in their positions. The course of President Tyler with regard to the Bank of the United States, however, caused all the Cabinet officers, with the exception of the Secretary of State, to tender their resignations in the summer of 1841.

Mr. Webster would have united with his colleagues in this action, but regarded it as his duty to retain his office until he could bring to a close the negotiations he had begun with Great Britain for the settlement of the North-eastern boundary of the United States; for the rendition of fugitives from justice escaping from the territory of one nation into that of the other; and for the co-operation of the two countries in the suppression of the African slave trade. Until these negotiations were brought to a successful close he felt that he had no right to indulge his personal feelings by resigning his office. The Treaty of Washington was concluded in 1842, and was accepted by both nations as a settlement of the questions at issue between them. With this treaty the American Republic formally took its place among the great powers of the world. The negotiations being completed, Mr. Webster, who had greatly added to his reputation by his able conduct of them, resigned his place in the Cabinet of President Tyler in May, 1843.

During the remainder of Mr. Tyler's administration, Mr. Webster remained in private life, devoting himself to the practice of his profession, and to the management of his farm at Marshfield, near Plymouth. In the autumn of 1844 he made a number of speeches in support of Henry Clay for the Presidency; but accomplished nothing, as Mr. Polk was elected.

In 1845 Mr. Webster was once more elected to the Senate of the United States; this time as the successor of Rufus Choate. He took his seat in the Senate at the opening of the 29th Congress, in December, 1845. He opposed the annexation of Texas (though he had favored the recognition of the independence of that Republic), basing his opposition upon constitutional grounds. He also opposed the Mexican War, but when it had been fairly begun gave the Government his support in its efforts to carry it through with credit to the country. Like Mr. Clay, he was a personal sufferer by this war, for his second son Edward, a promising young man, a Major in the army under General Scott, died in the City of Mexico shortly after its capture. He voted against the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as he regarded it as full of future evils to the country.

Mr. Webster's friends were in hopes that he would receive the nomination of the Whig Convention of 1848 for the Presidency, but the Convention nominated General Taylor, who was elected.

Mr. Webster gave his earnest support to the Compromise Measures of 1850. On the 7th of March, 1850, he began his "great Union speech," which occupied three days in its delivery. It was one of his most powerful efforts, and contributed in a marked degree to the success of the Compromise Measures.

Upon the death of General Taylor in July, 1850, Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President, became President of the United States. The members of General Taylor's Cabinet tendered their resignations to the new President, who accepted them, and proceeded to appoint a new Cabinet, at the head of which he placed Mr. Webster as Secretary of State.

Mr. Webster's friends were confident that the Whig Convention of 1852, which met at Baltimore, would nominate him for the Presidency, but were again doomed to disappointment, for the Convention passed him by and nominated General Scott. Mr. Webster keenly felt the injustice of his party, for he earnestly desired the Presidency, and had done some things in the hope of securing it of which his truest friends could not approve. He felt that he had a right, after the services he had rendered to and the sacrifices he had made for his party, to expect this reward at their hands; but he was destined to

learn that gratitude is not among the virtues of a political organization.

Mr. Webster was large and stout in frame, of swarthy complexion, and slow and heavy movement—a man of noble and commanding presence. He was fond of social pleasures, and dearly loved his ease. He was extremely generous, and could never resist an application for aid from a person he had reason to believe needed it. He was also distressingly careless about money matters, and while he constantly earned large sums in the exercise of his profession, was always more or less in debt. His fees sometimes amounted to twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars; but he died forty thousand dollars in debt. As a matter of course, he was subjected to repeated duns, and these distressed him very much if he was not able to pay them. He often relieved himself of these annoyances in a manner thoroughly characteristic of himself.

He once owed a considerable bill to a furniture dealer in one of the New England towns. The dealer wrote repeatedly for his money, but could obtain no satisfaction. Finally he resolved to go to Washington, and present his bill to Mr. Webster in person. He arrived in the Federal City determined to press his claim with all the sternness he was master of, and in this frame of mind presented himself at Mr. Webster's house. He was told that Mr. Webster was entertaining a party of gentlemen at dinner, but insisted upon the servant taking his card in to him. Mr. Webster recognized the name, and suspected the business of his visitor. He was equal to the emergency, however. Excusing himself to his guests, he hastened to the hall, where his creditor was in waiting, and seizing him by the hand, greeted him cordially.

"My old friend B——, how do you do? How good it is in you to remember me in your visit to the Capital."

"But, Mr. Webster," said Mr. B——, somewhat nonplussed by this cordial greeting, "I have come on a little matter of business——."

"Yes, yes, I know," said Mr. Webster, still shaking his hand, "I know. We'll talk of that after awhile. You must go in and dine with me, and we'll talk of business when that is over."

"I really haven't the time," said Mr. B——, "and besides my business is ——."

"Never mind about your business just now," said Mr. Webster. "Dine with me you must. I have a party of the first men in the country in there, and I'll introduce you to them."

"But, Mr. Webster ——."

"Oh, nonsense, B——," said Mr. Webster, laughing. "Do you think I would let an old friend like you come to my house at my dinner hour, and go away without dining with me? Here, John," he continued to the servant, who had been looking on in surprise, "take Mr. B——'s hat and coat."

Mr. B—— was quickly divested of his hat and overcoat, and was led by Mr. Webster into the brilliantly-lighted dining-room, where were gathered around the table a number of members of Congress and of the Cabinet, and one or two Governors. To each one Mr. Webster presented the new comer, as "Mr. B——, of Massachusetts, one of my oldest and most valued friends." Of course Mr. B—— was cordially received by the distinguished company, and was made much of. During the evening Mr. Webster was especially attentive to him, and when the company broke up Mr. B—— took his leave with the rest, without having hinted a word more on the subject of his business. The next day he went back home. Upon his return some of his neighbors, curious to know how he had prospered, asked him if he had collected any money from Mr. Webster. "I didn't ask him, sir," said Mr. B——. "When I got to his house he was at dinner, but he came out and met me as if I had been his brother. He made me go in and dine with him, introduced me to a dozen Senators, members of the Cabinet, and Governors—the first men in the land, sir—and treated me like I was a prince. He asked my opinion on political matters before the whole lot of them, and made me feel like I was as good as any of them. Why, sir, I'd have died before I'd have asked such a man for a cent. Let him take his time about my bill."

Mr. Lanman, his Secretary, says of him: "He made money with ease, and spent it without reflection. He had accounts with various banks, and men of all parties were glad to accommodate him with loans, if he wanted them. He kept no record of his deposits, unless it were on slips of paper hidden in his pockets; these matters were generally left with his Sec-

retary. His notes were seldom or never regularly protested, and when they were, they caused him an immense deal of mental anxiety. When the writer has sometimes drawn a check for a couple of thousand dollars, he has not even looked at it, but packed it away in his pockets, like so much waste paper. During his long professional career, he earned money enough to make a dozen fortunes, but spent it liberally, and gave it away to the poor by hundreds and thousands. Begging letters from women and unfortunate men were received by him almost daily, at certain periods; and one instance is remembered where, on six successive days, he sent remittances of fifty and one hundred dollars to people with whom he was entirely unacquainted. He was indeed careless, but strictly and religiously honest, in all his money matters. He knew not how to be otherwise. The last fee which he ever received for a single legal argument was \$11,000.

"A sanctimonious lady once called upon Mr. Webster, in Washington, with a long and pitiful story about her misfortunes and poverty, and asked him for a donation to defray her expenses to her home in a western city. He listened with all the patience he could manage, expressed his surprise that she should have called upon him for money, simply because he was an officer of the Government, and that, too, when she was a total stranger to him; reprimanded her in very plain language for her improper conduct, and *handed her a note of fifty dollars.*"

"He had called," says the same writer, "upon the cashier of the bank where he kept an account, for the purpose of getting a draft discounted, when that gentleman expressed some surprise, and casually inquired why he wanted so much money? 'To spend; to buy bread and meat,' replied Mr. Webster, a little annoyed at this speech.

"'But,' returned the cashier, 'you have already upon deposit in the bank no less than three thousand dollars, and I was only wondering why you wanted so much money.'

"This was indeed the truth, but Mr. Webster had forgotten it."

Mr. Webster's health had been failing for some time, and by the opening of the year 1852 he had become a constant sufferer. On the 4th of July, 1851, he delivered the oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Capitol at Washing-

ton. He was so much exhausted that it was with difficulty that he could get through with his address. This was his last appearance on a public occasion. Early in May, 1852, he was thrown from a carriage near Marshfield, and was considerably injured. His health grew rapidly worse after this. In June he managed to get back to Washington, to resume the duties of his office, but was compelled to return to Marshfield in August. Having but little hope of recovery, he resigned his office towards the end of August, and spent his last days in quiet and in the retirement of his home. He failed rapidly, and on the 24th of October, 1852, died at his home at Marshfield, surrounded by his family and a number of devoted friends, at the age of seventy.

The President of the United States was anxious that the dead statesman should be honored with a public funeral at the expense of the nation; but Mr. Webster had left instructions that his burial should be simply that of a private citizen, and his wishes were respected.

At noon on Friday, the 29th of October, the remains of the dead man were laid in an open coffin under the old elm tree, under whose branches he had loved to sit in life. It was a glorious autumn day. "Around him," says Mr. Hillard, "was the landscape that he had loved, and above him was nothing but the dome of the covering heaven. The sunshine fell upon the dead man's face, and the breeze blew over it. A lover of nature, he seemed to be gathered into her maternal arms, and to lie like a child upon a mother's lap." A vast crowd from all parts of the Union within reach had assembled to take part in the ceremonies, and passed in silence by the body, to look for the last time upon the face New England had loved so well. "In that crowd there came one unknown man, in a plain and rustic garb, who truly and fitly, because in homeliest words, interpreted the thoughts that silently oppressed them all, when, looking down upon the face of the dead, he said, as if for himself alone, 'Daniel Webster, the world, without you, will seem lonesome.'"

When the funeral services were over, six sturdy New England farmers bore the coffin on their shoulders to the grave, and laid the dead statesman down to his eternal rest.



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

ABOUT the year 1732, a Presbyterian family by the name of Calhoun, consisting of the parents, four sons and a daughter, emigrated from the North of Ireland to America, and settled in Pennsylvania. Somewhat later the family removed to Western Virginia, but were soon driven from their new home by the Indians after the defeat of General Braddock. In 1755 they passed Southward, hoping to find a securer place, and settled in the extreme West of South Carolina, in what is now Abbeville District, but then an unbroken wilderness.

The youngest of the four sons was Patrick Calhoun, who was twenty-nine years old at the time the Calhoun settlement was founded. He was an earnest, impulsive man, and as stubborn as only a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian can be. He was also a man of sterling integrity and of great personal bravery. In 1760 the Calhoun settlement was attacked by the Cherokees, who broke it up, killed one-half the settlers, and drove the others to the lower counties, where they were obliged to remain until the peace of 1763 made it safe for them to return to their forest home. A company of mounted rangers was organized to protect the frontiers against the Indians, and Patrick Calhoun was elected to the command. He performed his task with heroic fidelity. In 1770 he married Martha Caldwell, a native of Virginia, but the daughter of an Irish Presbyterian. During the interval which elapsed between the close of the French and Indian War, and the outbreak of the Revolution, the Calhoun settlement prospered, and Patrick with it. He set himself to work to correct the deficiencies of his early education, and became a surveyor. The Revolution brought severe suffering to the settlement, for it exposed it to the attacks of the British, the Tories and the Cherokees. Patrick Calhoun embraced the Colonial cause with enthusiasm, and bore his part in many a hard-fought encounter with the savages and the Tories. He

was rewarded by the triumphant close of the war, and the establishment of the independence of his adopted country.

The Calhoun family belonged to the class of poor, plain, hardworking people who settled the upper country of South Carolina. There was a wide difference between this class and the wealthy aristocratic settlers of the low country. "In the lower country, the estates were large, the slaves numerous, the white inhabitants few, idle and profuse. The upper country was peopled by a sturdier race, who possessed farms of moderate extent hewn out of the wilderness by their own strong arms, and tilled by themselves, with the aid of few slaves. Between the upper and lower country there was a vast region of sandy hills and rocky acclivities, uninhabited, which rendered the two sections of one Province separate communities, scarcely known to one another. Down almost to the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the farmers of the upper country were not represented in the Legislature of South Carolina, though they were then as numerous as the planters of the lower country. Between the people of the two sections, there was little unity of feeling. The lordly planters of the lower country regarded their Western fellow-citizens as plebeian; the farmers of the upper country had some contempt for the planters as effeminate, aristocratic and Tory. The Revolution abased the pride, lessened the wealth and improved the politics of the planters; a revised Constitution, in 1790, gave preponderance to the up-country farmers in the popular branch of the Legislature; and thenceforth South Carolina was a sufficiently homogeneous commonwealth. * * * * *

"Patrick Calhoun was the most radical of Democrats; one of your despisers of conventionality; an enemy of lawyers, thinking the common sense of mankind competent to decide what is right without their aid; a particular opponent of the arrogant pretensions of the low-country aristocrats. When the up-country people began to claim a voice in the Government, long since due to their numbers, the planters, of course, opposed their demand. To establish their right to vote, Patrick Calhoun and a party of his neighbors, armed with rifles, marched across the State to within twenty-three miles of Charleston, and there voted in defiance of the plantation lords.

Events like this led to the admission of members from the up-country; and Patrick Calhoun was the first to represent that section in the Legislature. It was entirely characteristic of him to vote against the adoption of the Federal Constitution, on the ground that it authorized other people to tax Carolinians; which he said was taxation without representation."¹

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the third son and fourth child of this sturdy Democrat, was born on his father's farm in Abbeville District, South Carolina, on the 18th of March, 1782. He was grave and thoughtful as a child, and inherited his father's ardent nature and persevering habits, and also his love of politics. He was early taught to read, and was set when quite young to read the Bible, his parents striving, though without success, to implant in him their own strong Calvinistic views. He took more readily to his father's politics, and in after life declared that he could distinctly remember standing by his father's side, when only five years old, listening to a political conversation, and that he remembered hearing his father say, when he was only nine years old, that the best government is that "which allows to each individual the largest liberty compatible with order and tranquillity, and that improvements in political science consist in throwing off needless restraints." He was fond of reading, and history and metaphysics were his favorites. By the time he was thirteen he had read them with such industry as seriously to impair his health.

In 1795 Patrick Calhoun died, leaving his widow with but a small property for the support of herself and her children. Young Calhoun continued to reside with his widowed mother, his life being that of a farmer's boy of the middle class. Though he was very anxious to obtain an education, he was resolved to make no effort to do so, until he was in a position to pursue his studies without impairing his mother's comfort by the expense she would be subjected to in order to send him to school. He spent the next five years on the farm, working hard and giving a good part of his leisure time to hunting and fishing. In the spring of 1800, his eldest brother, who held a situation in a mercantile house in Charleston, came home on a visit. He

¹*Famous Americans of Recent Times.* Pp. 115, 118.

was struck with the intelligence of his younger brother, and urged him to prepare himself for the study of the law. Young Calhoun consented to do this, but not until he had arranged with his mother and brother for the means of pursuing his studies for seven years. He said he would be content with no half-way preparation—that he preferred to pass his life as a plain planter rather than a half-educated professional man.

His only sister had married Dr. Waddell, a Presbyterian clergyman, who taught an academy in Columbia County, Georgia, a school long considered the best in the South. It was decided that John should enter this school and prepare himself for college. He entered Dr. Waddell's Academy in June, 1800, and applied himself with such diligence to his studies, that in the fall of 1802 he was able to enter the Junior Class at Yale College. Yale was then a stronghold of Federalism, and Patrick Calhoun's son had an excellent opportunity of learning the other side of the political questions of the day, and of imbibing new ideas on the subject. He was a close student, and among his other studies cultivated the art of *extempore* speaking. In his Senior year he was one of a class of seventy, and of this number only two or three besides himself were Republican in their views. At one of his recitations, Dr. Dwight, the distinguished President of the College, asked him, "What is the legitimate source of power?" "The people," at once answered young Calhoun. Dr. Dwight denied the truth of this answer, and the hour that should have been given to the recitation was passed in an argument upon this question between the professor and his pupil. Dr. Dwight was so much impressed with the ability displayed by Calhoun that he declared to a friend that the young man possessed talent enough to be President of the United States, and would doubtless attain that eminence in due time.

Mr. Calhoun graduated at Yale in 1804, and spent the next eighteen months in study at the law school at Litchfield, Connecticut, then the only institution of the kind in the country. He is said to have studied hard and to have acquired the reputation of an excellent debater at this school, and was noted as a young man of good moral character and pure habits. In 1806, he returned to South Carolina, and after continuing his

studies in a law office at Charleston, returned to his home in Abbeville District, and completed his preparation for the bar, to which he was admitted in 1807.

In June, 1807, shortly before he had completed his legal studies, occurred the outrage upon the frigate *Chesapeake* by the British frigate *Leopard*. It aroused a storm of indignation in all parts of the country, and especially in the South. A meeting was held at Abbeville to denounce the outrage, and to urge the Government to take measures to uphold the national honor. Mr. Calhoun drew up the resolutions on this occasion, and supported them in a brilliant speech. He made such a happy impression upon his neighbors that he was nominated and elected to the Legislature of the State. He was a brilliant and engaging young man, grave, dignified, and earnest, and his manner was marked, as it was through life, with a winning courtesy that was irresistible. He served two sessions in the Legislature, in which he took a leading position. In national affairs he gave his hearty sympathy to the policy of Mr. Jefferson, and supported Mr. Madison for the Presidency. The intervals between the sessions of the Legislature he devoted to the practice of law at Abbeville. He was very popular, and gave such satisfaction to the people of his district that in the fall of 1810 he was elected to Congress from the Abbeville District.

In May, 1811, Mr. Calhoun married his second cousin, Floride Calhoun, by whom he obtained considerable property. Soon after his marriage he removed from the old homestead to Bath, on the Savannah River, a few miles distant.

In November, 1811, Mr. Calhoun took his seat in the Twelfth Congress, and was appointed by Mr. Clay, the Speaker, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. He had now, at the age of twenty-nine, fairly entered upon his political life. He soon took a prominent position in Congress, and before the close of the session was regarded as one of the leading members from the South. He was known to be in ardent sympathy with the war party, and for this reason was appointed on the Committee of Foreign Affairs by Mr. Clay. He is believed to have prepared the report of this Committee on the relations of the United States with Great Britain, which indicated the deter-

mination of the majority in Congress to go to war with England. The Chairman of the Committee withdrew about this time, and Mr. Calhoun succeeded to his place. In this capacity he reported the bill for the Sixty Days' Embargo, gave a vigorous support to President Madison's war message, and reported the bill declaring war between the United States and Great Britain. The speeches by which he supported these measures were able and brilliant, and placed him next to Mr. Clay in the advocacy of the war. He defended President Madison's course in proceeding with the war in spite of the withdrawal of the British Orders in Council, and declared that the refusal of Great Britain to relinquish her claim to the right to impress American seamen was a sufficient justification of the war. He also urged a liberal increase of the navy. Throughout the war he gave an efficient support to the Administration, and urged that every resource of the country should be drawn upon to carry the contest through to a successful issue.

Just before the close of the war a bill was introduced into the House to charter a new National Bank. Mr. Calhoun opposed it on the ground that the bank was not obliged to redeem its notes in specie. He declared that if news of the close of the war should arrive that day, the bill would not receive fifteen votes. News of the treaty of peace did unexpectedly arrive that very day, and the next day the Bank bill was overwhelmingly defeated, receiving about as many votes as Mr. Calhoun had predicted. This instance of political sagacity won him much credit.

In the Fourteenth Congress the proposition for a National Bank was revived, and Mr. Calhoun reported the bill chartering the Bank of the United States of 1816, and carried it through the House.

The Tariff of 1816 received Mr. Calhoun's unqualified support, as he was at this time a firm believer in and an ardent advocate of protection to the infant manufactures of the country that had sprung up during the war. He was mainly instrumental in carrying the Tariff through the House.

Mr. Madison, in his annual message, recommended to Congress the construction of a system of roads and canals by the General Government. The need of rapid and easy communi-

cation between the distant parts of the country had been so keenly felt during the war that the President declared that Congress could engage in no more "wise and patriotic consideration" than the discussion of a plan to supply this great want of the nation. Mr. Calhoun took up the scheme with enthusiasm, and at the next session of Congress reported a bill appropriating a million and a half dollars due the Government by the United States Bank, and also all dividends that should be declared on the stock in that Bank held by the Government, as a permanent fund for internal improvements. He proposed that each State should be entitled to a share in the expenditures of this fund, in proportion to its representation in Congress. The bill was carried through the House and Senate by a close vote, and sent to the President. To the surprise and chagrin of Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Madison vetoed the bill, on the ground that Congress had no constitutional power to make such appropriations.

Mr. Calhoun was one of the members who voted for the Compensation Bill in 1816. His course was severely denounced by his opponents at home, and a formidable opposition was organized against him. He at once took the stump, justified his vote, and carried his re-election by a handsome majority. At the next session, when the motion to repeal the Compensation Bill was made, he opposed it with all his energy.

With the administration of President Madison, Mr. Calhoun's six years in Congress came to an end. He withdrew from the House on the 4th of March, 1817, and accepted the position of Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Monroe. He soon after removed his family from South Carolina to Washington, and resided permanently at the Capitol for the next seven years. These years were perhaps the most peaceful and unclouded of his whole life.

Immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Monroe, the House of Representatives resolved by a vote of 90 to 75 that Congress has constitutional power to appropriate money for the construction of post roads and canals, and the improvement of the rivers, lakes and harbors of the country. By the same resolution, the Secretaries of War and of the Treasury were directed to report to Congress, at its next session, a plan for appropri-

tions in aid of these works. Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, was known to be opposed to the scheme, and its friends looked to Mr. Calhoun as their champion in the Cabinet.

Mr. Calhoun found the affairs of the War Department in a most disorganized condition. A vast amount of unfinished business had been turned over to him by his predecessor; every branch of the service was in confusion, and deferred claims to the amount of fifty million dollars were to be settled. The new Secretary, by a series of vigorous and able measures, soon restored order in the Department. A code of rules for the management of the business of the War office was drawn up by him, and put in operation. They remained in force until the vast increase of the Department at the outbreak of the Civil War compelled the substitution of a new code. The unsettled claims were speedily adjusted, and a law for the reorganization of the staff of the army was carried through Congress. In the despatch of the business of the Department Mr. Calhoun was prompt, punctual, energetic, firm and courteous. He gave great care to the instruction and drill of the army, secured the fortification of the coast of the United States, and reduced the expenses of his office to the lowest sum consistent with the proper discharge of the public business. He made no removals from his Department for political reasons. During the seven years he held the Secretaryship but two clerks were removed, and both of these for good cause.

Shortly after the opening of Mr. Monroe's administration occurred the invasion of Florida, the seizure of the Spanish post at St. Mark's, and the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister by General Jackson. The matter was considered in a series of Cabinet Councils. Mr. Calhoun urged the President to repudiate the action of Jackson, and to arrest him and bring him to trial for exceeding his orders. He was the only member of the Cabinet, however, who took this view of the case, and it was resolved by the President to sustain Jackson, and approve his course. The discovery of Mr. Calhoun's action by Gen. Jackson, after the latter had become President, some years later, produced the quarrel between them to which we have referred elsewhere.

When the Missouri Compromise Bill was submitted to the President for his signature, he requested the advice of his Cabinet upon the subject. Mr. Calhoun advised him to sign the bill, as he regarded it as a Constitutional measure, inasmuch as, he said, Congress has power to prohibit slavery in the Territories. He was of the opinion, however, that such prohibition would be binding upon the Territories only while they remained such, and would have no authority over them after their entrance into the Union as States.

Mr. Calhoun was prominent among the distinguished men spoken of at this time as Mr. Monroe's successor in the Presidency. His ability as Secretary of War, was conceded on all sides, and he was regarded, especially by the powerful State of Pennsylvania, as a statesman of broad, national views, and free from sectional prejudices. As the contest deepened, however, his friends deemed it most prudent not to risk his future prospects by a nomination for the Presidency. He was therefore nominated for the Vice-Presidency, and was chosen by a handsome majority in the elections of 1824. The contest for the Presidency was thrown into the House of Representatives, and resulted in the choice of Mr. Adams in the spring of 1825.

In March, 1825, Mr. Calhoun entered upon his new duties as Vice-President of the United States. Previous to his withdrawal from the War Department he removed his family to South Carolina, and established them at Fort Hill, in Pendleton, now Pickens District, an estate which Mrs. Calhoun had inherited from her mother. He continued to reside there for the remainder of his life.

Mr. Calhoun was again nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with General Jackson in 1828, and was elected. During his first term he took no part in the political struggles of the times, but his participation in politics after his re-election was more active. In the twelve years that had elapsed since the passage of the Tariff of 1816, the position of the sections with reference to the question of Protection had changed. The Northern States, whose capital was now invested in manufactures, were in favor of a Protective Tariff; the South, whose interests, as an agricultural section, demanded Free Trade, opposed the Tariff. Mr. Calhoun had come to hold the South-

ern view of the matter, and in 1828 was as much opposed to the Protective system as he had formerly been in favor of it. He began to manifest this difference of sentiment in 1824, and his political opponents taunted him with changing his views from interested motives; he himself declared that his change was sincere, and the result of his twelve years of deeper study of the subject. Be this as it may, the year 1824 saw him a fiery opponent of the Protective system, and in 1828 he was the recognized leader of the Free Trade party of the South.

Mr. Calhoun was thoroughly distrustful of General Jackson's willingness to oppose the Protective policy, and saw that with the Administration in sympathy with that policy the South would have no means of escaping its evils. He therefore began to look about him for a remedy, and at length hit upon one in the sovereignty of the States. He declared that the several States had each the right to prevent the execution of, within its own limits, or to nullify, any law of Congress it might deem unconstitutional. Here, he imagined, lay the remedy for the Tariff—in its nullification within their limits by the Southern States. Had he been as deep a student of the Constitution as his admirers have claimed, Mr. Calhoun would have seen at a glance that this singular doctrine was utterly incompatible with any sound view of that instrument, and must simply result in the destruction of the Constitution and the overthrow of the Union. Mr. Calhoun, however, was like his father in the tenacity with which he clung to his opinions. Having thought out a proposition, and having arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to himself, he was convinced that he was absolutely and unqualifiedly right, and could not possibly be wrong, and no force of reasoning could drive him from his conclusion. He was a man sufficient unto himself in all things; and yet an honest man, sincerely desiring his country's good. *His* country, however, was, first of all, and in the highest sense, the State of South Carolina, next the Southern States, and last of all the Union. He never learned to take a broad, national view of public affairs. When the interests of his State and the Union coincided, he was for the Union. When they differed, he regarded his first duty as due to his State.

In the summer of 1828, Mr. Calhoun embodied his nullifica-

tion doctrines in an elaborate paper, which he placed in the hands of a committee of the South Carolina Legislature. This document was reported with some modifications to the Legislature, and though it was never formally adopted, was published by order of that body, and extensively circulated, and became generally known as "The South Carolina Exposition." The leading assertions of this exposition are thus aptly summed up: "1. Every duty imposed for protection is a violation of the Constitution, which empowers Congress to impose taxes for revenue only. 2. The *whole* burden of the protective system is borne by agriculture and commerce. 3. The *whole* of the advantages of protection accrue to the manufacturing States. 4. In other words, the South, the South-west, and two or three commercial cities, support the Government, and pour a stream of treasure into the coffers of the manufacturers. 5. The result must soon be, that the people of South Carolina will have either to abandon the culture of rice and cotton, and remove to some other country, or else to become a manufacturing community, which would only be ruin in another form." The remedy proposed by the Exposition was nullification. The State of South Carolina was, after giving due warning to the General Government, to declare the protective acts "null and void," and then if Congress refused to repeal them, to prevent their execution within her limits.

We have stated our belief in Mr. Calhoun's sincerity in accepting the doctrines enunciated in this Exposition. He was guilty of a gross inconsistency, however, which he has never satisfactorily explained, and which admits of but one explanation, namely, his ambition to be President. While the champion of the Free Trade policy, and willing to go to the extent of destroying the Union in its vindication, he was in the Presidential campaign of 1828, the energetic supporter of General Jackson, *who was fully committed to the policy of Protection.*

The South Carolina Exposition did not attract much attention at the time of its publication. Its doctrines obtained a wider celebrity when repeated by Mr. Hayne in the Senate of the United States in his speech on Senator Foote's resolution. Mr. Webster, in his famous reply, though answering him, struck over his head sharply at Mr. Calhoun, who was in the chair of

the Senate, and whom he supposed to be the father of the obnoxious doctrines.

In consequence of this temporary failure of the Exposition, Mr. Calhoun's responsibility for the nullification doctrine was not generally known, and it was seriously proposed by some of the leaders of the Democratic party to drop General Jackson at the end of his first term and nominate Calhoun as his successor. This plan coming to the knowledge of General Jackson, was deeply resented by him, and a coldness ensued between the President and Vice-President. A little later the President learned the part taken by Mr. Calhoun in Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, with reference to his invasion of Florida. He had been ignorant of this until now, but at once gave way to furious anger against Calhoun, and the coldness between them deepened into a bitter quarrel.

Mr. Calhoun now gave his aid to the old opposition to the Administration, led by Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, and succeeded in defeating Martin Van Buren's nomination to be Minister to England. General Jackson thereupon succeeded in procuring Van Buren's nomination as Vice President, on the ticket with himself. This triumph made it clear to Mr. Calhoun that he had no hope of becoming Gen. Jackson's successor at the end of his second term, and that that honor was destined for Mr. Van Buren. Although his term of office had not yet expired, he at once resigned the Vice Presidency, and was about the same time elected by the Legislature of South Carolina to the Federal Senate, in the place of Mr. Hayne, who had just been chosen Governor of the State.

Mr. Calhoun returned to the Senate in 1832. He took his seat under peculiar circumstances. The Tariff of 1832 had been passed, and the Legislature of South Carolina, having resolved to apply the nullification remedy, was passing laws to carry it into effect. Mr. Calhoun was the inspiring source of the acts of South Carolina, and came back to the Senate with the full determination to support his State against the General Government. We have already related the history of the Nullification excitement, and have shown the course of the General Government and of South Carolina, and need not repeat the story here. When Congress, in response to the President's

appeal for additional legislation to enable him to execute the laws, passed the measure known as the "Force Bill," Mr. Calhoun warmly opposed it, but without success. He accepted and voted for Mr. Clay's compromise as a settlement of the trouble, in preference to the administration bill for the immediate reduction of the Tariff to a revenue standard. He was human enough to be unwilling that the President, whom he hated, should have the glory of giving peace to the country. It cost him a bitter struggle to accept this settlement, which consigned him to a lower place than he had usually held in the public estimation. He appears to have recognized the fact that his hopes of obtaining the Presidency, which he greatly desired, must be forever laid aside. His cup was full when he reflected that he must give way to Martin Van Buren, who, of all men, he despised most cordially. He still remained the chief of the extreme Southern party, but his influence with the North and even with the Conservative class of the South was at an end. From this time there was nothing national about him; he was the leader of a section. He had formulated his system, and henceforth was incapable of learning anything new.¹

¹ Miss Martineau, who met and conversed with him about this time, thus speaks of him in her "Retrospect of Western Travel:"

"Mr. Calhoun, the cast-iron man, who looks as if he had never been born and could never be extinguished, would come in to keep our understandings on a painful stretch for a short while, and leave us to take to pieces his close, rapid, theoretical, illustrated talk, and see what we could make of it. * * * His speech abounds in figures, truly illustrative, if that which they illustrate were true also. But his theories of government (almost the only subject upon which his thoughts are employed), the squarest and compactest that ever were made, are composed out of limited elements, and are not, therefore, likely to stand service very well. It is at first extremely interesting to hear Mr. Calhoun talk; and there is a never-failing evidence of power in all that he says and does, which commands intellectual reverence; but the admiration is too soon turned into regret, into absolute melancholy. It is impossible to resist the conviction that all this force can be at best but useless, and is but too likely to be very mischievous. *His mind has long lost all power of communicating with any other.* I know of no man who lives in such utter intellectual solitude. He meets men and harangues by the fireside as in the Senate; he is wrought like a piece of machinery, set going vehemently by a weight, and stops while you answer; he either passes by what you say, or twists it into a suitability with what is in his head, and begins to lecture again. Of course, a mind like this can have little influence in the Senate, except by virtue, perpetually wearing out, of what it did in its less eccentric days; but its influence at home is to be

Mr. Calhoun joined with Clay and Webster in denouncing the President for the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, and voted for the resolutions of censure.

The Bank controversy led to the formation of a new party, known as Whigs. Mr. Calhoun, although strictly speaking the chief of the nullification party, for the next four years acted with the Whigs in national questions. He declined to be considered a Whig, however.

The Slavery agitation had never been quieted, and the anti-slavery party had for some time been using the United States mails to circulate their publications in the Southern States. In his last annual message, President Jackson urged upon Congress the necessity of passing laws excluding such publications from the mails. The administration party in the Senate wished to refer this part of the message to the Post-Office Committee; but Mr. Calhoun obtained its reference to a special committee, of which he was made chairman. This committee reported a bill subjecting to severe pains and penalties any Postmaster who should knowingly receive and put into the mails any publication or picture touching the abolition of Slavery, to go into any State or Territory in which the circulation of such publication or picture should be forbidden by the local laws. This preposterous measure was rejected by a vote of 25 to 19.

Mr. Calhoun opposed the reception of the petitions that were constantly being presented to Congress for the abolition

dreaded. There is no hope that an intellect so cast in narrow theories will accommodate itself to varying circumstances; and there is every danger that it will break up all that it can in order to remould the materials in its own way. Mr. Calhoun is as full as ever of his nullification doctrines; and those who know the force that is in him, and his utter incapacity of modification by other minds (after having gone through as remarkable a revolution of political opinion as perhaps any man ever experienced), will no more expect repose and self-retention from him than from a volcano in full force. Relaxation is no longer in the power of his will. I never saw any one who so completely gave me the idea of possession. Half an hour's conversation with him is enough to make a necessitarian of anybody. Accordingly, he is more complained of than blamed by his enemies. His moments of softness by his family, when recurring to old college days, are hailed by all as a relief to the vehement working of the intellectual machine—a relief equally to himself and others. These moments are as touching to the observer as tears on the face of a soldier."

of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. He declared that as Congress had no power over the subject, the petitions should not be heard; the Senate decided, however, to receive the petitions and reject their prayers. In the latter part of 1836, Mr. Calhoun renewed his attack upon the anti-slavery petitions. He insisted that the abolitionists must be silenced by prompt and efficient measures, or the Union could not last. In this speech he declared slavery to be an unmixed good morally and economically, and pronounced it the only basis on which free political institutions could be reared.

As deeply as he detested Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Calhoun approved his sub-Treasury scheme, and gave it his support. The Whigs, who could not afford to lose his vote at this critical time, resented his defection. As he was not a member of the Whig party, however, they had no good ground for their anger. Henry Clay, in his speech on the Independent Treasury, attacked Mr. Calhoun with all the invective he was master of, and taunted him with deserting his principles. This led to a sharp debate, the speeches of which, apart from their rhetorical ability, are of great value for the insight they give us into the secret history of the Compromise of 1833. Mr. Calhoun regarded his as the vindication of his public life.

"Previous to this debate," says Mr. Hildreth, "he had been involved in another, in which he had almost the whole Senate upon him. It was equally the policy of both the political parties to keep the slavery question out of Congress, as a subject upon which it was only difficult to speak or act without offending either the North or the South. With this intent both Houses had adopted rules, the result of which was that all petitions and memorials on that subject were at once laid upon the table without being read or debated. The Northern Whigs had indeed voted against this, contending that all petitions ought to be received and referred to their appropriate committees, but still they were as well satisfied as their opponents to avoid or escape debate. Mr. Calhoun did not sympathize in this feeling. Unlike the leaders of the two great political parties, he had no friends to be placed in an awkward predicament, nor any apprehensions of compromising himself.

He had already declared his conviction that slavery was a positive political and social good. It appears by a letter of his, written in 1847, to a member of the Alabama Legislature, and published since his death, that he was from the beginning in favor of 'forcing,' as he expressed it, the slavery issue on the North, believing that delay was dangerous, and that the South was relatively stronger, both morally and politically, than she would ever be again.

"Not discouraged by the failure of the South, and even of his own State, of which he complained in the letter above referred to, to back up sufficiently his former attempts, he had offered a series of resolutions having the same object in view. The chief debate was on the fifth, which declared that the intermeddling of any State or States, or their citizens, to abolish slavery in the Territories or the District of Columbia, on the ground that it was immoral or sinful, or the passage of any measure by Congress with that view, would be a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slave-holding States. Mr. Clay moved as a substitute two resolutions, one applying to the District, the other to the Territories. These resolutions omitted all reference to the moral or religious character of slavery. For 'intermeddling' they substituted 'interference.' The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was pronounced a violation of the faith implied by the cessions of Maryland and Virginia, and its abolition in any Territory, a breach of good faith towards the inhabitants who had been permitted to settle with their slaves therein, and in both cases a ground of just alarm to the slave-holding States, tending to disturb and endanger the Union.

"Mr. Calhoun, though not favoring this amendment, perceiving that the Senate would go no further, voted for it. In the course of this debate, he stated, in reference to the Missouri Compromise, that when it was made he was in favor of it, but that he had since been led entirely to change his opinion, and to regard it as a dangerous measure. He had condemned Mr. Randolph's opposition to it as too uncompromising, too impracticable, but was now fully satisfied that if the Southern members had acted and voted in the spirit of Mr. Randolph, abolition might have been crushed forever in the bud. He

rejected, with scorn, Mr. Buchanan's offer to support the amended resolutions, with a view to soothe and tranquilize the feelings of the South. The South was calm and collected, and could take care of herself. He was anxious—and such was his object in offering these resolutions—to present some common ground on which the reflective and patriotic of every quarter of the Union might rally to arrest the approaching catastrophe—an object in which the North was at least as much interested as the South. To the new charges made against him by Mr. Clay, of being a partisan of the Administration, he indignantly replied that he was no partisan of any man or any Administration. He supported the Constitutional Treasury because it accorded with his principles and views of policy; and he stood prepared to oppose or support, on the same ground, other measures which the Administration might propose. It was, he said, his fortune to stand in the Senate alone, with no other guide but God and his conscience. He sought neither office nor popular favor. He also denied explicitly any connection with or knowledge of the existence of any party aiming at disunion. On the contrary, he was seeking to preserve the Union, by opposing injustice and oppression against the weakest and most exposed section of it, in which it was his lot to be cast."

Mr. Calhoun supported Mr. Van Buren for reelection to the Presidency in 1840. The success of General Harrison, and the entrance of the Whig party into power in 1841, threw Calhoun once more into the opposition. Shortly after the inauguration of General Harrison, Mr. Calhoun renewed his connection with the Democratic party, and attended the formal caucus of that party, the first time he had done so since his breach with President Jackson.

The veto of the Bank Bill by President Tyler was bitterly resented, as we have stated, by the Whigs, and Henry Clay, in his speech on the subject, denounced it as an abuse of the veto power. Mr. Calhoun, in an elaborate speech, defended the President's course and justified his use of the veto power. Mr. Calhoun opposed the Tariff of 1842, and denounced it as a violation of the principles of the Tariff Compromise of 1833, as indeed it was. He supported the Treaty of Washington,

negotiated by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, between the United States and Great Britain, and declared his preference for a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. He opposed the occupation of Oregon because he believed it would lead to a quarrel with Great Britain, and he was convinced that the rapid westward movement of our population would give us Oregon in due time without fighting for it.

On the 4th of March, 1843, Mr. Calhoun's Senatorial term expired, and he retired from the Senate. His great opponents were no longer members of that body. Webster was in the Cabinet and Clay was in private life.

In March, 1844, upon the death of Judge Upshur, Mr. Calhoun was appointed Secretary of State by President Tyler. In this capacity he conducted the negotiations which led to the annexation of Texas. He was in reality the father of the annexation scheme, and was resolute in his determination to carry it through to success. He was anxious to win for the South the great accession of power which the addition of Texas to the Union would give it, and worked with more than his customary great energy to secure the success of his plans. He was the author of nearly every step by which the annexation was accomplished, and the country owes him its thanks for this valuable addition to the area and power of the Republic.

Mr. Calhoun was offered the English mission by President Polk, but declined it. He was immediately returned to the Senate, one of the Senators from South Carolina resigning to make a vacancy for him. He resumed his seat in December, 1845. He gave his assistance to the peaceable settlement of the Oregon question, and opposed the Mexican War as unnecessary and unjust. He declared his utter disapproval of the policy of conquering or absorbing any part of the Mexican territory. He opposed the Wilmot Proviso with all the strength of his great intellect, and in this struggle was the able leader of the South. He took the ground that Congress had no right to interfere with Slavery in any State or Territory of the Union, and that any law of Congress for that purpose would be unconstitutional and subversive of the Union. He declared, however, that, for the sake of peace, he was willing to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.

In a speech on the 27th of June, 1848, upon a bill to organize Oregon Territory, Mr. Calhoun warmly opposed the extension to that bill of the anti-slavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787. He declared that the Constitution of its own force established slavery in the Territories, and that Congress had no power to interfere with it. The anti-slavery clause of the bill was supported by Senators Benton, of Missouri, and Houston, of Texas, who voted for it. Mr. Calhoun thereupon denounced them in the Senate as traitors to the South.

He took little interest in the Presidential campaign of 1848, but supported General Cass for the Presidency. In the brief session of Congress which followed the Presidential election, Mr. Calhoun made energetic efforts to unite the Southern members in opposition to the North upon the basis of slavery. Several meetings of the Southern members were held, but he was not able to accomplish anything. In the debates on the organization of the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, he maintained his doctrine that the Constitution established and protected slavery in the Territories.

He had long been a sufferer from a pulmonary complaint, and to this was now added an affection of the heart. His health failed rapidly, and became so feeble that he was not able to take an active part in the debates upon the Compromise of 1850. On the 4th of March, 1850, an elaborate speech which he had prepared, but was not well enough to deliver, was read for him in the Senate by Mr. Mason, of Virginia. It was his last important utterance. In it he declared that the slavery agitation, if not checked, would result before long in the dissolution of the Union, and that the Union could be preserved only by maintaining an equilibrium between the North and the South in the General Government. He did not elaborate this idea in his speech, but it appears from his writings, published since his death, that he favored an amendment to the Constitution placing the Executive power in the hands of two Presidents, one from the North and one from the South, whose assent should be necessary to all acts of Congress before they could become laws. He declared in his speech that the equilibrium could be preserved only by making the number of the slave States equal to that of the free States, that their power in the Senate might be equal.

The speech attracted great attention, and was answered by Webster and Cass. In some brief replies to Mr. Cass, on the 13th of March, Mr. Calhoun spoke for the last time in the Senate. He fell back in his seat exhausted, at the close of his remarks, and was carried to his lodgings. He never left his bed again, and died on the 31st of March, 1850, at the age of sixty-eight. His remains were conveyed to South Carolina and interred there.

Daniel Webster, who had been his ablest antagonist in the Senate, and whose views of our system of Government were the most widely opposite to those of Mr. Calhoun, said of him, upon the announcement of his death in the Senate: "The eloquence of Mr. Calhoun was a part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, wise, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned, always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, the closeness of his logic, and the earnestness and energy of his manner. Those are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him, through such a long course of years, to speak often, and yet always to command attention. His demeanor, as a Senator, is known to all—is appreciated and venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others, no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity.¹ I think there is not one of us but felt, when he last addressed the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did in fact possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive manner, I may say an imposing manner, who did not feel that we might

¹ "At every period of his life," says Mr. Parton, who can see but little good in him, and utterly fails to appreciate his character, "his manners, when in company with his inferiors in age or standing, were extremely agreeable, even fascinating. We have heard a well-known editor, who began life as a 'page' in the Senate Chamber, say that there was no Senator whom the pages took such delight in serving as Mr. Calhoun. 'Why?' 'Because he was so democratic.' 'How democratic?' 'He was as polite to a page as to the President of the Senate, and as considerate of his feelings.' We have heard another member of the press, whose first employment was to report the speeches of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, bear similar testimony to the frank, engaging courtesy of his intercourse with the corps of reporters."

imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived. I have not, in public nor in private life, known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted. * * * He had the basis, the indisputable basis, of all high character, unspotted integrity, and honor unimpeached. If he had aspirations, they were high, honorable and noble; nothing grovelling, low, or meanly selfish came near his head or his heart. Firm in his purposes, patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was in the principles he espoused and in the measures he defended, I do not believe that, aside from his large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the Republic, he had a selfish motive or a selfish feeling."



STEPHEN DECATUR.

THE grandfather of Commodore Decatur was a French Huguenot, who emigrated from La Rochelle, and settled in Rhode Island. He married a lady of that colony, by whom he had several children. Stephen Decatur, his son, and the father of the subject of this memoir, was born at Newport, in 1751, and was bred a sailor. Soon after becoming of age he removed to Philadelphia, where he obtained the command of a merchant vessel belonging to that port, and married a young lady of Irish descent, named Pine. During the Revolution he commanded several privateers, and captured a number of English ships, winning considerable credit by these successes. After the war he returned to the merchant service. On the outbreak of hostilities with France he was commissioned by President Adams a captain in the Navy, and was assigned the command of the sloop of war Delaware, of twenty guns. He cruised in this vessel during the greater part of the years 1798 and 1799, and at different times captured the French privateers *Le Croyable*, 14, and *Marsuin*, 10. In 1800, he was placed in command of the frigate *Philadelphia*, 38, at the particular request of the merchants that had built and presented that vessel to the Government. He was ordered to the Guadalupe station, and given command of a squadron of 13 vessels. In 1801 he was honorably discharged from the service upon the reduction of the Navy to a peace footing. From this time until his death, in 1808, he was engaged in mercantile pursuits.

STEPHEN DECATUR, the eldest son of Commodore Decatur, was born on the 5th of January, 1779, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where his parents had taken refuge upon the occupation of Philadelphia by the British. After the evacuation of that city by the enemy, Captain Decatur returned home with his family, and young Stephen was brought up and educated in Philadelphia.

In July, 1798, when at the age of nineteen, his father's friend

Commodore Barry obtained a midshipman's warrant for him, and he joined the frigate *United States*, the Commodore's flagship. In 1799 he was promoted to the grade of Lieutenant. He served under Commodore Barry's orders in both capacities, in the West Indies, during the hostilities with France.

In 1801 Decatur was ordered to the frigate *Essex*, Capt. Wm. Bainbridge, as first lieutenant. This vessel formed a part of the squadron sent to the Mediterranean in the spring of 1801, under Commodore Dale, to blockade the harbor of Tripoli. The squadron returned home in December, 1801, and early in the spring of 1802, a force of six ships of war, under Commodore Morris, was despatched to the Mediterranean to conduct the operations against Tripoli. Decatur went out with this squadron as first lieutenant of the frigate *New York*, Capt. Jas. Barron. While the vessels were lying at Malta a duel occurred between Midshipman Bainbridge and a British officer. Decatur acted, on this occasion, as Bainbridge's second. The English officer was killed, and the Governor of Malta demanded the surrender of the parties concerned in the affair. It was deemed prudent for Decatur to return home to avoid trouble, and he was sent back to the United States in a homeward-bound ship.

Upon his arrival in the United States, Lieutenant Decatur was placed in command of the brig *Argus*, and sent back with her to the Mediterranean in November, 1803. He was ordered, upon joining the squadron of Commodore Preble, to resign the command of the *Argus* to Lieutenant Hull, and take the schooner *Enterprise*, 12, then commanded by Hull. He obeyed his orders upon reaching the Mediterranean early in December, and, on the 23d of that month, soon after taking command of the *Enterprise*, he fell in with and captured a ketch, or small coasting vessel, called the *Mastico*, which was afterwards appraised, taken into the service as a tender, and called the *Intrepid*.

In the meantime the American squadron in the Mediterranean had met with a heavy loss. The frigate *Philadelphia*, Captain Bainbridge, while engaged in chasing a vessel that was endeavoring to break the blockade and get into the harbor of Tripoli, ran on the rocks at the entrance to that harbor, on the

31st of October, 1803, and in this helpless condition was captured by the Tripolitans with all her officers and crew. She was subsequently gotten off the rocks, taken into the harbor, and moored under the guns of the castle and batteries of the town. The loss of the Philadelphia was a source of the deepest mortification to the whole squadron, though all understood that it was the result of an accident.

Decatur reached the rendezvous of the squadron at Syracuse shortly after Commodore Preble had learned the fate of the Philadelphia, and while he was still chafing at her loss. Somewhat later, having been informed that the Tripolitans were fitting out the Philadelphia to send her to sea as a cruiser, Preble determined to destroy her. He mentioned his plan to Lieutenant Decatur, who at once asked permission to enter the harbor with his schooner, and make the attempt. The Commodore refused to allow him to do this, but promised him the command of the expedition when the proper time for it should arrive.

The Commodore now caused the *Intrepid* to be prepared for the attempt, and placed her under the command of Lieut. Decatur, who was given a picked crew of sixty-two petty officers and seamen, taken from the *Enterprise*, the whole crew of which had volunteered, to which were added Lieuts. Lawrence, Bainbridge and Thorn, Midshipman McDonough and Surgeon Heerman, all of the *Enterprise*, and Midshipmen Izard, Morris, Laws, Davis and Rowe of the *Constitution*, the flagship, and Salvatore Catalano, the pilot of the fleet. The *Intrepid* was amply provided with combustibles, and Decatur was ordered to proceed with her at once to Tripoli, enter the harbor, run alongside the Philadelphia, board her and burn her, instead of trying to bring her out of the harbor. Everything being in readiness, he sailed from Syracuse on the afternoon of the 3d of February, 1804, accompanied by the *Siren*, 16, Lieut. Stewart. Tripoli was reached on the 9th, but that night a heavy gale set in and lasted with great violence for six days. There was constant danger that the *Intrepid*, which was of less than fifty tons burthen, would founder; but Decatur managed to keep her afloat, and also to keep company with the *Siren*. Both vessels were driven far up the Gulf of Sydra before the gale subsided.

On the 15th of February, the gale being over, the vessels started on their return to Tripoli, and arrived off the harbor the next afternoon. Lieut. Stewart insisted upon reinforcing Decatur with Mr. Anderson, a midshipman, and seven men from the *Siren*, thus bringing the force on board the *Intrepid* to eighty-two souls. The *Intrepid* proceeded some distance in advance of the *Siren*, and soon came in sight of the town. The *Philadelphia* was seen riding at anchor about a mile from the entrance to the harbor, and immediately in front of the castle. Her guns had been replaced by the Turks, and she was in excellent condition for an engagement. Two corsairs, three or four gunboats and some galleys, were lying near her.

The evening was beautiful and the wind fair. Decatur hovered off the harbor until long after dark, and at ten o'clock that night, February 16th, 1804, stood in for the harbor and entered it through the eastern channel, and made towards the frigate. The new moon shed a faint glimmer over the harbor, concealing the character of the ketch, but giving light enough to the Americans to see what they were about. The town and the harbor were silent, only the lookouts on the vessels and at the batteries on shore being awake. The wind died down, and the *Intrepid*, with scarcely breeze enough to force her along, approached the frigate slowly and silently.

Decatur had arranged his plan with great care. A party of fifteen men was to remain in the *Intrepid*, to guard her, but the remainder were to board the frigate as soon as she should be reached. The Turks were to be driven from the spar and gun-decks before anything else was to be attended to. This accomplished, Decatur, with Messrs. Izard and Rowe and fifteen men, were to keep possession of the spar-deck and prevent any force from the shore from coming aboard, while the remainder of the men were to be divided into three parties, under Messrs. Lawrence, Bainbridge and Morris, respectively, and were to fire the ship in three designated places. The men were instructed to trust to their cutlasses, and not to use firearms except in the last extremity.

As the *Intrepid* passed into the harbor all but ten or twelve of her people lay flat on the deck, to avoid being seen from the frigate or the shore. Mr. Decatur and Mr. Catalano, the pilot,

went forward, the latter to act as interpreter, and the quartermaster in charge of the helm was ordered to make for the bows of the frigate and lay the ketch aboard of her at that point, as such a movement would keep the little vessel comparatively out of the range of the ship's guns.

As the *Intrepid* approached the *Philadelphia* she was hailed from the latter, and ordered to anchor near her. The pilot answered that the ketch was a Maltese trader, and that as she had lost her anchors in the recent gale, in which she had suffered heavily, it was impossible to obey the order from the frigate. He therefore asked permission to make fast to the frigate and ride by her until morning. To gain time, Decatur told the pilot to describe the supposed cargo of the ketch to the people in the frigate, and while this conversation was going on the little vessel slowly neared her antagonist at the very point desired. Suddenly, however, the wind shifted, and brought the *Intrepid* directly under the frigate's broadside, about forty yards distant, where she lay exposed to nearly all the larboard guns of the *Philadelphia*. The situation was critical, but not a sound or a movement on board the *Intrepid*, which slowly drifted astern of the frigate, betrayed her character. So perfect was the discipline that even after the Turks had discovered the ruse not an officer or man rose from the deck, or moved from his position, until ordered to do so.

The enemy, however, had, as yet, no suspicion of the true character of the ketch. They were so thoroughly deceived that they allowed a boat to leave the *Intrepid* and make a line fast to the frigate's fore-chains, and even sent one of their own boats with a line from the after part of the ship. They were met by the *Intrepid's* boat, which took the line from them and passed it into the ketch. These lines were given to the men on the deck, who, without rising, brought the ketch rapidly alongside the frigate. When within a few yards of the *Philadelphia*, the anchors of the ketch were discovered by the Turks, who became alarmed, and ordered her to keep off; but a vigorous pull by the men on the deck brought her alongside the frigate, to which she was instantly made fast. Immediately the Turks raised the cry of "*Amerikanos*," and the order was given to the people of the *Intrepid* to board.

Mr. Decatur and Messrs. Laws and Morris sprang into the frigate's chains at the same moment. Mr. Morris managed to reach the quarter deck of the Philadelphia first. The next moment he was joined by Decatur and Laws, at whose backs came the whole party of boarders. The surprise was complete, and the Turks were panic-stricken. They made scarcely a show of defending the spar-deck, but sprang overboard in all directions as soon as attacked. On the gun-deck a slight resistance was made, but was quickly overcome, and the Turks leaped through the port-holes into the water. In less than ten minutes the frigate was in possession of the Americans. A rocket was then sent up to inform the Siren, which was off the mouth of the harbor, of the success.

A glance satisfied Decatur that it would be impossible to take the frigate out, and he prepared to burn her. Combustibles were passed up from the ketch, and while his own party held the spar-deck, the others hastened away to their respective stations and lighted the fires. The flames caught instantly, and the ship was so dry that they spread with almost lightning speed. In less than twenty minutes after the order to board was given, the flames had made such progress that the destruction of the frigate was sure. Decatur and his men were now compelled to retreat to the ketch, which, being close alongside, was in considerable danger. The flames scorched the stern window of the Intrepid, and came within a few feet of the ammunition of the party, which was covered only with a sail cloth. There was no time to lose, and as axes could not be had, the fasts which held the Intrepid to the frigate were cut with swords and cutlasses, and the little vessel was shoved off from her dangerous position. Just as she drifted away, the flames shot up through the decks of the frigate and flashed up the rigging, which burned like tinder.

The Intrepid was provided with sixteen sweeps. These were instantly manned by the crew, and propelled by their stout arms, the ketch shot rapidly down the harbor. Once clear of the danger from the burning frigate, the men paused in their rowing and gave three ringing cheers, such as only American seamen can give in the hour of victory. Their shouts aroused the enemy from the stupor into which they had been plunged

by the suddenness of the attack, and all the shore batteries and the vessels lying in the harbor opened fire upon the ketch. The men bent to their sweeps again, and the *Intrepid* went gaily down the harbor, the light of the burning frigate making everything as plain as in the day. The wind shifting, the frigate swung round, with one of her broadsides to the town, and as her guns, which were loaded, became heated, they went off, sending their shot into the town on the one side, and towards the English fort on the other. The batteries fired rapidly, but without doing any harm to the *Intrepid*, which continued swiftly on her way, her officers and crew in the highest spirits. Near the mouth of the harbor Decatur met the cutter and launch of the *Siren*, which Lieut. Stewart had armed and sent in to cover the retreat of the *Intrepid*, the brig herself being anchored about three miles from the shore, according to the original agreement. The ketch and the boats then left the harbor, and when fairly at sea and out of danger, Decatur went on board the *Siren* to report his success to Lieut. Stewart. The Americans had one man wounded in this brilliant affair. The loss of the Turks is unknown, but is believed to have been heavy. The *Philadelphia* was entirely destroyed.

The *Siren* and *Intrepid* lay to for nearly an hour, when a strong and favorable breeze having sprung up, sail was made. Syracuse was reached on the 19th, and the victors were greeted with salutes from the American vessels in port and the Sicilian batteries on shore.

The burning of the *Philadelphia* was one of the most gallant exploits ever performed, and is cherished as one of the proudest traditions of the American Navy. Decatur was rewarded by the Government with the rank of Post Captain, all the officers over whom he was advanced generously assenting to his promotion.

In the opening of 1804 Commodore Preble, having determined to attack Tripoli, obtained the loan of six gunboats and two bombards from the King of Naples, who was also at war with Tripoli. These he formed into two divisions, and gave the command of one to Captain Decatur, and of the other to Lieutenant Somers. The squadron, consisting of the frigate *Constitution*, the brig *Siren*, the schooners *Nautilus* and *Vixen*,

and the gunboats, sailed from Syracuse about the last of July. Having reached the African coast they were prevented for some days by bad weather from making the attack. A favorable season having set in, the Commodore, on the 3d of August, gave the signal for attacking the enemy's vessels and the town. The gunboats advanced in line, led by Decatur, and supported by the frigate and the other vessels, which followed close behind.

The Tripolitan gunboats were moored along the harbor under the batteries of the town, and close by them lay a brig of sixteen and a schooner of ten guns. Decatur's plan was to close with the gunboats at once, and carry them by boarding. As his boat, which was in the advance, came within range of the enemy's guns, a heavy fire was opened upon it from the batteries and the gunboats. He returned the fire, and continued to advance until he reached the enemy's line. He at once grappled the boat nearest to him, and gave the order to board. A struggle of ten minutes ensued, and the deck was cleared, such of the Turks as were not killed taking refuge in the hold or leaping into the water. Decatur at once secured his prize, and placing a crew on board of her, prepared to return to his own line with her.

At this moment the boat that had been commanded by his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur, came under his stern, and the men informed him that Lieut. Decatur had succeeded in capturing one of the enemy's gunboats, but that the Turkish captain, after surrendering, had treacherously shot and killed the Lieutenant, and had gotten off with his boat and was making for the harbor.

Ordering his prize to join the squadron, Decatur, without the loss of a moment, pushed boldly into the enemy's line with his gunboat, determined to avenge his brother's death or perish in the attempt. He overhauled the retreating Turk, closed with him, and boarded him at the head of eleven men. A severe hand-to-hand conflict ensued on the deck of the Turkish vessel. Decatur singled out the Turkish commander, and attacked him furiously. The Turk defended himself with an esponton, and Decatur attacked him with a cutlass. In attempting to cut off the head of the Turk's spear, Decatur's cutlass struck

the iron head, and broke off at the handle, and at the same moment the Turk wounded him in the right arm and breast. Decatur at once seized the spear, grappled with the Turk, and after a brief struggle threw him to the deck, falling on top of him. The Turk, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab his adversary, but Decatur caught his right arm and held it, and shot him with a pistol which he drew from his pocket. While this struggle was going on, the crews of the two gunboats rushed to the aid of their respective commanders, and a fierce conflict took place over them, so that when Decatur had freed himself from the Turk, he could scarcely extricate himself from the killed and wounded that had fallen about him. In the early part of this combat, Decatur was attacked in the rear by another Turk, who aimed a blow at him which must have been fatal had not an American sailor, who had been so badly wounded as to lose the use of both his hands, rushed in and received the blow intended for his commander on his own head. The gallant fellow's skull was fractured by the stroke, but he recovered, and was afterwards rewarded by the government with a pension.

In twenty minutes after boarding the Turkish gunboat, Decatur was master of her; and though he had but four men left and was himself wounded, succeeded in rejoining the squadron with his own vessel and his second prize. The next day he was complimented for his gallant conduct by the Commodore in general orders.

Upon the return of Commodore Preble to the United States in the fall of 1804, Decatur, whose commission as captain had arrived some time previous, took command of the *Constitution*, which was the first frigate he ever had under his orders. He commanded her until near the close of the war, when he was transferred to the frigate *Congress*, in which he returned home after the treaty of peace. Upon reaching the United States he was placed in charge of the Norfolk Navy Yard, and was engaged in superintending the construction of gunboats. In 1807, after the removal of Commodore Barron from the frigate *Chesapeake*, he was ordered to take command of that ship. Shortly after this he was transferred to the *United States*, 44, and was in command of this vessel when war was declared against Great Britain.

His ship went to sea on the 21st of June, 1812, as a part of the squadron of Commodore Rodgers, and remained with it during its fruitless summer cruise. Having returned to the United States, Rodgers refitted for a second cruise, and put to sea again early in October; but Decatur parted company with him at sea on the 12th of October. On the 17th the United States fell in with and captured the British packet *Swallow*, with a large amount of specie on board. On Sunday, October 25th, in latitude 90° N., and longitude $29^{\circ} 30'$ W., the United States fell in with the British frigate *Macedonian*, 49, one of the finest ships in the English navy. Decatur bore down upon the English vessel, and in a spirited action of an hour and a half, compelled her to strike her flag. The *Macedonian* was considerably injured, and had thirty-six men killed and sixty-eight wounded out of a crew of three hundred men. The United States had five killed and seven wounded.

Finding that his prize was in a condition which admitted of her being taken into port, Commodore Decatur discontinued his cruise, and convoyed the captured ship into Long Island Sound. Both vessels succeeded in reaching New York through the Hell Gate passage, and the *Macedonian* was refitted and converted into an American frigate during the winter. Decatur was received with enthusiasm, and Congress and several of the State Legislatures testified their approval of his gallant services by bestowing handsome presents upon him.

In the spring of 1814, Decatur passed through Hell Gate with the United States, *Macedonian*, and *Hornet*, and attempted to get to sea by way of Long Island Sound. Near the eastern end of Long Island they were met by a very superior squadron of the enemy, and were chased into the harbor of New London, where all three vessels were closely blockaded until the end of the war. After waiting for several months, Decatur, impatient of being cooped up in this way, sent a challenge to Sir Thomas Hardy, the commander of the blockading force, offering to fight two British frigates with the two under his command. The offer was rejected, however, and the American vessels were soon after dismantled.

Towards the close of the summer of 1814, Decatur was ordered to New York to take command of the *President*, 44.

The Peacock, Hornet, and a store ship were placed under his orders, and he was directed to get to sea, and sail for the East Indies, where it was thought he would be able to do considerable damage to the enemy's commerce. He was detained at New York through the remainder of the year, and did not sail from that port until the middle of January, 1815. The President went to sea alone, on the night of the 14th of January, and in the darkness the pilots missed the channel and the ship struck, beating heavily on the sands for an hour and a half. She was at length gotten off, but, although she was severely injured, it was impossible for her to return, and Decatur made sail to get off the coast before morning. He soon discovered that the President's sailing qualities had been materially impaired.

The next morning Decatur discovered four English frigates and a brig in pursuit of him. His own ship made but little progress, in consequence of her injuries, and the leading English frigate, the *Endymion*, gained upon him rapidly. Seeing that he was sure to be overhauled, Decatur formed the daring plan of leading the *Endymion* away from her consorts, closing with her, carrying her by boarding with his whole crew, abandoning or destroying the President, and escaping in his prize. The English commander suspected the plan, however, and kept his ship away. Seeing this, Decatur then tacked about, opened fire upon the *Endymion*, which was a long way in advance of her consorts, crippled her and silenced her guns, and might have compelled her to surrender, had not the near approach of the other ships rendered it imperative upon Decatur to resume his course if he wished to escape.

These events had consumed the whole of the day. It was now half-past eight o'clock in the evening. The President continued to run off south-east, repairing the damages she had sustained in the conflict with the *Endymion*. The delay, however, had given the other vessels time to come up, and at 11 o'clock P. M. the *Pomona*, 38, the *Tenedos*, 38, and the *Majestic*, 40, came within range. The *Pomona* and *Tenedos* opened a heavy fire upon the President, which was returned. It was now apparent to Decatur, that to resist further would be to needlessly sacrifice his men, and he reluctantly struck his

colors a little before midnight. The President was considerably damaged by the enemy's fire, and had 24 men killed and 58 wounded. Among the killed were three of her lieutenants.

The President was taken to Bermuda, and shortly afterwards Decatur and his officers were paroled and permitted to return home. A court of inquiry examined into their conduct and acquitted them with honor for the loss of their ships. The news of peace arrived soon after their return home, and restored them to the service.

During the war with England, the Dey of Algiers, supposing that the United States were too much occupied with the contest with England to punish his insolence, suddenly made war upon them. He threatened to reduce Mr. Lear, the American Consul, to slavery, and compelled him to purchase his liberty and that of his family by the payment of a large ransom. Several American merchantmen were captured by the Algerine pirates, and their crews sold into slavery. The reason assigned by the Dey for these outrages was that the presents of the American Government were not satisfactory.

The Government of the United States determined, immediately after the peace with England, to compel the Barbary powers to make a definite and final surrender of their claim to tribute; and in May, 1815, Commodore Decatur was despatched to the Mediterranean with a fleet of ten vessels, three of which were frigates. He was ordered to compel the Dey of Algiers to make satisfaction for his past outrages, and to give guarantees for his future good conduct. On the voyage out, on the 17th of June, when off Cape de Gatt, Decatur fell in with the *Mashouda*, 44, the largest and the best ship in the Algerine service, and captured her in an action of thirty minutes. She was commanded by the Algerine Admiral. On the 19th the Algerine brig *Estido*, 22, was captured off Cape Palos. The fleet then proceeded to Algiers, but upon its arrival found the Dey in a very humble frame of mind. The loss of his two best ships, and the prospect of having his town knocked about his ears by the guns of the fleet, terrified him into submission, and he humbly sued for peace. He was required to come on board of Decatur's flag-ship, and there sign a humiliating treaty with the United States, by which he bound himself to indemnify the

Americans from whom he had extorted ransoms, to surrender all his prisoners unconditionally, to renounce all claim to tribute from the American Government, and to cease from molesting American vessels in future.

The difficulty with Algiers having been satisfactorily settled, Decatur sailed for Tunis and Tripoli, and demanded of the Beys of those countries indemnity for some American vessels that had been captured by the British in their harbors with their connivance. The demand in each case was coupled with a threat of bombardment, and was promptly complied with. About the middle of the summer Commodore Bainbridge joined Decatur with the *Independence*, 74, the *Congress*, and several other vessels. Being the senior officer he assumed the command of the whole fleet; but he found nothing to do, for the energetic Decatur had settled all the difficulties, and had so humbled the Barbary States that they never renewed their aggressions upon American commerce. The American fleet then visited the principal ports of the Mediterranean. The brilliant record made by the Navy, and especially by Decatur, during the war with England, secured the fleet a flattering reception wherever it went. In the fall of 1815 Decatur returned home with his squadron.

Commodore Decatur was assigned to various duties after his return home, and was finally made Navy Commissioner and placed on duty at Washington.

In October, 1819, certain remarks of Decatur with reference to the affair of the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard* were reported to Commodore Barron. Barron, feeling himself aggrieved by them, opened a correspondence on the subject with Decatur, which was continued for some time. The result was a challenge from Barron, which Decatur promptly accepted. The meeting took place at Bladensburg on the morning of the 22d of March, 1820. Both parties fell at the first fire, Barron dangerously, and Decatur mortally wounded. The dying man was conveyed to his residence in Washington, where he expired the same evening, at the early age of forty-one.

Decatur has always been regarded as the model of an American sailor. He was greatly beloved by the Navy, and was a favorite with the whole country. His name is still one of the treasures of the service he did so much to render glorious.



WINFIELD SCOTT.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

AMONG those who took part in the disastrous battle of Culloden, in the ranks of the Pretender, was a Scotchman named Scott, the younger son of a small landed proprietor of the clan of Buccleuch. Escaping from the field, he was aided by a relative living at Bristol to fly to America. He settled in Virginia, where he married late in life. His son, William Scott, was born in Virginia, was a farmer, and served through the Revolution as a lieutenant and captain in the Virginia line. In 1780 he married Ann Mason.

WINFIELD SCOTT, the eldest son of this couple, was born on his father's farm, about fourteen miles from Petersburg, Virginia, on the 13th of June, 1786. He was named for his maternal great-grandfather, who was regarded, in his time, as the richest man in Virginia. The elder Scott died when his son was six years old, and the boy was reared by his excellent mother. He grew up on the farm, and was sent to acquire an education at the old field schools of the neighborhood. When he was seventeen years old his mother died, and in the same year he went to Richmond, and entered the high school taught by James Ogilvie, a Scotchman, where he remained a year preparing for college. In 1805 he entered William and Mary College, where he devoted himself chiefly to the study of chemistry, natural and experimental philosophy, and the common law. He also undertook a general course of reading in the law, intending to make that his profession. He remained at William and Mary about a year, and then went to Petersburg, where he entered the office of David Robinson, Esquire, an eminent lawyer, as a student. He studied with him for about two years, and was admitted to the bar in the early spring of 1807, just before he attained his majority. On his first circuit he witnessed the trial of Aaron Burr at Richmond for treason.

In June, 1807, occurred the outrage on the frigate Ches-

peake, which sent a thrill of indignation through the whole country. President Jefferson, among his other measures, issued a proclamation forbidding the use of the harbors and rivers of the United States to the war vessels of Great Britain. Volunteers were called for to enforce the prohibition, and Scott dropped his law books and joined the Petersburg troop of cavalry which had tendered its services. The troop was ordered to the vicinity of Lynn Haven Bay, where a strong British fleet, under Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's old flag captain, lay at anchor. The volunteers were encamped near the bay with orders to prevent the British from obtaining fresh water or provisions from the shore. Scott was appointed a corporal, and in his zeal to execute his orders, captured a midshipman and boat's crew of six men, belonging to one of the ships, who had gone up one of the creeks to obtain provisions. The midshipman, afterwards Captain Fox, of the English Navy, was "treated like a prince" by his captors, and declared they were downright good fellows. The capture was promptly reported to the Government at Washington, and orders were as promptly received to restore the prisoners to Sir Thomas Hardy. Scott was warned to moderate his zeal, and "to take care not to do so again." The Chesapeake excitement being over, the volunteers were dismissed, and Scott returned to his practice.

In October, 1807, he left Virginia, intending to settle in Charleston, South Carolina, as a lawyer. As he spent some time at Columbia, on the way, he did not reach Charleston until the 24th of December, 1807. Here he learned that the quarrel with England had reached such a state that war was the most probable issue to it. He had had a taste of army life, and had found it more to his liking than the law, and he left Charleston and embarked for New York, from which place he hastened to Washington. His friend, the Hon. Wm. B. Giles, afterwards Governor of Virginia, and then a member of Congress from that State, introduced him to President Jefferson and the Secretary of War, and cordially endorsed his application for a commission in the army. Mr. Jefferson received him with favor, and promised him a captaincy if the bill for the increase of the army, then before Congress, should become a law. In the meantime Scott went back to Petersburg, and

resumed his position at the bar. He was engaged in his practice when he received, in the summer of 1808, the promised commission of captain of light or flying artillery in the army of the United States, bearing the date of May 3, 1808.

Scott at once set to work to recruit his company, which he did at Petersburg and Richmond in the course of the next few months. He was then ordered with it to Norfolk, from which place he embarked for New Orleans, on the 4th of February, 1809. The passage was long and stormy, and New Orleans was not reached until the 1st of April. He soon grew tired of the monotony of garrison life. "The excitement that caused the augmentation of the army the year before," he says, "like that which led to the embargo, soon subsided, to rise and fall again and again in the next four years. So great was the calm in the summer of 1809 that I once more turned my mind towards civil pursuits, and sailed for Virginia. Before my resignation had been definitely accepted by the War Department, I heard that grave charges would be brought against me if I dared to return to the army of the Lower Mississippi. This was decisive. At once I resolved to face my accusers. Accordingly, I rejoined the main army, then at Washington, near Natchez." He was soon after brought to trial on charges based upon his declaration that he believed General Wilkinson to be as much of a traitor as Burr—an opinion he maintained all his life—and upon some irregularities in the payment of his company. He was found guilty of "unofficer-like conduct" in speaking disrespectfully of his superior officer, and in not following the prescribed forms in paying his company, but the court entirely acquitted him "of all fraudulent intentions in detaining the pay of his men." He was sentenced to twelve months' suspension. He passed this period at Petersburg, and in the fall of 1812 rejoined the army at Baton Rouge. In the winter of 1811-12 he was appointed Aide-de-camp to General Wade Hampton. As it was certain in the spring of 1812 that war was imminent, General Hampton sailed from New Orleans for Baltimore on the 20th of May, en route for Washington, taking with him his two aides, Captain Scott and Lieutenant Gardner. Baltimore was reached on the 21st of June, and Washington the next day, after the declaration of war against England.

Upon reaching Washington, Scott found that he had been advanced to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel. He was ordered to the Northern frontier, and directed to report to Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth, whose headquarters were near Buffalo. He reached that place on the 4th of October, 1812, and was assigned to duty with his battalion near Black Rock, where on the 8th of October he "smelt gunpowder" for the first time in a skirmish with the enemy.

A body of troops, principally New York State militia, had been collected under the orders of General Van Rensselaer at Lewiston, on the Niagara River, opposite Queenstown, which was held by a British force under General Brock. On the 13th of October a portion of the American force, under Colonel Stephen Van Rensselaer, a relative of the General, crossed to the Canada side, and drove the British from their batteries. General Brock, with a detachment of his command, attempted to recover the batteries, but was driven back and was killed. At his urgent request, Scott had been permitted to cross to the Canada side and take command of the troops. He arrived on the ground about the time that Brock was killed, and took charge of the small American force. General Sheaffe, Brock's successor, now prepared to recover the lost works with a strong force, and General Van Rensselaer endeavored to send reinforcements to Scott, but the New York militia refused to cross the river, declaring that they could not be ordered out of their own State without their consent. The result was, as might have been expected, the British attack was successful, and Scott and his little band were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Scott was well treated, and in November was paroled, and on the 12th of that month sailed for Boston. In January, 1813, he was exchanged. In March he was appointed Adjutant-General, with the rank of Colonel, and about the same time was made Colonel of his regiment.

He proceeded to join the army of General Dearborn on the Niagara frontier, and for some months discharged the duties of Adjutant-General of the army and of colonel of his regiment. Acting in the former position he organized the service of all the staff departments of the army, and gave to Dearborn's force more consistency and a better discipline than it had ever

enjoyed before. He took an active part in the operations on the Niagara frontier, commanding his regiment in a number of engagements and skirmishes. He greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Fort George on the 27th of May, 1813, and covered the retreat of the army after the disaster at Stony Creek on the 6th of June, in which Generals Chandler and Winder were made prisoners.

The failure of General Dearborn to accomplish anything of importance, induced the President to recall him, and to appoint General Wilkinson, Scott's old enemy, as his successor, Wilkinson took command of the army about midsummer, and Scott soon after resigned his position as Adjutant-General. He took part in Wilkinson's expedition against Montreal, which was brought to a sudden and disastrous end by the defeat of that General at Chrystler's farm, on the 11th of November, 1813, and upon the return of the army to the Niagara was summoned to Washington on business by the War Department.

Wilkinson's incompetence caused his removal, and early in 1814 he was succeeded by General Brown, an able and careful commander. In March of that year, Scott was promoted to the grade of Brigadier-General and assigned to duty under General Brown. Appreciating the value of discipline, General Brown ordered General Scott to establish a camp of instruction at Buffalo, and to devote the time which must elapse before the opening of the season of hostilities to improving the drill and discipline of the troops. Scott set to work with vigor, and for the next three months both he and the troops devoted ten hours a day to these labors. The result was the well-disciplined and efficient army which, in the campaign of 1814, wiped out the disgrace of the previous years.

General Brown's force numbered about five thousand men, and, thanks to Scott's exertions, was the most efficient body of troops the United States had yet put in the field. Towards the last of June orders were given to cross the Niagara, which was accomplished on the 2d of July. Fort Erie was at once invested, a few pieces of artillery were placed in position, a few shots exchanged, and the Fort surrendered on the 3d of July. On the 4th of July, General Scott, with the advanced guard of

the army, moved towards the main body of the British, which had taken position, under General Riall, at Chippewa, fifteen miles distant. Some skirmishing took place with the enemy during the day, and at dark Scott took up a strong position to await the arrival of the rest of the army under General Brown, which joined him during the night. The next day, the 5th, the enemy were attacked and defeated after a severe engagement, with the loss of five hundred men. The American loss was three hundred. In this battle Scott displayed great ability and coolness. During the greater part of the time he was obliged to engage the enemy single-handed, and was left in ignorance throughout the whole battle of the positions and movements of the rest of the army. The victory was greeted with enthusiasm by the nation. It marked the end of the series of disasters brought upon the army by incompetent commanders. Scott's name was on every tongue.

After his defeat at Chippewa, General Riall fell back to Burlington Heights, and the Americans advanced to Queens-town, but soon after withdrew to Chippewa. Having been strongly reinforced by a body of troops under General Drummond, Riall advanced from Burlington Heights to attack the Americans, followed by General Drummond's command. At the same time General Brown, who had heard of Drummond's arrival, set out from Chippewa to attack the British. As usual, the advance of the American army was commanded by General Scott. In the afternoon of the 25th of July, Scott was informed by his reconnoitring parties that there was a British corps of observation in the neighborhood, and advanced to attack it. Towards sunset he discovered that he had been deceived by his scouts as to the strength of the enemy, and suddenly found himself in the presence of the whole British army, which was drawn up at Lundy's Lane, or Bridgewater, opposite the Falls of Niagara.

The enemy's force was strongly posted, and was superior in numbers to the whole American army. Notwithstanding this fact, and the lateness of the hour, Scott resolved to attack at once, knowing that he would soon be supported by the rest of the army. He opened the battle with his artillery, and the enemy, detecting his weakness, made an attempt to crush him

before the arrival of the rest of the troops. The attempt was handsomely repulsed, and Scott threw forward his line, flanked the enemy, and captured Major General Riall.

General Brown now came up with the reserve, and, although it was dark, at Scott's urgent request, continued the battle. The British had posted a battery on a hill which commanded the field, and from this maintained a heavy and destructive fire upon the Americans. It was captured by the 21st regiment under Colonel James Miller. General Drummond, who had succeeded General Riall in the command of the British army, made three determined efforts to retake the battery, but was each time driven back with heavy loss.

It was midnight when the last charge of the enemy was repulsed. About 800 men had fallen on each side. The Americans had exhausted their ammunition, and were dependent upon the cartridges that could be obtained from the boxes of the dead. Scott had been twice dismounted and badly contused in the side by a spent cannon ball early in the action. As the British gave way for the last time, he was severely wounded in the left shoulder by a musket ball, and was carried to the rear.

The victory was secure, however, for the British, finding all their efforts in vain, sullenly withdrew, and left the field to the Americans. The latter were so exhausted by their hard march of fifteen miles and five hours of constant fighting that they made no effort at pursuit, and soon withdrew from the hill to their original position. As they had no means of bringing off the captured guns, they were obliged to leave them behind.

The victory was due mainly to the exertions of Scott. He was so badly wounded, however, as to be obliged to quit the army. He was sent to Buffalo, but failing to find the requisite medical skill there, set out for Philadelphia by easy stages. It was not until October that he was able to walk or mount a horse. He was then ordered to take command at Baltimore, which was threatened by the enemy. For his gallant services he was brevetted a Major General, to take rank from the 25th of July, 1814, the day of the victory of Lundy's Lane. Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him "in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of

his distinguished services in the successive conflicts of Chipewewa and Niagara (Lundy's Lane), and of his uniform gallantry and good conduct in sustaining the reputation of the arms of the United States." By the time he was thoroughly well, the war was over.

The reduction of the army to a peace footing was accomplished in May, 1815. Scott was retained as the senior of the four brigadiers, each of which was a major-general by brevet. It was strongly urged upon the President to appoint General Scott Secretary of War, but he discouraged the proposition, preferring to remain in the position he had won by his services in the field.

In July, 1815, Scott went to Europe, partly on a mission for the Government, and partly for rest and recreation. He remained abroad a little more than a year, and was the recipient of many flattering attentions in England and France. He was in Paris during the occupation of that city by the Allies after the battle of Waterloo. Returning home late in 1816, he resumed his duties in the army. Soon after his return he was married to Miss Maria Mayo, of Richmond, Va., a lady noted for her beauty and many accomplishments. Seven children were born of this marriage, of whom but three daughters survived their parents, the others—two sons and two daughters—having died quite young.

In 1821, General Scott published his "Military Institutes" or general regulations for the United States army, and some years later, issued the "Tactics," or manual of instruction for the army, which bore his name, and was so long familiar to the whole country. In 1827 he obtained leave to visit Europe again, and spent that year and a part of 1828 in travelling in the old world. Upon the breaking out of the Black Hawk War, in 1832, Scott was ordered to the West to take command of the troops. He reached the army after General Atkinson had defeated Black Hawk, and by his energy and humanity he soon succeeded in restoring peace to the frontier, and in inducing the Indians to remove beyond the Mississippi.

When the Nullification troubles set in, in 1832, President Jackson made no secret of his determination to maintain the supremacy of the General Government. In order to do this,

it was necessary that the command of the Federal force assembled in the harbor of Charleston should be entrusted to some officer in whose firmness and discretion the Government could repose absolute confidence. Though there had long been bad blood between Jackson and Scott, the President selected him for this position. He proceeded to Charleston, and quietly assumed the command, straining every nerve to be prepared for the struggle should it come, and exerting all his influence in favor of a policy of conciliation. The troubles were adjusted, as we have seen, and Scott's course gave equal satisfaction to the Federal Government and to the people of Charleston.

In 1836 he was appointed to succeed General Gaines in command of the force engaged in the Florida war. In consequence of the failure of the Government to supply his force properly, the expedition accomplished nothing. He was then ordered to the Chattahoochee to take the field against the Creeks. His second in command, General Jessup, becoming dissatisfied with Scott's plan of campaign, addressed a complaint to the editor of the official newspaper at Washington. The letter was shown to the President, who made it a pretext for striking his long-desired blow at Scott. He at once removed Scott from his command, ordered him before a court of inquiry, and appointed General Jessup his successor. The court met in the latter part of the fall of 1836, and after an impartial hearing, administered a decided rebuke to the President by honorably acquitting General Scott of all the charges against him, and declaring that he had done all that could be expected of a brave and skillful officer.

In the winter of 1837-38, the troubles on the Canadian border, which came near involving the United States in another war with England, caused President Van Buren to send General Scott to the Niagara frontier to compel the Canadian insurgents and their sympathizers in the State of New York to respect the neutrality of the United States. Scott reached Buffalo soon after the burning of the steamer *Caroline* by the Canadians, and while the excitement was at its height. He was accompanied by Governor Marcy, of New York. The American allies of the insurgents had taken possession of a small island in the Niagara River, called Navy Island, about a quarter of a mile above the

falls and within the limits of Canada. After the destruction of the *Caroline*, they hired another steamer called the *Barcelona*, which was taken down from Buffalo to a point opposite the island. Scott determined to prevent the insurgents from using the steamer, and succeeded in hiring her from her owners for the service of the United States. He then ordered her back to Buffalo.

In the meantime the British commander on the Canada shore prepared to open fire on the steamer and destroy her as she ascended the stream. Upon learning this, Scott stationed several batteries of artillery at Black Rock, opposite the British position, and notified the British commander that he should return the fire if the *Barcelona* were attacked. On the morning of the 16th of January, 1838, the steamer moved slowly up the Niagara towards Buffalo. The activity of the British on the Canada shore seemed to indicate their intention to fire upon the steamer, and noticing this, Scott caused his batteries to be prepared for action. The gunners stood with matches lighted ready to return the English fire, and Scott posted himself on the end of the pier at Black Rock in full view of both parties, to watch the slowly ascending vessel. The greatest excitement prevailed, and the question of peace or war depended on the events of the next few moments. The English suffered the steamer to pass their guns unmolested, however, and the danger was over. By great exertions Scott succeeded in restoring order along the border. In 1839, when there was danger of a conflict between the people of Maine and the British Province of New Brunswick, in consequence of the dispute over the North-eastern boundary, Scott was sent to the border, and succeeded, by his moderation and firmness, in preserving the peace until the matter could be settled by treaty.

In June, 1841, on the death of General Macomb, Scott became General-in-chief of the entire army. His headquarters were established at Washington, and he devoted himself to the improvement of the discipline and efficiency of the army.

In the spring of 1846, war broke out between the United States and Mexico. The campaign of 1846 was fought by General Taylor and others. Scott, as commanding General,

endeavored to impress upon the Government the necessity of providing an adequate force for the prosecution of the war, but was never able to accomplish much in this direction. Late in the year he was ordered, at his own earnest solicitation, to proceed to Mexico, with a strong force, and after establishing a secure base on the Gulf coast, to advance into the interior towards the City of Mexico.

The troops designed for this expedition rendezvoused at New Orleans, where they were joined promptly by General Scott. Late in November, 1846, the expedition sailed for the Island of Lobos, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz. The plan adopted by Scott was very simple—to capture Vera Cruz, and then advance upon the Capital by the most direct route. The expedition was delayed several months at Lobos Island, awaiting the arrival of supplies from the United States and the divisions of Worth, Quitman and Wool which had been drawn from General Taylor's army. At length all was in readiness, and the fleet sailed from Lobos Island early in March, 1847. Vera Cruz was reached on the 8th, and on the morning of the 9th, the landing of the troops was begun, under cover of the guns of the fleet. In the course of a few hours, the whole force, consisting of twelve thousand men, was successfully landed without the loss of a man or a boat.

Vera Cruz was, next to Quebec, the strongest fortress in America. It contained a population of fifteen thousand souls, and was well garrisoned. Its chief work was the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, which was built out in the harbor some distance from the shore. The city and vicinity had been carefully reconnoitered. On the 10th of March, the investment was begun by General Worth, and the American lines were established around the city for a distance of six miles. Having decided to reduce the city by a bombardment and regular approaches, Scott spent the next twelve days in constructing batteries. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 22d of March, the American batteries opened fire upon the town, and the fleet at the same time attacked the castle. The bombardment was conducted with such vigor that the city and castle were surrendered to the American commander on the 27th. Over 5,000 prisoners and five hundred pieces of artillery were taken. The

garrison was dismissed on parole, and the inhabitants were protected in their civil and religious rights.

Leaving a strong garrison under General Worth to hold the city and castle, Scott set out for the interior as soon as he could procure sufficient transportation. His force amounted to about 8,500 men. He found his way barred by the Mexican President, Santa Anna, who, with 12,000 men, was strongly intrenched at Cerro Gordo, a mountain pass at the eastern end of the Cordilleras. On the 18th of April, Scott turned the left of the Mexican position, seized the heights commanding it, and drove the enemy from their works with a loss of over a thousand killed and wounded and three thousand prisoners, and forty-three pieces of cannon. Santa Anna fled in haste from the field, leaving his baggage and private papers in the hands of the Americans. Scott's loss in this engagement was 431 killed and wounded.

The brilliant victory of Cerro Gordo opened the way for the American army to Jalapa, which was occupied on the 19th of April. Continuing his advance, General Scott captured the strong fortress of Perote, which opened its gates to him on the 22d of April. On the 15th of May, Puebla, the second city of Mexico, containing a population of eighty thousand, was occupied. Here Scott established his headquarters, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements. He was obliged to spend several months in idleness here in consequence of the reduction of his force by the expiration of the enlistments of the volunteers, who refused to continue in the service, as they dreaded the yellow fever, the season for which had set in. They were allowed to return home. The force remaining with Scott was greatly weakened by sickness, eighteen hundred men being in the hospitals of Puebla alone.

While at Puebla, General Scott was ordered by the Secretary of War to collect duties on merchandise entering the Mexican ports, and to apply the money thus obtained to the needs of the army, and to levy contributions upon the Mexican people for the use of the troops. He refused to obey the latter order, declaring that the country through which he was moving was too poor to warrant impressments, and that such a measure would exasperate the Mexicans and cause them to refuse

to supply the army at all. He continued to buy provisions for his troops, at the market rates of the country, and by so doing greatly allayed the bitterness of feeling with which the Mexicans regarded the Americans.

Another annoyance to which the commander-in-chief was subjected, arose from the ill-advised action of Mr. N. P. Trist, who had been sent out to Mexico by President Polk in the quality of peace commissioner. Mr. Trist had been selected because of his familiarity with the Spanish language, and his personal relations with President Polk. He was furnished with the draft of a treaty carefully prepared in the State Department at Washington, and was entrusted with a despatch from Mr. Buchanan, the Secretary of State, to the Mexican minister of foreign relations. He was directed to communicate confidentially to General Scott and Commodore Perry both the treaty and his instructions. General Scott was informed of Mr. Trist's mission by the Secretary of War, and was directed to suspend military operations until further orders, unless attacked.

Mr. Trist reached Vera Cruz in due time, but instead of explaining his mission to General Scott, as directed, he sent a note from Vera Cruz to the Commander-in-Chief, enclosing the letter of the Secretary of War and the sealed despatch to the Mexican Minister, the latter of which he requested the General to forward to its destination. The letter of the Secretary of War could not be understood by General Scott without the explanation which Mr. Trist had been instructed to make, but failed to give. General Scott very properly resented the conduct of Mr. Trist as an attempt to degrade him by making him subordinate to that personage. In his letter to him he declared that the suspension of hostilities belonged to the commander in the field, and not to the Secretary of War a thousand miles away. Trist thereupon wrote to Scott, giving him a full explanation of his mission, but did so in disrespectful terms. He claimed to be the representative of the President, and as such to possess the right to issue orders to the Commander-in-Chief. Scott refused to admit his claim, and referred the matter to Washington, maintaining, in the meantime, his

independence of action as commanding general. In due time explanations came from Washington satisfactory to the commanding general; and Mr. Trist was sharply reprimanded by the Secretary of State "for his presuming to command the General-in-Chief."

Reinforcements were at length received from the United States. They reached Puebla in July, and on the 7th of August General Scott resumed his advance upon the City of Mexico, with a force increased to ten thousand men. The route lay through a beautiful upland country, abounding in water, and rich in the most picturesque scenery. The troops pressed on with enthusiasm, and on the 10th of August the summit of the Cordilleras was passed, and the City of Mexico burst upon the view of the army, lying in the midst of its lovely valley, and encircled with the strong works that had been erected for its defence.

Had General Scott been able to push on to the City of Mexico immediately after his occupation of Puebla, it must have fallen into his hands almost without a blow. Matters were different now. Santa Anna had been enabled, by the delay at Puebla, to collect a new army of twenty-five thousand men and sixty pieces of artillery, and to fortify the Capital and its approaches. The passes on the direct road to the city had been well fortified and garrisoned by the Mexicans, but the country upon the flanks had been left unguarded, because Santa Anna did not believe that any troops could pass over it and turn his position. El Peñon, the most formidable of these defences, was reconnoitred by the American engineers, who reported that it would cost at least 3,000 lives to carry it. Scott, therefore, determined to turn El Peñon instead of attacking it. The city and its immediate defences were carefully reconnoitred, and it was discovered that the works on the South and West were weaker than at any other point. General Scott now moved to the left, passed El Peñon on the South, and by the aid of a corps of skillful engineers, moved his army across ravines and chasms which the Mexican commander had pronounced impassable, and had left unguarded. General Twiggs led the advance, and halted and encamped at Chalco, on the lake of the same name.

Worth followed, and, passing Twiggs, encamped at the town of San Augustin, eight miles from the Capital.¹

As soon as Santa Anna found that the Americans had turned El Peñon, and had advanced to the South side of the city, he left that fortress and took post in the strong fort of San Antonio, which lay directly in front of Worth's new position. North-west of San Antonio, and four miles from the city, lay the little village of Churubusco, which had been strongly fortified by the Mexicans. A little to the west of San Augustin was the fortified camp of Contreras, with a garrison of about six thousand men. In the rear, between the camp and the city, was a reserve force of twelve thousand men. The whole number of Mexicans manning the defences of the Capital was about thirty-five thousand and the works were provided with at least one hundred pieces of artillery of various sizes.

General Scott lost no time in moving against the enemy's works. General Persifer F. Smith was ordered to attack the intrenched camp at Contreras, while the brigades of Shields and Pierce were to move in between the camp and the position of Santa Anna at San Antonio, and prevent that commander from aiding his force at Contreras. At three o'clock on the morning of the 20th of August, Smith began his march in the midst of a cold rain, his men holding on to each other to avoid being separated in the darkness. He made his attack at sunrise, and in fifteen minutes had possession of the camp. He took 3,000 prisoners, and 33 pieces of cannon.

The camp at Contreras having fallen, General Scott attacked the fortified village of Churubusco, an hour or two later, and carried it after a struggle of several hours. General Worth's division stormed and carried the strong fort of San Antonio, and General Twiggs captured another important work. The Mexicans outnumbered their assailants three to one, and fought bravely. Their efforts were in vain, however, and late in the

¹ "The Duke of Wellington, with whom the autobiographer was slightly acquainted, took quite an interest in the march of this army from Vera Cruz, and at every arrival caused its movements to be marked on a map. Admiring its triumphs up to the basin of Mexico, he now said to a common friend: 'Scott is lost. He has been carried away by successes. He can't take the city, and he can't fall back upon his base.'"—*Gen. Scott's Autobiography*, p. 466.

afternoon they were driven from their outer defences, and pursued by the American cavalry to the gates of the city.

These two victories were won over a force of 30,000 Mexicans by less than 10,000 Americans. The enemy's loss was 4,000 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners; that of the victors, 1,100.

Santa Anna retreated within the city, and on the 21st of August the American army advanced to within three miles of the city of Mexico. On the same day Santa Anna sent a flag of truce to General Scott, asking for a suspension of hostilities, with a view to opening negotiations for a peace. The request was granted. Mr. Trist proceeded at once to the city, and began negotiations with the Mexican commissioners. After a series of delays, designed to gain time, the Mexican commissioners declined the American conditions, and proposed others which they knew would not be accepted. Mr. Trist at once broke off the conferences, and returned to the camp with the intelligence that Santa Anna had violated the armistice by using the time gained by it in strengthening his defences. Indignant at such treachery, Scott promptly put an end to the truce, and resumed his advance upon the city.

The Mexican capital was still defended by two powerful works. One of these was Molino del Rey, "the King's mill," a foundry, where it was said the church bells were being cast into cannon; the other was the strong castle of Chapultepec. General Scott resolved to make his first attack upon Molino del Rey, which was held by 14,000 Mexicans. It was stormed and carried on the 8th of September, by Worth's division, 4,000 strong, after a severe conflict. This was regarded as the hardest won victory of the war. The Americans were unable to make much use of their artillery, and fought principally with their rifles and muskets. Their loss was 787 killed and wounded—nearly one-fifth of the force engaged.

The castle of Chapultepec stood on a steep and lofty hill, and could not be turned. It could be carried only by a direct assault. On the 12th of September the American artillery opened fire upon it and reduced it nearly to ruins. On the morning of the 13th a determined assault was made by the Americans, and the castle was carried after a sharp struggle.

The fugitives from Chapultepec retreated to the city by the causeway leading to the Belen Gate, closely followed by Quitman's division. Worth's division was moved forward to attack the San Cosmo Gate, while Quitman assailed the Belen Gate. The defences of the causeway were taken in succession, and by nightfall the Belen and the San Cosmo Gates were in possession of the Americans, after a hard fight for them. The troops slept on the ground they had won.

During the night of the 13th, Santa Anna, with the remains of his army, retreated from the city, leaving the authorities to make the best terms they could with the conquerors. The city authorities presented themselves at Scott's quarters before daybreak, and proposed terms of capitulation. Scott replied that the city was already in his possession, and that he would enter it upon his own terms; but added that the inhabitants would be protected in all their rights, if they refrained from hostile demonstrations. The next day, September 14th, 1847, the American army entered the City of Mexico, occupied the grand square, and hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the Government buildings.

The fall of the Capital was followed by a revolution which expelled Santa Anna from power and drove him out of the country. He fled to the West Indies, and the new Government opened negotiations with Mr. Trist for peace. The result was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on the 2d of February, 1848, and ratified by the Senate of the United States in July, 1848.

The services of General Scott were enthusiastically lauded by the American people, as they deserved to be; but he was about to receive at the hands of the President of the United States the most ungrateful treatment that could be visited upon a victorious general. While the whole country was ringing with his praise, orders were despatched to him from Washington to turn over the command of the army to Major General Butler, and submit himself to a court of inquiry upon charges preferred against him by Major Generals Worth and Pillow, and Lieutenant Colonel Duncan. These orders were received by Scott on the 18th of February, 1848. He at once relinquished his command to General Butler.

The cause of this indignity, which Scott describes as a "continuation of the Jackson persecution," was that in the early part of the campaign Scott had been obliged to reprimand Worth, Pillow and Duncan for insubordinate conduct. After the capture of the City of Mexico these officers were placed under arrest, and the President was requested by the Commanding General to order them before a court of inquiry. To shield themselves, these officers made counter-charges against the Commander-in-Chief. Pillow, who was a strong personal friend of President Polk, and had done much to secure his election to the Presidency, and whose conduct at Fort Donnellson, during the late war, revealed the man, prevailed. The conqueror of Mexico was sacrificed to the political influence of the partisan of President Polk; the three arrested officers were restored to their commands by order of the President, and Scott was ordered before a court of inquiry "for daring," as he declared to the Secretary of War, "to enforce necessary discipline in this army against certain of its high officers."

The court of inquiry met at the City of Mexico. It consisted of Major General Towson and Brigadier-Generals Belknap and Caleb Cushing. The reader can see from the composition of this court, composed of three of the most insignificant officers of the army, how far Mr. Polk was prepared to sustain Pillow in his effort to sacrifice Scott. After a session of a few weeks the court adjourned to meet at Frederick, Maryland. After the return of the army to the United States the court reassembled at Frederick. Scott boldly defied the conspiracy against him, and demanded the most searching investigation into his conduct. The court contented itself with whitewashing General Pillow, but none of the conspirators dared to press the charges against Scott, which were withdrawn. The indignation of the country was so open and outspoken that Mr. Polk made haste to dissolve the court after the whitewashing of Pillow.

In the meantime, after the adjournment of the Court at Mexico, General Scott set out for the United States. Generously leaving all the steamers for the transportation of the troops who were about to evacuate Mexico, he sailed from Vera Cruz "in a small sailing brig, loaded down with guns, mortars and ordnance stores." New York harbor was reached on the 20th of

May, and Scott, engaging a row-boat, proceeded at once to join his family at Elizabeth. He was sore at the injustice of which he had been made the victim. As soon as his arrival was known, however, he was waited upon by a committee from New York, and was induced to visit that city, where he was welcomed with a magnificent civic and military reception, which showed him that the people had not failed to do him justice. At his own request he was assigned by the Government to the command of the Eastern Department, with his headquarters at New York. He was rewarded with the thanks of Congress, and a gold medal was struck and presented to him by that body in honor of his victories in Mexico. Upon the inauguration of President Taylor, Scott resumed the command of the whole army, but retained his headquarters at New York, until the accession of President Fillmore. In 1852 Congress revived the grade of Lieutenant-General, which had been held by Washington alone, and conferred it upon General Scott.

In June, 1852, the National Convention of the Whig party nominated General Scott for the Presidency of the United States. At the fall elections he was defeated by General Pierce, the Democratic candidate.

In 1859 the dispute about the Island of San Juan, in Puget's Sound, came near embroiling the United States and Great Britain in war. General Scott was at once despatched to the scene of the trouble by President Buchanan, and succeeded in averting the danger by causing the island to be held by a joint occupation of the forces of both countries until their respective governments could settle the claim of ownership.

Upon the secession of the Southern States in 1860 and 1861, it was supposed by many that General Scott, being a Virginian by birth, would sustain the South. He had no idea of doing so, however, and from the first urged the Administration of President Buchanan to strengthen the garrisons of all the Southern forts. His first proposition to this effect was submitted to the President in October, 1860, before the Presidential election. He declared that in his opinion all these works should be held by a force which would render any attempt to seize or capture them hopeless. His advice was disregarded by the Administration, however. The *Richmond Examiner*, the ablest journal

in the South at that time, thus endorses his plan: "The plan invented by General Scott to stop secession was, like all campaigns devised by him, very able in its details and nearly certain of general success. The Southern States are full of arsenals and forts, commanding their rivers and strategic points. General Scott desired to transfer the army of the United States to these forts as speedily and as quietly as possible. The Southern States could not cut off communication between the Government and the fortresses without a great fleet, which they cannot build for years—or take them by land without one hundred thousand men, many hundred millions of dollars, several campaigns, and many a bloody siege. *Had Scott been able to have got these forts in the condition he desired them to be, the Southern Confederacy would not now exist.*"

Believing that an attempt would be made to prevent the inauguration of President Lincoln, General Scott, though in feeble health and suffering from bodily infirmity, collected a force of regulars at Washington, to which he added the volunteers of the city. He took personal command of this force, though he had received many letters threatening him with assassination if he dared to be present on the occasion. Under the protection of the troops the inauguration took place without interruption.

General Scott favored a firm but conciliatory policy on the part of the Administration of Mr. Lincoln. He was in favor of reinforcing Fort Sumter, and when it was apparent that war was inevitable, gave his energetic support to the efforts of the Government to prepare the army for the field.

He was not to take part in the great struggle, however. For many years his health had been failing, but in spite of this he had clung to his duties with characteristic energy. A younger and more active man was needed at the head of the armies of the United States; and recognizing this necessity, General Scott, on the 31st of October, 1861, relinquished his position as Commander-in-Chief, and retired from active duty. "A cripple," he says, "unable to walk without assistance for three years, on retiring from all military duty, October 31st, 1861, being broken down by recent official labors of from nine to seventeen hours a day, with a decided tendency to vertigo and dropsy, I had

the honor to be waited on by President Lincoln, at the head of his Cabinet, who, in a neat and affecting address, took leave of the worn-out soldier." In consideration of his distinguished services, Congress passed a special act continuing to General Scott his pay and allowances.

In November, 1861, General Scott sailed for Europe on a tour for health and rest, but soon returned in consequence of the prospect of a foreign war, caused by the Trent affair. In the event of such a complication he hoped to be of service once more to his country.

As time passed on he grew feebler, and was almost helpless during his last years. He lived to see the Union emerge successfully from the Civil War, and the last danger removed from the country he loved so well. He died at West Point on the 29th of May, 1866, and was buried in the cemetery of the Military Academy.

General Scott was a man of almost gigantic stature, of noble and commanding appearance, and was possessed of unusual personal strength and endurance. In manner he was courteous and dignified, and even somewhat stiff. His private character was above reproach. He was a man of the purest honor, of the nicest sense of right, very generous, and utterly incapable of a mean or dishonorable action. As a commander he was enterprising and at the same time prudent. He never shrank from any personal danger in the field, but was exceedingly careful of his men. He gave great attention to the comfort and health of his troops, and was a strict disciplinarian, counting nothing too unimportant to engage his attention. He was greatly averse to bloodshed, and was always ready to settle difficulties by negotiation rather than by fighting; though when it came to blows, he was for making short and decisive work of it.

HORACE GREELEY.

HORACE GREELEY was born at Amherst, New Hampshire, on the 3d of February, 1811. He was the third of seven children, two of whom had died before his birth. His father was Zaccheus Greeley, a farmer, whose ancestor had emigrated to this country from Nottingham, in England, about the year 1650. His mother was Mary Woodburn, of Scotch-Irish descent. The Greeleys were generally poor, but the Woodburn family were well-to-do farmers.

At the time of his birth the parents of Horace Greeley were residing on a small and not fertile farm in Amherst. The farm was not yet paid for, and it required a constant struggle to provide for the family and lay up enough to meet the interest on the mortgage. Almost as soon as he was able to go about the fields, Horace was set to helping on the farm. His principal employment was "picking stones," a labor with which New England farm lads are more familiar than they care to be, and all will doubtless endorse his opinion of it as expressed in after life. "Picking stones," he says in his autobiography, "is a never-ending labor on one of those New England farms. Pick as closely as you may, the next plowing turns up a fresh eruption of boulders and pebbles, from the size of a hickory nut to that of a tea-kettle; and as this work is to be done mainly in March or April, when the earth is saturated with ice-cold water, if not also whitened with falling snow, youngsters soon learn to regard it with detestation."

Horace did not take kindly to farm life. He learned to read before he could talk plainly, his mother being his teacher. She was a woman of abundant animal spirits, of strong good sense, and was an industrious reader. She dearly loved poetry and music, and had an inexhaustible fund of songs, ballads and stories, which she would repeat to her boy as she turned the spinning wheel or held him on her knee. Horace would listen to them with eagerness, and "they served," he says, "to



HORACE GREELEY.

awaken in me a *thirst* for knowledge, and a lively interest in learning and history." When he was four years old he could read fluently and correctly any book in the language. When he was three years old he spent the winter with his mother's father at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and was sent to the district school. He continued to reside much with his grandfather during the next three years, and attended school during the greater part of this time. He learned rapidly, and was especially noted for his proficiency in spelling. He was not content with his lessons in school, but at his grandfather's house would take a book, lie down on the floor, and spell out the harder words. He was regularly sought out by the "spelling matches" of the neighborhood, and was a tower of strength to his side. The matches were generally held in the evening, and the little fellow found it hard to keep awake. He would doze away while the others were spelling, and when his turn came his companions would give him a shake to wake him. The blue eyes would open instantly, and he would spell his word in a bright, clear voice, and then drop off to sleep again.

When he was six years old his father removed to Bedford, New Hampshire, and settled on a larger farm which he had agreed to work on shares. Horace was now recalled from his grandfather's, and for the next four years was kept at work on the farm, devoting to his schooling only such time as he was not engaged in labor. "Here," he says, "I first learned that this is a world of hard work. Often called out of bed at dawn to 'ride horse to plow' among the growing corn, potatoes, and hops, we would get as much plowed by nine to ten o'clock A. M., as could be hoed that day, when I would be allowed to start for school, where I sometimes arrived when the forenoon session was half through. In winter our work was lighter; but the snow was often deep and drifted, the cold intense, the north wind piercing, and our clothing thin; besides which, the term rarely exceeded, and sometimes fell short of two months."

The only newspaper taken in his father's family was a weekly called "The Farmer's Cabinet," a poor affair, but still something to let little Horace know that there was a great world beyond the gray New Hampshire hills, in which he must one day take his place. He read the paper with the eagerness with

which he devoured everything of a literary nature, and it is possible that it aroused in him the determination to become a printer. It is said that while he was still at school at Bedford he was one day watching a blacksmith shoe a horse. The smith, who was a friend to the boy, observing his interest, said to him, "You had better come with me and learn the trade." "No," said Horace quickly, "I am going to be a printer."

When Horace was not quite ten years old, his father lost his little property, and removed to West Haven, in Rutland county, Vermont, at the head of Lake Champlain. There, in 1821, the little family began life anew. For the next four or five years Horace worked hard and fared poorly, but was satisfied, since he was able to borrow books and newspapers, which he read with avidity. By gathering nuts and pitch pine roots for kindling, which he sold at the country store, and by "bee-hunting," he managed to provide himself with a little pocket-money, which he regularly laid out in books. When he was eleven years old he heard that an apprentice was wanted in the printing office at Whitehall. He obtained his father's consent to apply for the place, and set out on foot for Whitehall, nine miles distant. He was rejected, however, on account of his extreme youth. West Haven was noted at this time for its dissipation. Horace was disgusted with the coarse, brutal sights which he beheld on every hand, and conceived that utter abhorrence of drinking which distinguished him through life.

When he was fifteen years old, he came to the conclusion that it was time he was earning his own living. Seeing an advertisement for a printer's boy in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, published at East Poultney, Vermont, eleven miles from his home, he received his father's consent to apply for it. He obtained it, and was formally entered by his father, on the 18th of April, 1826, as an apprentice in the *Spectator* office. He was to receive his board only for six months, and after that his board and forty dollars a year for clothing. Shortly after this Mr. Greeley removed his family to the town of Wayne, in Erie county, Pennsylvania. Horace remained four years in the *Spectator* office, working faithfully at his trade. He was kindly treated by his employers, but was kept very busy. He devoted his leisure time to reading and improvement, and became one

of the leading members of the village debating society. He was very well read for a boy of his age, and expressed his opinions with independence and courtesy, and maintained them with firmness. He was frank and open, always good tempered, and was very popular. "He was never treated as a boy in the debating society," says one of his old friends, "but as a man and an equal; and his opinions were considered with as much deference as those of the judge or the sheriff—more, I think."

His little income of forty dollars a year was carefully husbanded, and out of this he clothed himself and sent the remainder to his parents in Pennsylvania.

In June, 1830, the office of *The Spectator* was closed, and Greeley was thrown out of employment. With his scanty wardrobe in his pockets, and but eleven dollars in his purse, he set out to see his parents, obtaining employment on the way at eleven dollars a month, in the office of a Democratic paper at Sodus, New York. Reaching home during the year, he obtained a place at fifteen dollars a month in the office of a newspaper published at Erie, Pennsylvania. He gave such satisfaction here that the proprietors offered him a partnership. He declined it, however, and wisely, for a dull season soon set in, and made a marked change for the worse in the affairs of the paper.

He now determined to seek employment in New York. Dividing his earnings with his father, he set off for the great city, making the journey partly on foot, and partly by the canal and the Hudson River steamer. On the 17th of August, 1831, he landed in New York—poor, unknown, frail and boyish looking, and as awkward and verdant in appearance as can well be imagined. He had never seen a large city before, and was not a little awed and disheartened by the bustle and whirl and rush into which he was plunged. "I knew no human being," he says, "within two hundred miles, and my unmistakably rustic manner and address did not favor that immediate command of remunerating employment, which was my most urgent need. However, the world was all before me; my personal estate, tied up in a pocket-handkerchief, did not at all encumber me; and I stepped lightly off the boat and away from the sound of the detested hiss of escaping steam, walking into and

up Broad street, in quest of a boarding house." He found one at length on the North River side, and obtained board at \$2.50 a week. As he had but \$10 with him, and no means of getting more, it was important for him to obtain work as soon as possible. Having breakfasted, he at once set out, and during the next two days visited at least half the printing offices in the city. It was midsummer—a dull season—and his youth and rustic appearance were against him. When he applied at the office of the *Journal of Commerce*, its editor bluntly told him he suspected him of being a runaway apprentice from some country office.

Thoroughly disgusted and disheartened by his failures, Horace resolved to leave New York the next day. On that day, however, he learned from some persons who chanced to visit his boarding place that a hand was wanted at John T. West's printing office, in Chatham street, and at once applied for the place and obtained it. The place was given to him simply because "no other printer who knew the city" would accept it. The "job" assigned him was a difficult one—the composition of a miniature New Testament, with numerous marginal references. No other compositor could be induced to work long at this job, and Horace had it nearly all to himself. He persevered to the end, and completed it; but so difficult was the work that he could scarcely ever earn more than a dollar a day. When the task was finished Mr. West had no further use for him, and he was out of work for a fortnight. After several changes he entered the office of Porter's *Spirit of the Times*, a new sporting paper, where he was paid fair wages. He won the friendship of Mr. Francis V. Story, the foreman of the office, who shortly after induced him to enter into a partnership with him in an office of their own.

The new firm hired two rooms in a building at the southeast corner of Nassau and Liberty streets, and invested their whole means—less than \$200—in printing material, to which they added other material to the amount of \$40, obtained on credit from Mr. George Bruce, the type founder. They took in such job printing as they could get, but their main dependence was the printing of "Sylvester's Bank Note Reporter," and the publishing of "The Morning Post," a daily penny

paper, started by Dr. H. D. Shepard. The first number was issued January 1st, 1833, but in less than a month it was a failure, and had involved its printers heavily. Fortunately for them, it was purchased by an Englishman, who conducted it for a brief period, and promptly paid his printer's bills. The money received from him was all that saved the young firm from bankruptcy. Its members worked hard, and were just beginning to get ahead, when Mr. Story was drowned, in June, 1833.

Mr. Jonas Winchester, a brother-in-law of Mr. Story, took his place in the firm, and by dint of close application and economy a fair and prosperous business was at length established. In March, 1834, Mr. Greeley and his partner began the publication of the *New Yorker*, a weekly paper, devoted to literature and the current news. Mr. Winchester attended to the business management of the paper, and Mr. Greeley was its sole editor. He conducted it with ability for seven years and a half. In the spring of 1836 the partnership was dissolved. Mr. Greeley took the *New Yorker*, but as it was conducted on the credit system it made little money after the panic of 1837, and in 1841 came to an end, with about \$10,000 due to it by its subscribers, of which not a penny was ever paid.

In 1838, while still conducting the *New Yorker*, Mr. Greeley undertook the editorship of a weekly campaign paper called *The Jeffersonian*, published at Albany by the Executive Committee of the Whig party of the State of New York. The paper reached a circulation of 15,000 copies, and its editor was paid a salary of \$1,000. In 1840, during the Harrison campaign, he published *The Log Cabin*, a campaign paper, the first number of which was issued on the 2d of May. It made an unexpected hit at the start, the first number attaining a sale of 48,000 copies. The circulation ran up to 80,000 copies. It was Mr. Greeley's own property, and was a considerable pecuniary success. Although established only as a campaign paper, its publication was continued after the election had passed by, its character being changed from a political to a family newspaper. It had a prosperous career until 1842, when it was merged in the *Weekly Tribune*.

It had always been the dream of Horace Greeley's life to be

at the head of a first-class daily newspaper in New York. He regarded himself now as in a condition to carry this plan into operation, and on the 10th of April, 1841, issued the first number of the *New York Tribune*. It was a small sheet, and sold for one cent. It began its career with 600 subscribers, and a capital of \$1,000, borrowed money. It was issued from No. 30 Ann street. The first edition was 5,000 copies, and Mr. Greeley has declared that he found considerable trouble in giving all the numbers away. It had a hard fight for existence at first. At the end of the first week its expenses were \$525, and its receipts \$92. Fortunately for it, the *Sun*, which sought to hold a monopoly of cheap journalism in New York, attempted to crush it. Greeley returned the *Sun's* attack with spirit, and "a very pretty quarrel" was soon in full progress between the two papers. The public began to take interest in it, and to espouse the cause of the *Tribune*, and by the end of the seventh week it was obliged to print an edition of 11,000 copies. Mr. Greeley was now obliged to obtain new presses and increase his office facilities. Advertisements came in with greater rapidity, and the paper began to show signs of permanence. Four months after the first number of the paper was issued, Mr. Thomas McElrath was induced to become a partner in the enterprise. The business management of the paper passed into his hands, and Mr. Greeley was able to devote himself entirely to its editorial conduct. This admirable arrangement was a success from the first. The paper prospered, and at the end of its first year was established on a safe basis. In April, 1842, the *Tribune* entered upon its second year, and its proprietors were enabled to accomplish the hazardous undertaking of more than doubling its size and increasing its price from one to two cents. Its success was even more rapid after than before these changes. Since then it has grown by degrees into its present size.

Horace Greeley had now found his true sphere. He was at the head of a prosperous and growing daily paper, and was able to exercise the influence in the world which was the sum of his ambition. For the first eleven years of its existence the *Tribune* was a strictly party paper, devoted to the interests of the Whigs. This narrow field did not suit Mr. Greeley, and

after the downfall of the Whig party in 1852, he launched out upon the broader and more perilous sea of independent journalism. He aimed to make the *Tribune* a great, powerful and fearless organ of *the right*, the enemy of wrong and injustice in any form, the friend of the helpless and the defender of the oppressed. He wished to build up a sound, healthy tone in public opinion and public morals, and to do his share manfully in helping his country to achieve its high destiny. He was often mistaken in his views, but no man may question the purity of his motives. He was so honest and earnest, so open and ingenuous, that it was not possible for him to avoid mistakes. His aspirations are thus eloquently stated by him in his autobiography: "Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings; the only earthly certainty is oblivion; no man can foresee what a day may bring forth, while those who cheer to-day will often curse to-morrow; and yet I cherish the hope that the journal I projected and established will live and flourish long after I shall have moulded into forgotten dust, being guided by a larger wisdom, a more unerring sagacity to discern the right, though not by a more unfaltering readiness to embrace and defend it at whatever cost; and that the stone which covers my ashes may bear to future eyes the still intelligible inscription, '*Founder of the New York Tribune.*'"

In 1848, Mr. Greeley was elected to Congress to fill a vacancy. He served in that body from December 1st, 1848, to March 4th, 1849. He failed to make any reputation in Congress, and after that time took no part in any deliberative assembly except the late Constitutional Convention of New York. His true force lay in the profession of his life. He was a born journalist, and as long as he adhered to that calling he was a successful man and a power in the land.

Besides his editorial labors, Mr. Greeley wrote and published several works. His "Hints Towards Reform" appeared in 1850, and his "Glances of Europe" in 1851. In 1852, he completed Sargeant's unfinished "Life of Henry Clay." In 1856 appeared his "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension or Restriction;" in 1859 his "Overland Journey to California;" in 1864, "The American Conflict," a history of the Civil War, his most elaborate work; and in 1869, his "Recollections of a Busy Life."

In April, 1851, Mr. Greeley made a voyage to England to witness the "World's Fair," and upon reaching London found he had been appointed a member of the jury on hardware, the duties of which position he discharged faithfully. During this visit he testified before a Committee of the House of Commons in favor of the repeal of the tax on advertisements and on all periodicals devoted to a dissemination of the current news of the day. He then made a hurried trip through a part of the Continent, and returned to New York about the middle of August. In 1856 he visited Europe a second time to attend the Paris Exposition. During his sojourn in Paris he was arrested upon the complaint of a sculptor who had had a statue, valued at \$2500, broken at the New York Crystal Palace, of which Mr. Greeley had been a director. The sculptor's object was to hold Mr. Greeley responsible for the loss of his property. Being a stranger and unable to procure bail, Mr. Greeley was committed to jail. His case was taken up at once by Mr. Mason, the American Minister, who represented to the French Government that the affairs of the Crystal Palace Company were in the hands of a receiver, and that Mr. Greeley could not, under the laws of New York, be held responsible for the sculptor's loss. Upon this understanding of the matter, Mr. Greeley was released.

Upon the downfall of the Whig party, in November, 1852, the *Tribune*, as we have said, ceased to be a party organ. This was a great relief to Mr. Greeley, whose natural independence had chafed sorely at the restraints of party discipline. He was free now to advocate what he believed to be right, not what was expedient merely. From his boyhood he had been an earnest sympathizer with the efforts to restrict the area of slavery, and the *Tribune* now became one of the leading anti-slavery journals of the country. It was one of the first to espouse the cause of the new Republican party, of which Mr. Greeley was one of the founders. Its course won it and its editor an influence and popularity in the Free States unequalled by that of any journal or editor in the Union; and drew at the same time upon both the bitter hatred of the South. The power which thus passed into Mr. Greeley's hands was genuine. Dr. Brockett well says, "As editor of the *New York Tribune*, he

yielded an influence infinitely greater than any Congressman, Governor, Senator or President could ever hope to exercise. From a quarter to a half a million of men believed in Horace Greeley as religiously as they believed in their Bibles, and many of them revered his opinions more than those of any other human being. He was, in the Republican administration, and had been for a dozen years and more, 'the power behind the throne greater than the throne.'" He was aware of his power, and used it conscientiously for the ends he deemed the best.

At the Chicago Convention of 1860, the influence of Mr. Greeley was cast against Mr. Seward, and secured his defeat and the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. The *Tribune* contributed powerfully to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and gave his measures a hearty support after his inauguration and the breaking out of the Civil War. Mr. Greeley favored a vigorous prosecution of the war, and upon the triumph of the government desired that a generous and conciliatory course should be pursued towards the South. It was his sincere desire to do everything in his power to heal the wounds of the war, and to assist in bringing back, if such a thing were possible, the brotherly feeling that had once existed between the North and the South.

It was this desire that led him to endeavor to secure the release of Jefferson Davis from his imprisonment, and to become one of his sureties when the fallen chief of the Southern Confederacy was released on bail. This act, which he never regretted, cost him a large share of his popularity in the North. He declared that he had saved the country from a national disgrace, and maintained that it was a shame to punish one man for the acts of a whole section.

Mr. Greeley's personal appearance was peculiar. He was careless as to outward appearance, but faultlessly neat in his habits. No one ever saw him with dirty linen, or with soiled outer clothing, except in muddy weather, when, in New York, even a Brummell must be content to be splashed with mud. His usual dress was a black frock coat, a white vest, and black pantaloons reaching to the ankle. His black cravat alone betrayed his carelessness, and that only when it slipped off the collar and worked its way around to the side, as it had a habit of doing. He was five feet ten in height, and stout in propor-

tion. He was partly bald, and his hair was white. He had a light, pinkish complexion, small, sunken blue eyes, a well-shaped mouth and regular features. His beard was perfectly white, and was worn around the throat and under the chin. His hands were small and soft; but his feet and legs were awkward and clumsy, and gave to him a peculiar shuffling gait in walking. His manner was abstracted, and when accosted suddenly he would reply abruptly. His career was one of incessant labor, and it was no wonder that when he came to die he was utterly worn out.

A warmer and more generous heart never beat in a human bosom. His sympathy with misfortune was as ready and as exquisite as a woman's. He could never turn a deaf ear to an appeal for aid, and he gave away large sums in charity every year. He was frequently imposed upon, but he said he thought it better to be deceived often than to turn away one really deserving applicant.

His sense of duty compelled him to oppose the Administration of President Grant, and the *Tribune*, towards the close of Grant's first term, inaugurated a new movement, which resulted in the formation of the Liberal Republican party, composed of many of the founders of the old Republican party. In 1872 this party nominated Mr. Greeley as its candidate for the Presidency, and in an evil hour for himself he accepted the nomination. He was induced to take this step by his belief that his election would aid in bringing about a better state of feeling between the North and the South. His nomination was endorsed by the Democratic party at its National Convention, and he received the support of his life-long political adversaries. His political opponents assailed him with a systematic course of abuse and slander which astonished and shocked him. Many of his old friends deserted him, and joined in the warfare upon him. His sensitive nature suffered keenly from these attacks—all the more because he felt that he had not deserved them. The constant annoyance which he experienced at length began to affect his health.

Just before the close of the campaign, his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, died. She had long been a sufferer, and for the two weeks preceding her death Mr. Greeley abandoned

everything, and devoted himself with unremitting care to her, rarely leaving her bedside, and neglecting in his anxiety to take proper rest. She died on the 30th of October, and Mr. Greeley, utterly unmanned by the blow, gave way to the most bitter grief. He took no further interest in the political campaign, which resulted in his defeat, and it soon became evident that the excitement and annoyance of the campaign and his grief for his wife had unsettled his mind. His bodily strength failed rapidly, and symptoms of insanity appeared. He was conveyed by his friends to a private asylum in Westchester County, where he grew rapidly worse, and died on the 29th of November, 1872, in the sixty-second year of his age.



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD was born at Florida, in Orange County, New York, on the 16th of May, 1801. He was the son of Dr. Samuel S. Seward, a prominent citizen of New York, who was for seventeen years the Judge of the County Court of Orange. Young Seward was a bright and intelligent child, and learned rapidly at the country school at which he began his education. He made such progress that when he was but nine years old, his father sent him to the Farmers' Hall Academy at Goshen, the county seat. He spent several years there, and then returned to his native town, where he completed his preparation for college. In 1816, at the age of fifteen, he entered Union College. He studied hard, and maintained a high standing in his class, excelling in moral philosophy, rhetoric and the classics. In 1819 he entered the Senior Class, and during that year spent six months in the South teaching school. Later in the year he returned to college and graduated with distinction.

Having decided to adopt the law as his profession, Mr. Seward, upon leaving college, entered the office of John Anthon, Esq., of New York, as a pupil. Somewhat later he returned to Orange County and completed his studies under John Duer and Ogden Hoffman. In January, 1822, he was admitted to the bar, and removing to Western New York located himself at Auburn, where he formed a law partnership with Judge John Miller, of that town. This was destined to become a closer tie, for two years later Mr. Seward married the Judge's youngest daughter.

Mr. Seward devoted himself with great industry to his practice, and soon found himself in possession of a large and lucrative business. He also built up a fine reputation as a learned counsel and eloquent speaker. He took naturally to politics, and attached himself to the old Republican party. The ability and enthusiasm with which he advocated the prin-



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

ciples of this party, soon placed him in the ranks of its leaders in New York. In 1824, though but twenty-three years old, Mr. Seward was chosen to draw up the "Address to The People," issued by the Republican Convention of Cayuga County. This address was an able exposure of the history and plans of the Albany Regency. In 1827 he warmly espoused the cause of Greece, then struggling against Turkey, and made a number of speeches in behalf of the patriot cause. In 1828 a Convention of the young men of New York was held at Utica in behalf of the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, and was ably presided over by Mr. Seward. In the same year he was urged by his party to accept the nomination to Congress, but declined it. Mr. Adams was defeated, and the Democratic party triumphantly seated General Jackson in the Presidential chair.

The triumph of the Democracy put an end to the National Republican party as a political organization, and secured, for a time, the triumph of the Albany Regency in New York. Mr. Seward at once connected himself with the Anti-Masonic party, as the only opposition in the State to the Regency. He was nominated by this party to the State Senate in 1830, and though his district had at the last election given a large Democratic majority, was elected by a majority of two thousand over his Democratic competitor. He took his seat in the Senate during the ensuing winter, the youngest member of that body. The Senate was strongly Democratic, and party discipline was very rigid. Mr. Seward was looked up to by the small minority as one of its leaders, and fully merited the distinction. He maintained a vigorous opposition to the ruling party, spoke often and ably, and advocated unceasingly the series of reforms which did so much to enhance the prosperity of New York. Among other measures he favored the repeal of the laws prescribing imprisonment for debt, the extension of the suffrage, the inauguration of the free school system upon a better basis, and the assistance of the State to the Erie Railway.

In the summer of 1833, Mr. Seward made a brief visit to Europe for rest and pleasure. During his absence he corresponded regularly with the Albany "Evening Journal." His letters were widely read and won him considerable credit.

Returning in the fall of 1833, he was in his place at the opening of the Senate in the winter of 1833-4.

The controversy over the National Bank in 1832 gave rise to the Whig party, with which Mr. Seward soon united himself. His influence in this organization was very great from the first, and in the fall of 1834, he was nominated as the Whig candidate for Governor of New York. His opponent was William L. Marcy. Though Mr. Seward ran ahead of his ticket in every county in the State, he was defeated, and Mr. Marcy was chosen Governor by a decided majority. In 1838 the Whigs again nominated Mr. Seward for Governor, and elected him by a majority of ten thousand. He was reelected by about the same majority in 1840.

It is admitted, even by his enemies, that he made an excellent Governor. During his term of office, imprisonment for debt was abolished, and various reforms were effected in the administration of justice in the State, in the banking system, in the management of the prisons, and in the election laws. The Erie Canal was enlarged during this period. While he was Governor of New York, a number of colored sailors on vessels trading between New York and the ports of Virginia and Georgia, were charged with abducting slaves from those States. The rendition of the sailors was demanded of Governor Seward, but he refused to comply with the demand, and supported his refusal by an argument of great ability. A little later the Democrats secured a majority in the Legislature of New York, and passed resolutions denouncing the course of Governor Seward, who was requested to transmit the resolutions to the Governor of Virginia. He declined to do so, and maintained with firmness his refusal to give up the negroes. Another instance of his firmness was given in the famous McLeod case. Alexander McLeod, a British subject, residing in Canada, boasted, in 1840, that he had been engaged in the burning of the steamer *Caroline*, in the Canadian rebellion of 1837, and had killed the American who was shot in the conflict which occurred at the time. Shortly afterwards he visited the State of New York, and was arrested upon a charge of murder by the authorities of that State. The British Government demanded of the President of the United States the unconditional

surrender of McLeod, on the ground that he had merely obeyed the orders of his government, and was not responsible for his acts. The General Government thereupon demanded of the State of New York the surrender of McLeod to the Federal authorities. Governor Seward refused to comply with this demand, and declared that as the murder for which the prisoner was indicted had been committed within the jurisdiction of the State of New York, he must submit to be tried for it under the laws of the State. The British Minister at Washington threatened loudly in the name of his Government, and the administration of President Tyler threw all its weight in favor of the surrender of the prisoner. Governor Seward was firm, however. McLeod was brought to trial, but as he succeeded in proving that he was not present in the affair of the *Caroline*, he was acquitted and released. The conflict between the Federal and State authorities led to the passage of a law by Congress providing for the trial of similar offences before the United States Courts.

In January, 1843, Governor Seward, having declined a "third term," withdrew from public life, and for the next six years devoted himself to his practice. His business during this period lay chiefly in the higher courts of the State, and in the District and Supreme Courts of the United States. He was engaged in a large number of patent cases, in which he was generally successful, and which brought him a great increase of reputation and a large income, and placed him among the leading lawyers of the Union. He was a man of generous sympathy, and was always ready to advise or to defend the unfortunate and oppressed without any reward but the approval of his own conscience. A notable instance of this occurred when he was at the height of his fame as a lawyer. A negro named Freeman had murdered a family named Van Ness, in Orange county, New York. There was a general desire that the murderer should receive the full penalty of the law. Mr. Seward was applied to to defend the man, and upon his first interview with him was convinced that the poor fellow was hopelessly insane and was more deserving of kind treatment than of death. He was ridiculed and roundly denounced for undertaking the defence of the negro; but stood by him until

the man died. An autopsy was then held, and showed conclusively to the satisfaction of even the most prejudiced, that Mr. Seward's belief in the negro's insanity was well-founded, and "that his course had been as wise as it was confessedly humane and generous." He would not consent to receive any compensation for his services in this case.

Though he held no official position during the six years following his retirement from the Gubernatorial chair, Mr. Seward did not cease to take an active interest in and exercise a controlling influence upon the politics of his native State. He favored the Tariff of 1842; but opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. In 1846 he aided in securing the calling of a State Convention for the revision of the Constitution of the State. During this period he delivered two noted eulogies—one at New York, in September, 1847, "On the Life and Character of Daniel O'Connell;" the other in April, 1848, before the Legislature of New York, on the death of John Quincy Adams. He supported General Taylor for the Presidency in 1848, and "stumped" the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts in his behalf.

Early in 1849 Mr. Seward was elected to the Senate of the United States. During the short administration of President Taylor he was in intimate confidential relations with the President, and was one of the recognized leaders of his party in the Senate.

For many years Mr. Seward had been noted as one of the boldest and most uncompromising leaders of the anti-slavery party. He was utterly opposed to allowing slavery to increase its area by one foot, as he believed that, by confining it to the States in which it already existed, it would eventually die out. He denied Mr. Calhoun's doctrine that the Constitution of its own force established slavery in the Territories, and claimed that freedom was the natural condition of those Territories, and that Congress had no power to legislate slavery into them. When the Compromise Measures of 1850 were brought before Congress, he opposed them with all the eloquence he was master of. He was opposed to any Compromise with slavery, and was determined that it should never gain a foot of fresh territory if he could help it. His opposition to the Com-

promise arrayed him against the Administration, and against the leaders of his own party. In a speech in the Senate on the 11th of March, 1850, he gave utterance to the following sentiments: "We hold no arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constiution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare and to liberty. But *there is a Higher Law than the Constitution*, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purpose." This bold enunciation of the doctrine that there was a "Higher Law than the Constitution," astounded the whole country. It was fiercely discussed by the opposite parties, and was finally made by the extreme anti-slavery party the justification of its warfare upon slavery. It marked a new stage in the contest between freedom and slavery.

Mr. Seward favored the passage of a Homestead Law, and did as much as any man in Congress to secure the success of that measure some years later. He was one of the earliest friends of the Pacific Railway, and was generally found on the side of progress and reform. In the great struggle over the Kansas and Nebraska Bill he won especial distinction by his eloquent and bold opposition to the attempt to force slavery upon those Territories. During his whole career in Congress, there was scarcely a debate of importance in which he did not take part. His speeches were marked by a force of reasoning and an eloquence that won the admiration of even his political adversaries. By the South he was regarded as the ablest leader of the Free Soil party, and consequently came in for an abundant share of the hatred of that section. In the Free States his popularity was very great, and he was considered one of the first statesmen of his time. Personally, Mr. Seward was very popular among the Southern Senators in Congress, many of whom were his warm friends.

In spite of his activity in Congress, Mr. Seward found time to give to other public services. In the summer of 1854 he delivered the annual oration before the Literary Societies of Yale College, and in October of that year argued the celebrated "McCormick Reaper Case" in the United States Circuit Court, one of the most famous causes in our annals.

In February, 1855, Mr. Seward was returned to the Senate for a second term of six years, in spite of a most determined opposition by the Democratic and Know-nothing parties. In December, 1855, he delivered the annual address at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in commemoration of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. He took a leading part in the Thirty-Fourth Congress in the debates on the Kansas troubles, and in the Presidential campaign of 1856 took the stump in support of Fremont and Dayton. He had been one of the founders of the Republican party, and had rendered it valuable service since its organization. His efforts on this occasion were unsuccessful, and the campaign resulted in the election of Mr. Buchanan.

Upon the reassembling of Congress in December, 1856, Mr. Seward was recognized as the leader of the Republican party in the Senate. He spoke often during the session, and upon a variety of subjects. He advocated the claims of the survivors of the Revolution; the extension of assistance by the Government to the Atlantic Telegraph; the construction of a telegraph line to California; the establishment of an overland mail route, and the construction of a railway to the Pacific. He delivered an able speech in review of the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, and advocated a revision of the Federal Courts in order to meet the wants of the newer portions of the Union. He was especially active during the sessions of the Thirty-fifth Congress, and spoke on every important question, and upon many of the minor ones that came before that body. He manfully opposed the effort of the Administration to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas, and defended the right of the people of that Territory to form their institutions to suit themselves. He advocated the increase of the army in Utah and the suppression of the Mormon Rebellion of 1857. He supported the bills for the admission of Minnesota and Oregon into the Union; and urged upon the Administration the duty of demanding reparation for the outrages of British cruisers upon American vessels in the Gulf of Mexico. During the recess of Congress he argued the famous "Albany Bridge Case" before the Supreme Court of the United States. His speeches during this trial exhibited a remarkable knowledge of Constitutional law and the laws of navigation.

In the summer and fall of 1858, Mr. Seward took an active part in the canvass which preceded the elections for State officers and members of Congress. He made a number of speeches during this campaign, some of which attracted the attention of the whole country by the boldness of their declarations. His speech at Rochester was the most marked of these. In it he reviewed the conflict between the free and the slave systems of labor in this country. "Shall I tell you," he said, "what this collision means? Those who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an *irrepressible conflict* between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free labor nation." Mr. Seward's words were bitterly denounced at the time by the Democratic party as incendiary and revolutionary, and many of the most conservative men of the country regarded them as the declaration of a partisan; but they were simply the utterance of the convictions of a statesman, who had learned the lesson of all history, that slavery and free labor cannot exist in the same political system.

In 1859 Mr. Seward made a second visit to Europe, to seek the rest his constant activity had rendered necessary. He was absent some months.

In the spring of 1860 the National Convention of the Republican party met at Chicago to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Seward was by common consent the first man in the party, and it was generally supposed that he would receive the nomination. He had to encounter the opposition of Horace Greeley, the powerful editor of the *New York Tribune*, with whom he had quarreled. The friends of Mr. Seward did not attach much importance to this opposition at first, and on the first ballot their candidate received 173½ votes, to 102 cast for Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Greeley now threw all his influence on the side of Mr. Lincoln, and the second ballot stood Seward, 184½, Lincoln, 181. On the third ballot Mr. Seward's vote fell off very largely, and Mr. Lincoln received 230½ votes, or within one and a half of a nomination. A change of four votes in Lincoln's favor was at once made, and secured him the nom-

ination. Mr. Seward accepted the decision with characteristic philosophy, and supported the Republican ticket in the canvass of 1860.

Upon the inauguration of President Lincoln, Mr. Seward was appointed Secretary of State, which office he at once accepted. During the exciting period which had intervened between the election and inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, he had advocated a firm and decided course on the part of Mr. Buchanan and his Cabinet, but without success. He was now prepared to support with all his energy the measures of President Lincoln for the preservation of the Union. His influence with the President was very great, and he was Lincoln's most confidential and trusted adviser. Though not so thoroughly the leading spirit of the Administration as was believed at the time, he was the most influential member of the Cabinet. He possessed the entire confidence of President Lincoln, and was responsible for many of the acts of the Administration.

Mr. Seward remained at the head of the Cabinet during the whole of Mr. Lincoln's Presidency. His conduct of the State Department was admirable and statesmanlike as regarded the intercourse of the country with foreign nations. At the outset of the war the situation of this country was delicate and even critical. Great Britain and France were eager spectators of our struggle, and were more than half inclined to intervene in favor of the South. France was perfectly prepared for such a step, and was deterred from it only by the hesitation of England. Mr. Seward's judicious course did more than anything else to increase this hesitation and so prevent intervention. His skillful diplomacy was strikingly manifested in the settlement of the Trent affair, which came very near embroiling the United States in war with Great Britain.

Mr. Seward did not give entire satisfaction by his administration of his office, however. The freedom with which he used the power of arbitrary arrest amounted sometimes almost to recklessness, and was severely condemned by many of the staunchest supporters of the Union. Not even the exceptional state of affairs caused by a great civil war can entirely excuse him for this abuse of power. He was willing to recognize the Mexican Empire, notwithstanding the fact that Congress had

pledged the moral support of this country to Juarez and the Republican cause. These things and other measures of the Secretary gave so much dissatisfaction that the National Republican Convention, in nominating Mr. Lincoln for a second term in 1864, requested him to reconstruct his Cabinet. Mr. Seward at once offered his resignation to the President, but Mr. Lincoln, who knew that in spite of Mr. Seward's faults he could not be spared from the Cabinet, refused to accept it. His own confidence in him never wavered, and after his second inauguration he continued him at the head of the Cabinet.

Early in April, 1865, while driving through Washington, Mr. Seward was thrown from his carriage and seriously injured. His arm was broken and both sides of his lower jaw were fractured. He was conveyed to his residence, and for some days it was believed that his hurts would prove fatal. While lying in this helpless condition he came near falling a victim to the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of President Lincoln. One of the conspirators was assigned the duty of assassinating the Secretary of State as he lay helpless on his sick bed. He forced his way into the chamber about the same moment that the fatal shot was fired at Mr. Lincoln, and severely wounded Frederick Seward, who, unarmed, sought to defend his father. The male nurse was then struck down, and the assassin sprang to the bedside, stabbed the helpless Secretary three times in the face, and then fled, supposing he had killed him. These wounds seriously retarded the recovery of Mr. Seward, but he rallied, and after some weeks was on his feet again. The assassin was captured and convicted of his crime, and was hanged.

President Johnson, upon succeeding Mr. Lincoln, retained Mr. Seward at the head of the Cabinet, and during the next four years the latter sustained the policy of President Johnson. He did not approve of the extreme measures of Congress towards the Southern States, but believed that a more generous policy would bring about more quickly the reconstruction of the Union. He therefore sustained the President in his quarrel with Congress, and in doing so alienated many of his oldest and best friends, who thought he should have taken the side of Congress in this quarrel. He was subjected to a great deal of misrepresentation and abuse, which pained him very

much, but he refused to offer any explanation or justification of his course, trusting to time to vindicate both his motives and his conduct.¹

On the 29th of March, 1867, Mr. Seward brought to a close the negotiations he had been for some time carrying on with Russia for the purchase of her North American territory. By the treaty concluded on this day, all of Russian America was ceded to the United States for the sum of \$7,200,000 in gold. The treaty was ratified by the Senate on the 9th of April, and the new Territory was organized in 1868 under the name of Alaska. The purchase was not popular; whether it will prove a valuable acquisition to the United States remains to be seen. Up to the present time the country has not derived any benefit from it. Mr. Seward next proposed to purchase the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, but his project was so warmly opposed by Congress and by the country at large that he was obliged to abandon it.

¹ At the commencement of the war Mr. Seward was accused by the ultra anti-slavery men of being willing to sacrifice the cause of freedom to his desire to save the Union. He felt this charge very keenly, but refused to make any defence. To one of his most intimate friends he wrote, in reply to a letter upon this subject, the following:

“WASHINGTON, *February 23d, 1861.*”

“MY DEAR SIR:—The American people in our day have two great interests—one, the ascendancy of freedom over slavery; the other, the integrity of the Union. The slavery interest has derived its whole political power from bringing the latter object in antagonism with the former. Twelve years ago freedom was in danger, and the Union was not. I spoke then so singly for freedom that short-sighted men inferred that I was disloyal to the Union. I endured the reproach without complaining: now I have my vindication. To-day, practically, freedom is not in danger, and the Union is. With the loss of union all would be lost. With the attempt to maintain union by civil war *wantonly* brought on, there would be danger of reaction against the Administration, charged with the preservation of both freedom and the Union. Now, therefore, I speak singly for union, striving, if possible, to save it peaceably; if not possible, then to cast the responsibility upon the party of Slavery. For this singleness of speech, I am now suspected of infidelity to freedom. In this case, as in the other, I refer myself, not to the men of my time, but to the judgment of history. I thank you, my dear sir, for having anticipated what I think history will pronounce.

“But do not publish or show this letter. Leave me to be misunderstood. I am not impatient. I write only to you because I would not be, nor seem to be, ungrateful. Faithfully yours, WM. H. SEWARD.

“*Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson.*”

On the 4th of March, 1869, Mr. Seward withdrew from public life and returned to his home at Auburn. A few months later he made a visit to Mexico. He was warmly received by the Mexican Government and people, who forgot his former willingness to recognize Maximilian in their gratitude for the vigor with which he finally conducted the negotiation which resulted in the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico by the Emperor Napoleon at the demand of the United States. From Mexico he went to California, and visited the prominent points on the Pacific coast. In August, 1869, having been joined by several members of his family, he sailed from San Francisco to Japan, and successively visited that country, China, India, Palestine, Egypt, and the principal countries of Europe. He was everywhere received with distinguished honors, for the able statesmanship he had displayed in his conduct of the intercourse of this country with foreign nations during the Civil War was more highly appreciated abroad than at home. He returned home in October, 1871, and began the preparation of a narrative of his "Travels Around the World." While engaged in this task, he was seized with his last illness and died at his home in Auburn, on the 10th of October, 1872.

The vindication for which he looked has come in part already. The American people are coming to appreciate his great services as they never did during his life, and now that the passions of the times of which he formed a part are subsiding, are beginning to do justice to the motives that guided him throughout his eventful career.



SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.

AQUILA CHASE, the ancestor of the subject of this memoir, was born in Cornwall, England, in 1618. While a young man he emigrated to America, and settled in the town of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Dudley Chase, the fourth in descent from this founder of the family in America, obtained the grant of a considerable tract of land on the Connecticut River, within the limits of New Hampshire, and settled upon it. He named the settlement Cornish, in memory of his descent from a Cornishman, and the town still bears the name. He was the father of several sons, all of whom became noted men. One of them was Philander Chase, the Episcopal Bishop of Ohio; another was D. P. Chase, a Senator from Vermont, and Chief Justice of that State. A third was Ithamar Chase, the father of the subject of this memoir. He was a man of great stature, of noble and commanding presence, and was noted for the dignity and courtesy of his manner. He was one of the best-known men in his State. He accumulated a large fortune by his industry in business, but took but little share in public life. He was a justice of the peace, and for many years served as a member of the Executive Council of the State. He lost his property by the commercial disasters which followed in the train of the second war with England, and in 1815 removed to Keene, New Hampshire, where he died suddenly in 1817.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE, the second son of Ithamar Chase, was born at Cornish, New Hampshire, on the 13th of January, 1808. He was nine years old at the time of his father's death. His mother was a woman of Scotch descent, and was possessed of the thrift and energy of her race. Though but little was left to her out of the wreck of her husband's fortune, she made the best use of that little, and managed her slender resources with such good judgment that she was able to keep her family in comparative comfort and maintain a respectable position for them. Salmon received his first instruction from her, and was



SALMON P. CHASE.

afterwards sent to the public school at Keene, from which he passed to a boarding school at Windsor, Vermont, kept by one of his father's friends. He learned rapidly, and made great progress in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. In the spring of 1820, Bishop Chase wrote to his sister-in-law, offering to receive Salmon into his own family, and educate him. Mrs. Chase readily accepted the offer, and in the summer of 1820, Salmon set out on the then long and toilsome journey to Ohio.

Bishop Chase resided at that time at Worthington, in the interior of Ohio, and upon reaching Cleveland, Salmon was obliged to remain nearly a month with a friend of his uncle, until he could find an opportunity of completing his journey. At length two theological students came along on their way to Worthington, and took him in charge. In their company he made the long journey through what was then a wild and almost unbroken country, and reached his uncle in safety.

Bishop Chase set his nephew to earning his living as soon as he entered his family. He was put to work on the farm, and assigned the hard and menial duties of "chore boy," or boy of all work. He was kept so busy with these labors that his studies were seriously interrupted, and he was obliged to study harder than would otherwise have been necessary, in order to keep up with his class. He did keep up with it, however, and in 1821 was the Greek Orator at the commencement exercises of the Bishop's school. He also exhibited great proficiency in composition and the English branches. One of his school-mates has given us this picture of him in his schoolboy days: 'Never have I known a purer or more virtuous-minded lad than he was. He had an extreme aversion to anything dishonorable or vicious. He was industrious and attentive to business. Laboring on the farm of his uncle, he missed many recitations, and had but limited chances for study; yet, having a natural fondness for books, he was surpassed by no one of his age in the school. He had little regard for his personal appearance, or, indeed, for anything *external*. His mind appeared to be directed to what was *right*, regardless of the opinions of others.'

In 1823 Bishop Chase was elected to the Presidency of the College at Cincinnati, and accepted it. Salmon went with his uncle's family to Cincinnati, and there found his position very

much bettered, as he was released from the hard labors of the farm, and was able to give more time to his studies. He entered the Freshman Class of the College, and had reached the Sophomore Class, when the Bishop resigned the Presidency of the College, in August, 1823, to devote himself to the task of establishing Kenyon College, which owes its existence and prosperity to him. This put an end to Salmon's studies, and as the Bishop soon sailed for England to seek the funds with which to found his new school, Salmon was obliged to return to his home in New Hampshire. He made a large part of the journey on foot, and reached Keene in the fall of 1823. He obtained the position of teacher in the public school, which he held for a short while, and then entered the Academy at Royalton, Vermont, to prepare for college. He spent a few months at this school, and in 1824 entered the Junior Class at Dartmouth College. He made the best use of his time at this institution, and in 1826 graduated, the eighth in his class.

After leaving college, young Chase repaired to Washington City and applied to his uncle, then a Senator from Vermont, to obtain for him a clerkship under the Government. The Senator, who had formed quite a favorable opinion of his nephew's capabilities, told the young man that he would willingly give him the money to buy a pickaxe and a spade, that he might earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, but that nothing would induce him to ruin his nephew's whole future by helping him to a Government office. Young Chase therefore opened a school in Washington, and among his pupils were sons of Henry Clay, William Wirt and other distinguished public men. The little leisure time that remained to him after his school hours were over, he devoted to the study of the law, under William Wirt, then the brilliant Attorney-General of the United States. He continued his school until 1829, when, being of age, and having completed his legal studies, he closed it, and was admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia in February, 1830.

Mr. Chase had no idea of commencing his practice in Washington, but had from the first determined to locate himself in Cincinnati. Early in March, 1830, he set out for Ohio, and upon reaching Cincinnati lost no time in getting to work.

Shortly after his arrival there he formed a partnership with Edward King, Esq., son of Rufus King, a Senator of the United States from New York. This connection was soon dissolved, and in 1833 Mr. Chase formed a new partnership with Mr. Caswell, an established and prosperous member of the Cincinnati bar. The young lawyer slowly built up a reputation and a practice. While still struggling with fortune he prepared a compilation of the Statutes of Ohio, prefaced with a brief history of the State, and enriched with numerous notes. This work, when published, was comprised in three large octavo volumes, and is a monument to the industry and skill of the young advocate. It was a much-needed work, and quickly took the place of all other collections of the Ohio statutes. Its excellence was generally admitted, and it has ever since been regarded by the courts of the State as the highest authority upon the matters whereof it treats. It won for Mr. Chase a high reputation among his professional brethren, and was one of the causes of his appointment in the spring of 1834 to the position of Solicitor of the Bank of the United States in Cincinnati. Shortly afterwards he was placed in charge of the business of another of the city banks, and his practice increased so rapidly that he was soon regarded as one of the most prosperous lawyers of Cincinnati. In 1837 he dissolved his partnership with Mr. Caswell, and a little later formed a new one with a Mr. Ellis.

In 1836 he took the first step in the great service he was to render to the cause of freedom. In that year the office of "the Philanthropist," a free soil paper, published by James G. Birney, was attacked by a mob of sympathizers with slavery, and was literally gutted; its types were thrown into the street, and its presses destroyed. But for the prompt and courageous interference of Mr. Chase, who organized and led a party of law abiding citizens to the rescue, Birney would have been murdered by the excited mob. Mr. Chase had always disapproved of slavery, and now began to take an active part in opposition to it. In 1837 he defended gratuitously a slave woman who was claimed as a fugitive from service under the law of 1793. In his argument in this case he denied the right of Congress to delegate to the officials of the several States the power to ap-

prehend and restore fugitive slaves to their owners. This position was maintained with great force, and was subsequently endorsed by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. He also held that the law of 1793 was not warranted by the Constitution, and was therefore void. The people of Cincinnati at that time were largely in sympathy with the institution of slavery, and Mr. Chase's defence of this slave woman, which was unsuccessful, was regarded with general disfavor, and was looked upon by his friends as a mistake. As he was leaving the court room he heard a prominent citizen remark to a companion, "There goes a promising young man who has just ruined himself."

In 1837 James G. Birney was tried before the Supreme Court of Ohio, for harboring a fugitive slave. Mr. Chase was his counsel, basing his defence on the broad ground that slavery was a local institution, and depended for its existence and protection upon the legislation of the States which fostered it, but that it had no existence beyond the limits of these States, and that when a slave was brought by his master into a Free State, he was *de facto et de jure* free. He was also counsel for the accused in several other important fugitive slave cases, in the next two or three years, and greatly added to his professional reputation, and became known to the whole country as one of the leading opponents of slavery.

Up to this time Mr. Chase had not engaged in the political controversies of the day. In the campaign of 1840, he took a more active part, and gave his support to General Harrison for the Presidency. Soon after the accession of Mr. Tyler to the Presidency, Mr. Chase became convinced that the Whig party would do nothing for the anti-slavery cause, and that in order to accomplish their ends the anti-slavery men must organize themselves into a distinct political party. He set to work to accomplish this in Ohio, and in 1841 induced others to join him in calling a State Convention of the opponents of slavery. The Convention met in December, organized the "Liberal party" of Ohio, and nominated a candidate for Governor. They failed to elect him.

In 1843 Mr. Chase was sent by the Liberal party as one of its delegates to the National Liberty Convention which met at

Buffalo. He was one of the Committee on Resolutions of this Convention. A resolution was offered to the Committee, calling upon the opponents of slavery "to regard and treat the third clause of the Constitution, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it." Mr. Chase denounced this resolution as infamous, and procured its rejection by the Committee. At a subsequent period of his life, when a Senator of the United States, he was taunted by Senator Butler, of South Carolina, with being the author of this resolution. He replied indignantly, "I never proposed the resolution; I never would propose or vote for such a resolution. I hold no doctrine of mental reservation; every man, in my judgment, should speak just as he thinks, keeping back nothing, here or elsewhere."

Mr. Chase labored actively in the effort to build up a strong anti-slavery party in Ohio, and many of the most important documents of that party were from his pen. He issued the call for the Free Soil Convention of 1848, which met at Buffalo, New York, and nominated Martin Van Buren for the Presidency of the United States. During all this time he carried on an extensive law practice, and was concerned in several important cases which grew out of the war against slavery. He was associated with Mr. Seward in the defence of John Van Zandt, who was tried before the Supreme Court of the United States for aiding in the escape of certain slaves from their masters. He argued with great force that "under the ordinance of 1787, no fugitives from service could be reclaimed from Ohio, unless there had been an escape from one of the original States; that it was the clear understanding of the framers of the Constitution, and of the people who adopted it, that slavery was to be left exclusively to the disposal of the several States, without sanction or support from the National Government; and that the clause of the Constitution relative to persons held to service was one of compact between the States, and conferred no power of legislation on Congress, having been transferred from the ordinance of 1787, in which it conferred no power on the Confederation and was never understood to confer any."

Mr. Chase had now been, for some years, the recognized leader of the anti-slavery party of Ohio, and had the satisfaction of seeing his views gradually adopted by the better part of the people of the State. He did not propose to make any violent attack upon the institution of slavery in the States in which it then existed. He meant to "use all Constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of slavery in the respective States, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States." He advocated an uncompromising resistance to the extension of slavery into any part of the Union in which it did not already exist, and denied the power of Congress to legislate slavery into any of the Territories, maintaining that freedom was the normal condition of the Territories. He urged these views upon the people of Ohio with such force that they were generally adopted by them without respect to party. The Liberal party having ceased to exist, Mr. Chase, after the defeat of Mr. Van Buren and the election of President Taylor, gave his support to the policy and candidates of the Democratic party in Ohio, which at that time united with him in his opposition to the extension of slavery. He declared, however, that he would break with it whenever it should transfer its support to the side of slavery. With this clear understanding of his position, he was elected by the Ohio Legislature, on the 22d of February, 1849, to the Senate of the United States. He received the entire Democratic vote, and was supported by many of the Free Soil Whigs in the Legislature.

Mr. Chase took his seat in the Senate at the opening of the session of 1849-50. The Compromise Measures of 1850 constituted the all-absorbing question of this session. Mr. Chase opposed the Compromise, as he was not willing to make any concession to slavery. On the 27th of March, 1850, he delivered an able speech in opposition to the bills reported by Mr. Clay, and during the debate on these measures spoke frequently and with marked ability. He did not succeed in defeating the Compromise, however, and was also unsuccessful in his efforts to secure an amendment to the Fugitive Slave Law requiring alleged fugitive slaves to be tried by a jury.

Up to 1852 Mr. Chase acted with the Democracy. The

nomination of General Pierce for the Presidency in that year, and the endorsement by the Baltimore Convention of 1852 of the Compromise of 1850, showed him that the Democratic party was resolved to give its support to the slavery cause. He at once severed his connection with the Ohio Democracy, and took an active part in organizing an Independent Democratic party, with which he acted for about a year. The struggle over the Kansas-Nebraska bill broke up this connection. Mr. Chase was an ardent opponent of this bill, and labored with all his ability to secure its defeat, but in vain. The support given to the bill by the Democratic party showed him that he could not continue his connection with any part of it, and he gave his support to the movement which a few years later resulted in the organization of the Republican party. While in the Senate Mr. Chase advocated the Homestead Bill, the Pacific Railway, the bill for the reduction of postage, and other liberal and progressive measures.

The support given by the Administration of Mr. Pierce to the effort to force slavery upon the Territories created a strong opposition to it in the free States. In Ohio this opposition embraced the majority of the voters of the State. In 1855 Mr. Chase was nominated by this party for the office of Governor of Ohio, and was elected by a decisive majority. At the meeting of the National Convention of the Republican party he was strongly urged to accept the nomination for the Presidency, but declined it, and supported General Fremont after his nomination by the Convention.

As Governor of Ohio, Mr. Chase greatly added to his reputation as a statesman. He induced the Legislature to inaugurate a thorough and excellent reform in the public school system of the State, and secured the adoption of other measures of great benefit, among which was the change from biennial to annual sessions of the Legislature. A very marked instance of his firmness and decision was given during the first year of his term. A few days before the semi-annual interest was due on the State debt, Governor Chase discovered a serious deficit in the State Treasury. The matter had been concealed by the Treasurer so long that there was danger that the State would not be able to meet its interest. The Governor at once demanded and com-

pelled the resignation of the Treasurer, and caused a thorough investigation of his accounts to be made. By prompt and decisive measures he effected an arrangement by which the interest on the debt was met, and the credit of the State preserved.

In 1858 Mr. Chase was reëlected Governor by a handsome majority in spite of a vigorous effort of the Administration party to defeat him. His second term was as satisfactory to the people as the first, and he was able to secure the enactment by the Legislature of measures for the better protection and more systematic administration of the finances of the State. He also secured the adoption of a liberal policy on the part of the State towards its benevolent institutions. In 1860, at the close of his second term, he was again elected to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of Ohio.

Mr. Chase gave an active support to Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency in the campaign of 1860, and contributed very greatly to his election. Upon the secession of South Carolina, he declared himself in favor of a prompt and vigorous course on the part of the Government for the preservation of the Union. In February, 1861, he was a member of the Ohio delegation to the Peace Congress which met at Washington. In this body he opposed all concessions to the seceded States for the mere sake of peace. In his speech of February 6th, he thus declared the sentiments of the Free States with respect to the question of slavery, the great cause of all the trouble: "The election (of Mr. Lincoln) must be regarded as a triumph of principles cherished in the hearts of the people of the Free States. These principles, it is true, were originally asserted by a small party only. But, after years of discussion, they have, by their own value, their own intrinsic soundness, obtained the deliberate and unalterable sanction of the people's judgment. Chief among these principles is the restriction of slavery within State limits; *not* war upon slavery within those limits, but fixed opposition to its extension beyond them. Mr. Lincoln was the candidate of the people opposed to the extension of slavery. We have elected him. After many years of earnest advocacy and of severe trial, we have achieved the triumph of that principle. By a fair and unquestionable majority, we have secured that triumph. Do you think we, who represent this majority, will

throw it away? Do you think the people would sustain us if we undertook to throw it away? I must speak to you plainly, gentlemen of the South. It is not in my heart to deceive you. I therefore tell you explicitly, that if we of the North and West would consent to throw away all that has been gained in the recent triumph of our principles, the people would not sustain us, and so the consent would avail you nothing. And I must tell you further, that under no inducements whatever will we consent to surrender a principle which we believe to be so sound and so important as that of restricting slavery within State limits."

He was willing to do much to preserve the Union, but not at the expense of freedom. He declared himself unalterably opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law. With respect to this law he spoke as follows: "Aside from the Territorial question—the question of slavery outside of slave States—I know of but one serious difficulty. I refer to the questions concerning fugitives from service. The clause in the Constitution concerning this class of persons is regarded by almost all men, North and South, as a stipulation for the surrender to their masters of slaves escaping into the Free States. The people of the Free States, however, who believe that slaveholding is wrong, cannot and will not aid in the reclamation, and the stipulation becomes, therefore, a dead letter. You complain of bad faith, and the complaint is retorted by denunciations of the cruelty which would drag back to bondage the poor slave who has escaped from it. You, thinking slavery right, claim the fulfilment of the stipulation; we, thinking slavery wrong, cannot fulfil the stipulation without consciousness of participation in wrong. Here is a real difficulty, but it seems to me not insuperable. It will not do for us to say to you, in justification of non-performance, 'the stipulation is immoral, and therefore we cannot execute it;' for you deny the immorality, and we cannot assume to judge for you. On the other hand, you ought not to exact from us the literal performance of the stipulation, when you know that we cannot perform it without conscious culpability. A true solution of the difficulty seems to be attainable by regarding it as a simple case where a contract, from changed circumstances, cannot be fulfilled exactly as made. A court of

equity in such a case decrees execution as near as may be. It requires the party who cannot perform to make compensation for non-performance. Why cannot the same principle be applied to the rendition of fugitives from service? We cannot surrender, but we can compensate. Why not then avoid all difficulties on all sides, and show respectively good faith and good will, by providing and accepting compensation where masters reclaim escaping servants and prove their right of reclamation under the Constitution? Instead of a judgment for rendition, let there be a judgment for compensation, determined by the true value of the services, and let the same judgment assure freedom to the fugitive. The cost to the National Treasury would be as nothing in comparison with the evils of discord and strife. All parties would be gainers."

The Peace Congress was a failure, and the trouble increased.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Chase took his seat in the Senate, and at the same time was appointed by President Lincoln Secretary of the Treasury. He accepted the position with reluctance, and only at the urgent request of his friends. He gave a cordial support to the measures of the President, and his influence was cast entirely in favor of a vigorous policy. For the first few months of the war he was assigned a part of the duties of the Secretary of War, who was overburdened with the affairs of his department. He discharged these duties with ability and promptness, and by his vigorous measures saved the State of Kentucky from secession, and encouraged the Union men of East Tennessee to resist the authority of the Confederacy. He induced the Secretary of War to issue the order directing military commanders not to surrender fugitive slaves to their masters, but to employ them in the public service, and protect them. These duties were in addition to his own proper labors as Secretary of the Treasury.

When Mr. Chase took charge of the Treasury Department the finances of the country were in a most critical condition. The Government was just entering upon a great and costly war, and was without funds to meet the expenses of such an undertaking. It was necessary to borrow money at once, and on the 22d of March, 1861, Mr. Chase issued proposals for a loan of \$8,000,000, on six per cent. bonds, redeemable at the

end of twenty years. The loan was quickly taken up, and the Secretary rejected all bids below ninety-four cents, as he had no intention of suffering the national credit to be placed at the mercy of the brokers. His firmness was applauded by the country. Between the 11th of April and the 1st of July, the Secretary borrowed \$13,895,000 additional, on two years' treasury notes, exhibiting considerable skill in the negotiation of the loans, and the maintenance of the credit of the Government. Congress assembled in July, and authorized a loan of \$500,000,000.

Mr. Chase now repaired to New York, and met the presidents of the leading banks of that city, Philadelphia and Boston, and in a full and frank conference stated to them the necessities of the Government, and his plan for raising the money necessary to carry on the war. The result of this conference was that the banks agreed to advance the Government \$50,000,000. The Secretary, on his part, agreed to ask subscriptions from the people to a national loan, secured by three years' notes bearing seven-thirty per cent. interest, and convertible into bonds bearing six per cent. interest for twenty years. The proceeds of this subscription were to be turned over to the banks as rapidly as possible, to reimburse them for their advances; and if they should not wipe out this debt, the deficiency was to be made up with seven-thirty notes. A second \$50,000,000 was obtained shortly after on the same terms, and on the 16th of November a loan of \$50,000,000 was negotiated at seven per cent. The banks now united in opposing a further issue of United States notes as calculated to depreciate their local issues, and Mr. Chase threw the whole of his influence in favor of the effort to make "Greenbacks," as the Treasury notes were called, a legal tender. He was successful, and a law was passed by Congress to that effect, and has since been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Chase had more trouble in securing the establishment of the National Bank system than he had in negotiating the loans of the Government. The notes of the old banks constituted a currency which was subject to various discounts in the various States; and it was by no means certain that the majority of these banks would be able to stand the strain imposed

upon them by the war. "There were about 1500 State banks in existence, which wanted to make their own paper the currency of the country. This the Secretary resisted, and confined his loans to greenbacks; but he did not drive out their currency, nor indeed did he think it exactly honest to so deprive them of it, without giving any equivalent. He preferred to neutralize their opposition to a national currency, and make them allies as far as possible, instead of enemies." He therefore proposed the National Bank system, which was at first vehemently opposed both in Congress and by the State banks. He carried it through to success, however, and nearly all the State banks adopted it. "The National Banks were certain to be useful in many ways, but the Secretary's main object was the establishment of a national currency. This saved us from panic and revulsion at the close of the war, and is of inestimable value to men of labor and men of business—indeed, to every class."

The great success of Mr. Chase was his negotiation of the great loans of the Government. The banks having refused to aid him in the early part of the war, he conceived the idea of making the loan authorized by Congress a popular loan. He began cautiously, however, and appointed four hundred special agents to whom he confided the task of disposing of Treasury Notes to the amount of about \$30,000,000. The experiment was successful. Mr. Chase, upon examining the returns of his agents, discovered that notes to the amount of one-third of the whole sum had been sold by Jay Cooke & Co., of Philadelphia. The success of his venture was so encouraging that he now resolved to dispose of the whole five hundred millions of five-twenty bonds authorized by Congress. He selected Jay Cooke as the agent of this loan. The success of the operation is well known, and need not be related here. The bonds were sold at fair prices, and became the most popular securities in the market. The other loans authorized by Congress were negotiated with equal success, and the National debt was placed in the hands of the people, who were the most interested in it.

The drain upon the Treasury was enormous during the last three years of the war. After January 1st, 1862, the expenses

of the Government were over a million of dollars daily. The loans partly furnished the means of meeting these demands, but it was necessary to provide additional funds. Mr. Chase accordingly recommended to Congress, in 1862, the establishment of a system of Internal Revenue, to be drawn from two sources—a tax on manufactures, incomes, salaries and certain articles of personal property, and a stamp duty on all legal documents. These recommendations were adopted by Congress and were finally embodied in laws. The new system went into operation in 1864. It was a heavy burden upon the country, but it was submitted to cheerfully in view of the necessity for it. It enabled the Government to meet the demands upon it, and to make provision for the interest upon its enormous debt.

Mr. Chase's labors were severe, and very trying. He had literally to create the vast and complicated system by which the enormous expenses of the war were met, and the credit of the Government maintained during that terrible struggle. He carried the country successfully through the most trying part of the war, and then, worn-out, and feeling that his great services had not been altogether appreciated, he resigned his Secretaryship on the 30th of June, 1864. He had carried his system to such a degree of perfection that he was no longer needed at its head. Its success was assured.

During the political campaign of 1864, Mr. Chase was brought forward as the candidate for the Presidency of the extreme or Radical wing of the Republican party, which was dissatisfied with Mr. Lincoln. This came near causing a breach between Lincoln and Chase. A rupture was fortunately averted by the strong good sense of the President.

On the 12th of October, 1864, Chief Justice Taney died. Mr. Lincoln was at once besieged by a host of applicants for the place, but he disregarded them all, and appointed Mr. Chase Chief Justice of the United States, on the 6th of December, 1864. The nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate, and Judge Chase was sworn into office on the 15th of December, 1864. "Notwithstanding Mr. Lincoln's apparent hesitation in the appointment of a successor," says Mr. Carpenter, "it is well known to his most intimate friends, that 'there

had never been a time during his Presidency, when, in the event of the death of Judge Taney, he had not fully intended and expected to nominate Salmon P. Chase for Chief Justice.' These were his very words, uttered in connection with this subject."

Shortly after entering upon his new duties, Judge Chase made a tour through the recently conquered Southern States, passing down the Atlantic coast, and returning up the Mississippi River. His object was to obtain a personal knowledge of the condition and wants of the Southern people. Feeling assured that the war was ended, he used this knowledge in advocating with the President and people of the loyal States a policy of generosity towards the South. Now that the Union was safe, Judge Chase was anxious to win back the South by kindness and brotherly conduct.

As Chief Justice of the United States Judge Chase fully sustained the great reputation he had won. His decisions command the respect of the world, and many of them are marked by extraordinary force and ability. He came to the Bench when he was worn out with the herculean labors he had performed during the war, and yet he bore himself with a dignity and ability which won for him the admiration of the whole country. It was his duty to preside over the High Court of Impeachment for the trial of President Johnson in 1868. He discharged this delicate duty with an impartial dignity which stripped the proceeding of many of its worst partisan features.

Judge Chase continued to discharge his duties as Chief Justice until late in the Spring of 1870. He had never entirely recovered from the strain of his severe labors during the war—which were the chief cause of his death—and had for some time been complaining of ill health. After the close of the Spring term of 1870, he made a journey, in company with one of his daughters, to St. Paul and Duluth. On his homeward journey, he was smitten, at Niagara Falls, with a stroke of paralysis. By a powerful effort he kept on his way, and reached the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Sprague, at Narragansett, R. I., where he received medical treatment. He remained there during the winter, and in January, 1871, went to New York to consult a physician. In the fall of 1871 he visited some new

springs in Michigan, from the waters of which he derived much benefit. In the spring of 1872 he partially resumed his duties, and devoted the summer of that year to travel and rest. In the winter he resumed his place in the Supreme Court, and at the close of the term, in the Spring of 1873, went to New York. He reached that city on the 6th of May, and a few hours later was again stricken down with paralysis, and died the next day, May 7th, 1873, at the age of sixty-five.



CHARLES SUMNER.

CHARLES SUMNER was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on the 6th of January, 1811. He was the son of Charles Pinkney Sumner, a prominent citizen of Boston, who was for fourteen years Sheriff of Suffolk county. He was educated at the Latin school of Boston, from which he passed to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1830. Upon leaving college he entered the Law School at Cambridge, where he pursued his legal studies under the immediate supervision of Judge Story. The great jurist conceived a warm friendship for his pupil, and an intimacy sprang up between them which was terminated only by the death of Judge Story. While he was still a student, Mr. Sumner became a leading contributor to the "American Jurist," a quarterly law journal of high character and extensive circulation. In 1833 he edited an edition of Andrew Dunlap's "Treatise on the Practice of the Courts of Admiralty in Civil Causes of Maritime Jurisdiction." The learning and skill displayed by Mr. Sumner in this work won him great credit from the profession. In 1834 he was admitted to the bar at Worcester, and returning to Boston entered upon the practice of his profession. His success was marked from the first, and he was soon the most prosperous young lawyer in the city. Shortly after being admitted to the bar, he was made Reporter to the United States Circuit Court, in which capacity he published three volumes of Judge Story's decisions. About the same time he was given the editorial charge of the "American Jurist," which he conducted with marked ability. During the three years following his admission to the bar he lectured to the students at the Cambridge Law School, filling the chairs of Greenleaf and Story during their absence. These lectures and literary labors gave him a high standing among the members of his profession. Judge Story was very anxious that, at his death, Mr. Sumner should be his successor in the Law School. "I shall die content," he said, "so far as my pro-



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fessorship is concerned, if Charles Sumner is to succeed me." Chancellor Kent declared, some years later, that Mr. Sumner was "the only person in the country competent to wear the mantle of his departed friend."

In 1837 Mr. Sumner made a visit to Europe, and spent three years abroad in travel, and in studying the institutions and laws of the various countries he visited. He bore with him letters of introduction which secured him a flattering reception wherever he went, and his personal qualities won him many friends. He spent nearly a year in England, and was a constant attendant upon the debates in Parliament. He made many acquaintances among the most distinguished public men of the kingdom. "The most flattering attentions were shown Mr. Sumner by distinguished members of the English bar and bench, and while attending the courts at Westminster Hall, he was frequently invited by the judges to sit by their side at the trials. At the meeting of the British Scientific Association, he experienced the same courteous attentions. In town and country, he moved freely in circles of society, to which refinement, wealth and worth, lend every charm and grace." He visited France, Germany, and Italy, where he received similar attentions, and became acquainted with the leading jurists, publicists, scientists and literary men. During his stay in Paris, he wrote, at the request of General Cass, then the American Minister to France, an able defence of the American claim to the North-eastern boundary. It was published, and attracted general attention in both Europe and America.

In 1840 Mr. Sumner returned home and resumed the practice of his profession. In 1843 he was again appointed Lecturer at the Law School. In 1844 he began the publication of "Vesey's Reports," in twenty volumes. This great work was enriched with numerous biographical sketches and explanatory notes from his pen. Its publication was completed in 1846. The *Boston Law Reporter*, referring to the able manner in which Mr. Sumner had executed his task, said of him, "In what may be called the literature of the law—the curiosities of legal learning—he has no rival among us."

On the 4th of July, 1845, Mr. Sumner delivered an eloquent address before the municipal authorities of Boston, entitled

"The True Grandeur of Nations." It was a plea in behalf of universal peace. The Mexican War began to engross the attention of the country before the close of the year, and he delivered several speeches in opposition to it. He had condemned the annexation of Texas, as he regarded it as an effort to extend the area of slavery, and he opposed the Mexican War for the same reason. In politics Mr. Sumner acted with the Whig party, and in 1846 delivered an address before the Whig Convention of Massachusetts on the "Anti-Slavery Duties of of the Whig party," in which he declared his uncompromising hostility to slavery.

In 1848 Mr. Sumner withdrew from the Whig party, and united with the Free Soilers. He advocated the claims of Mr. Van Buren, the candidate of this party for the Presidency. His party was defeated and General Taylor was elected President. On the 3d of October, 1850, he delivered before the Free Soil State Convention at Boston a powerful speech on "Our Recent Anti-Slavery Duties." In it he denounced the Fugitive Slave Bill, and declared that President Fillmore, by signing it, had rendered himself infamous.

Daniel Webster having been called from the Senate of the United States to the head of President Fillmore's Cabinet, it became necessary for the Legislature of Massachusetts to elect his successor. An exciting contest ensued, which resulted in the choice of Mr. Sumner on the 24th of April, 1851, by a coalition of the Free Soilers and Democrats in the Legislature. He took his seat in the Senate immediately after his election. He came pledged to "oppose all *sectionalism*, whether it appear in unconstitutional efforts by the North to carry so great a boon as freedom into the Slave States, or in unconstitutional efforts by the South, aided by Northern allies, to carry the *sectional* evil of slavery into the Free States; or in whatsoever efforts it may make to extend the *sectional* domination of slavery over the National Government."

Mr. Sumner's eloquence was well known to the Senate, and the dominant party in that body determined to keep him silent as long as possible. By a deliberately arranged plan he was never allowed to gain the floor, and for nearly nine months after his entrance into the Senate he was prevented from addressing

that body. At the end of that time, however, he managed to seize an opportunity when his opponents were off their guard, and addressed the Senate on the subject of slavery. His address was entitled "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional," and has become a part of the history of the country. Having spoken once, it was impossible to silence him again, and he took his place as the recognized leader of the anti-slavery party in the Senate. In August, 1853, he spoke at Plymouth Rock, on the subject of slavery; and at the Republican Convention of Massachusetts, in September, 1854; at the Metropolitan Theatre, in New York, in May, 1855, and at Faneuil Hall, in November, 1855, on the same subject. These speeches were among the ablest of his life, and were read throughout the Union.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was introduced into the Senate, Mr. Sumner opposed it with all his powers. He denounced the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction as an outrage upon the honor of the nation. He declared that the repeal would be the death knell of slavery, inasmuch as it annulled all past compromises with slavery, and made all future compromises impossible. "Thus," he said, "it puts freedom and slavery face to face, and bids them grapple. Who can doubt the result? It opens wide the door of the future, when, at last, there will really be a North, and the slave power will be broken; when this wretched despotism will cease to dominate over our Government, no longer impressing itself upon everything at home and abroad; when the National Government shall be divorced in every way from slavery; and, according to the true intention of our fathers, freedom shall be established by Congress everywhere, at least beyond the local limits of the States. Slavery then will be driven from its usurped foothold here in the District of Columbia, in the National Territories, and elsewhere beneath the national flag; the Fugitive Slave bill, as vile as it is unconstitutional, will become a dead letter; and the domestic slave trade, so far as it can be reached, but especially on the high seas, will be blasted by Congressional prohibition. Everywhere, within the sphere of Congress, the great *Northern hammer* will descend to smite the wrong; and the irresistible cry will break forth, 'No more Slave States.'"

On the 26th of June, 1854, Mr. Sumner presented to the Senate the memorial of the citizens of Boston for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. On that day and on the 28th he replied to Senators Jones, of Tennessee, Butler, of South Carolina, and Mason, of Virginia, in speeches which were listened to with attention by the Senate. On the 31st of July he made a memorable appeal in behalf of the "Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law." The Senate, however, refused to allow the bill for that purpose to be introduced.

In May, 1856, Mr. Sumner delivered in the Senate his great speech on "The Crime against Kansas." It occupied two days in its delivery, and was perhaps the severest denunciation of slavery and its supporters that had ever been uttered upon the floor of the Senate. In the course of his remarks he replied to Senator Butler, of South Carolina, with severity and force.

On the 22d of May, two days after the delivery of his speech, Mr. Sumner was sitting writing at his desk, after the adjournment of the Senate, when he was approached by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, and a nephew of Senator Butler. Coming up behind Mr. Sumner, as he sat unconscious of his assailant's approach, Brooks struck him over the head with a heavy cane, and felled him to the floor, where he repeatedly struck him over the head, inflicting serious injuries. All this while, Mr. Lawrence M. Keitt, another Representative from South Carolina, stood by with a loaded pistol to prevent any interference on the part of Mr. Sumner's friends. The Senate having adjourned, there were but a few persons present in the hall. These were so astounded by the suddenness of the attack, that they were at first powerless to interfere; but, recovering themselves, Messrs. Morgan and Murray, of New York, and Mr. Chittenden, rushed in and put an end to the brutal affair. Mr. Sumner, bleeding and insensible, was carried from the Senate chamber to his lodgings. His injuries were so severe that he was unable to return to his seat in the Senate, and was compelled to go abroad to seek medical aid. He placed himself under the treatment of Dr. Brown-Sequard, of Paris, and now a resident of New York, a surgeon whose eminent abilities are well known. Thanks to the surgeon's skill and his own vigorous constitu-

tion, Mr. Sumner recovered his health, and after an absence of four years, was able to take his seat in the Senate. The effects of his injuries were never entirely removed, and were in the end the cause of his death. They also caused him many years of the severest physical suffering.

The assault upon Mr. Sumner created a feeling of intense indignation in the North and West. Indignation meetings were held in various cities and towns, and the act was properly denounced as an attack upon the right of free speech. Brooks and Keitt were severely censured by the House of Representatives for their conduct, and resigned their seats to escape expulsion.

Mr. Sumner returned to his seat in the Senate in 1860, and on the 4th of June, of that year, in the debate on the bill to admit Kansas as a Free State, delivered an able address on "The Barbarism of Slavery." In the Presidential campaign of 1860, he was very active in behalf of the Republican cause. In the winter of 1860-61, he advocated firmness and decision on the part of the General Government, and opposed all concessions to the South for the sake of peace, as foolish and wrong.

Upon the assembling of Congress, in July, 1861, Mr. Sumner was appointed Chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, and held this important position throughout the war. He "was often accused of being radical, ultra and bitter," says a writer in *The Annual Cyclopædia*; "but in all the years of the war he was, according to the testimony of those best qualified to judge, and who were themselves never accused of radicalism, the most cautious, prudent, and judicious of counsellors, and more than once was instrumental in averting war with Great Britain and France when it appeared imminent. In other measures appertaining to home affairs, he was not less active and useful." He gave a cordial support to the policy of Mr. Lincoln during the war, and was warmly esteemed and often consulted by the President. In 1863 he was elected to a third term in the Senate.

Mr. Sumner was one of the earliest advocates of a generous and conciliatory course towards the South in the reconstruction of the Union. He was also one of the originators of the

amendments to the Constitution adopted since the war, and designed to secure the permanency of the results of the struggle, and he aided materially in securing their adoption. He was strongly opposed to the "policy" of President Johnson, and took an active part in the impeachment trial.

He gave his support to General Grant in 1868, but did not take much part in the canvass. In 1869 he was again returned to the Senate by the Massachusetts Legislature. In the same year he delivered an able speech on the Alabama Claims, setting forth the position held by this country on that subject. The speech was hotly denounced in England, but Mr. Sumner had the satisfaction a few years later of seeing the principles laid down by him adopted by the arbitrators of the dispute as the basis of the settlement, and sanctioned, though with reluctance, by the British Government.

In December, 1870, Mr. Sumner threw the whole weight of his influence against the scheme for the annexation of St. Domingo, which had become the favorite measure of President Grant, and secured its defeat. This won him the hostility of the President, who at the opening of the next session of Congress induced the Administration party to remove him from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was well known to the country that Mr. Sumner was the best fitted man in the Senate for this position, and his removal was generally condemned. Simon Cameron, a Senator from Pennsylvania, was appointed his successor.

The opposition of Mr. Sumner to the President's policy exposed him to the attacks of the party that had collected around President Grant. The Massachusetts Senator had become disgusted with the corruption and favoritism that had crept into the Government, and for which he justly held the President responsible. He held his own gallantly against the Administration party, and had the satisfaction of knowing that he had the sympathy of the people with him in his contest. In February, 1872, he delivered a speech in the Senate in favor of an investigation of the sales of ordnance made by the United States during the Franco-German War. It was regarded as the ablest effort of his whole career in the Senate, and was a powerful arraignment of the policy of the Administration.

The great mental strain imposed upon him by his contest with the President's party, brought on a return of his old suffering caused by the injuries inflicted upon him by Brooks, and his physician ordered him to refrain from all intellectual exertion during the remainder of the session. He obeyed this order in part only, and was very active in the effort to secure the adoption of the Supplementary Civil Rights Bill, which passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. On the 31st of May, 1872, he delivered an elaborate speech in the Senate, arraigning the President for his abuse of the appointing power. The supporters of the Administration endeavored to break the force of his charges by taunting him with infidelity to the Republican party, regardless of the facts that he, from conviction, had been one of the founders of that party, had fought its battles when it required moral courage of the highest order to do so, and had won success for it, while many of them had entered it only after its triumph was assured, and in order to share in the spoils of its victory. Many fair-minded men who were led to believe Mr. Sumner wrong in his opposition to the President's policy, will, in the light of recent events, and amid the national shame at the exposure of the corruption with which that policy has covered the Republic, recognize in that opposition an additional evidence of the independence of mind which constitutes the basis of all true statesmanship.

His health continuing to fail, Mr. Sumner made a voyage to Europe in June, 1872, in the hope of being benefited by rest and change. He remained abroad until near the last of November, and consequently took no part in the Presidential campaign of that year, though his influence was cast in favor of Horace Greeley.

At the opening of Congress in December, 1872, Mr. Sumner was in his seat in the Senate. Early in the session he introduced a resolution providing that the names of the battles of the Civil War shall not be continued in the Army Register, nor inscribed on the regimental colors of the army of the United States, since the victories they commemorate were won over fellow-citizens. This resolution was bitterly assailed by some short-sighted partisans, as an attack upon the army that had carried the war to a triumphal close. The resolution was

offered in the spirit of the old Romans, who wisely refused to perpetuate the memories of civil strife, and Mr. Sumner never regretted it. It subjected him to a great deal of unmerited abuse, however, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, on the 18th of December, 1872, passed a resolution censuring him for this act. In January, 1874, the Legislature, in accordance with the universal desire of the people of the State, rescinded the resolution.

Mr. Sumner took scarcely any part in the short session of 1872-73. His health had given way to such a marked degree that he was frequently ill from severe attacks of *angina pectoris*. During the winter of 1873-74, he was usually in his place in the Senate, though all the time an invalid and constantly under the care of his physician. On the afternoon of March 10th, 1874, he was seized with an attack of *angina pectoris*, which, about nightfall, became of such a violent nature as to excite the gravest alarm of his physician. The usual remedies were applied, but without success, and his sufferings increased until they became almost unbearable. After twenty hours of intense agony, he died on the afternoon of March 11th, 1874, at the age of sixty-three.

His remains were conveyed to Boston, and were buried in Mount Auburn.



GEORGE HENRY THOMAS.

GEORGE HENRY THOMAS was born in Southampton County, Virginia, on the 31st of July, 1816. His parents were wealthy, and he received a good education. At the age of twenty he entered the Military Academy at West Point, and graduated in July, 1840, the twelfth in a class of forty-five members. He was appointed a second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, and was ordered to Florida, where his regiment was engaged in the war with the Seminole Indians. He served eighteen months in this war, and on the 6th of November, 1841, was brevetted first lieutenant for gallant conduct in battle. He attained the full rank on the 17th of May, 1843. In June, 1842, he was ordered to Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor, and in December was transferred to Fort McHenry, at Baltimore. In the spring of 1844, he was sent back to Fort Moultrie, and remained there until the summer of 1845, when his company was sent to the Rio Grande, to join General Taylor. He took part in the defence of Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, and for his gallant conduct at the storming of Monterey was brevetted a captain. In the advance from Monterey his battery was attached to General Quitman's Division, which constituted the advance guard of the army. In the battle of Buena Vista the battery bore a distinguished part, and Thomas won the brevet rank of major. He remained with General Taylor's army until the close of the war, and in August, 1848, he was ordered to Texas and placed in charge of the Commissary Department at Brazos Santiago. In December he was ordered to Fort Adams, at Newport, Rhode Island; but the Indians in Florida having become troublesome again, he was sent with his company to that State, where he remained until December, 1850. In the early spring of 1851 he was assigned to duty at the Military Academy at West Point, as Instructor of Artillery and Cavalry, which position he held until the summer of 1854. While on duty at West Point he

married Miss Frances S. Kellogg, of Troy, New York. In the summer of 1854, Major Thomas was relieved from duty at West Point, and was placed in command of Fort Yuma, in California. A little later he was transferred to the Cavalry, and was appointed junior major in the famous Second Regiment of Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Albert Sydney Johnston, with Lieut. Col. Robert E. Lee as his second in command. In 1855, Major Thomas joined his regiment at Jefferson Barracks, in Missouri, and the next year accompanied the regiment to Texas, where he served with distinction for three years, receiving a wound in a battle with the Indians. In 1860 he applied for and obtained a short leave of absence—the second he had asked for in a service of twenty years—and went on a visit to the North.

During his absence from his regiment the secession troubles began. Upon the secession of the State of Texas, the State authorities demanded the surrender of the United States troops in Texas, and General Twiggs, the commanding officer, complied with the demand, and surrendered his whole force. The Second Cavalry were among the troops surrendered.

It was supposed that, as Major Thomas was a Virginian by birth, he would follow the fortunes of his State. He had no idea of doing so, however, and declared his intention to remain faithful to the Union. He was at once appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment, and upon the acceptance of the resignations of Sidney Johnston and Lee, was promoted to the rank of Colonel and the command of the regiment, in May, 1861. He was placed in command of a brigade in the army of General Patterson, in the summer of 1861, and took part in the inglorious campaign of that officer in the Valley of Virginia.

In August, 1861, Thomas was made a Brigadier-general of Volunteers, and was placed in command of Camp Dick Robinson in Kentucky. Towards the close of the year he was stationed at Lebanon, and was given by General Buell the command of the first division of the Army of the Ohio. About the New Year (1862) General Crittenden, with a Confederate force, crossed the Cumberland River, and advanced into Kentucky. Thomas, hearing of this, moved forward to attack him, and was himself attacked at Mill Spring, on the 18th of January,

1862. He inflicted a severe defeat upon the Confederates, and drove them back with heavy loss. That night they abandoned their camp, and retreated in confusion beyond the Cumberland.

General Thomas was anxious to follow up his success by the invasion of East Tennessee, but was ordered by General Buell to join him without delay. He accompanied Buell's army in its march to join Grant at Pittsburg Landing; but, as his division constituted Buell's rear guard, did not reach the Tennessee in time to take part in the battle of Shiloh.

General Halleck now assumed the chief command of the armies of the Tennessee, and advanced upon Corinth, which was held by the Confederates under General Beauregard. Thomas's division was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, and he was placed in command of the left wing. On the 25th of April, 1862, he was made Major-general of Volunteers. After the evacuation of Corinth his own division held the line of the railway from Iuka, Mississippi, to Tuscumbia, Alabama.

In June, 1862, he was transferred back to the Army of the Ohio, as the second in command, and accompanied General Buell in his march into Kentucky to meet Bragg, who had invaded that State. Upon the arrival of the army at Louisville, General Thomas received a telegram from the War Department, ordering him to relieve Buell and take command of the army. He immediately telegraphed to the President, declining the honor, and urging him not to remove Buell. His appeal was successful, and the President rescinded his order. The failure of Buell to prevent Bragg from leaving the State without fighting a decisive battle, caused his removal from the command. General Rosecrans was appointed his successor. The army now took the name of the "Army of the Cumberland," which it ever afterwards retained.

In the advance upon Murfreesboro, Thomas commanded the Fourteenth Corps, and held the centre in the bloody battle of Stone River, on the 31st of December, 1862, and the 2d of January, 1863. He held his ground with firmness on the first day, while the rest of the line was broken and shattered by the Confederate attack. That night, the day having closed with a clear victory for the Confederates, a council of war was held at Rosecrans's headquarters. Thomas declared himself in favor

of fighting the battle out. His hopeful view prevailed, and it was resolved to fall back to a new line and await the attack of the Confederates. This was done on the next day, January 1st, 1863, and Thomas rendered material aid to Rosecrans in the selection and establishment of this new line. On the 2d of January, Bragg renewed the battle by a determined attack on Rosecrans's new position, and met with a bloody repulse. Thomas greatly distinguished himself in this battle. Rosecrans was enthusiastic in his praise of him, and spoke of him in his official report of the action as "*true and prudent*, distinguished in council, and on many battle-fields for his courage."

In September, 1863, Bragg, who had fallen back to Chattanooga after the battle of Stone River, or Murfreesboro, evacuated that place on the approach of Rosecrans's army, and withdrew towards Dalton, Georgia. Rosecrans, who at first regarded this movement as a flight, moved forward in pursuit. He soon discovered that Bragg's object was simply to draw the Union army into the open field, where he could attack it with a fair prospect of success. Upon reaching the neighborhood of Cleveland, the Confederate commander was reinforced by Longstreet's whole corps from Lee's army in Virginia. He at once wheeled about, and advanced to meet Rosecrans.

General Rosecrans now, for the first time, perceived the true nature of Bragg's movement. The counter-march of the Confederates was so sudden that it caught the Union commander with the various corps of his army scattered on the march and separated by Lookout Mountain. The advance of the Southern army was by the only pass by which a speedy concentration of the Union forces could be effected. This state of affairs was indeed alarming, and Rosecrans at once commenced the effort to get his army in hand in time to meet the attack upon it. Bragg had ordered Hindman's division of his army to get possession of the pass to which we have referred, and Rosecrans, seeing the importance of preventing this, ordered Thomas to attempt to secure it first, as its occupation by the Confederates would expose the divided fragments of the army to the danger of being beaten in detail, Crittenden's corps being still beyond the mountain.

Thomas, by a forced march, reached the pass before Hind-

man, and occupied it with Negley's division. Leaving this force to hold the pass, he hastened to Crittenden's position, reinforced him, and awaited the return of McCook's corps from its fruitless march to intercept Bragg's retreat. McCook arrived and took position on Thomas's right on the 17th of September.

Rosecrans now formed his line of battle somewhat in the rear of his first position, and awaited the onset of the enemy. Thomas's corps held the left, Crittenden's corps the centre, and McCook's corps the right, while Gordon Granger's small corps was held in reserve. The movements of the Confederates had rendered it certain that their attack would fall upon Rosecrans's left, with the hope of cutting him off from Chattanooga, and this part of the line was given to Thomas because he was universally regarded as the mainstay of the army. The line was fully established on the night of the 18th.

Longstreet's corps having arrived within supporting distance, Bragg moved forward on the morning of the 19th of September to turn Rosecrans's left. He made his attack at ten o'clock, assailing Thomas's extreme left, and endeavoring to gain possession of the road from Lafayette to Chattanooga. The first assault was repulsed by Brannan's division, but Longstreet's corps, arriving on the field, was thrown against the Union left with such force that Thomas's line was broken, and his troops began to show signs of demoralization. Thomas's quick eye detected this, and riding into the breaking lines he rallied his men, and led them in an attack upon the Confederates, who were rapidly advancing, and drove them back. The troops greeted Thomas's appearance among them with enthusiastic cheers, and all signs of wavering disappeared from their ranks. Placing himself at the head of his corps, Thomas gave the order to move forward and recover the ground that had been lost. The Confederates opposed a stubborn resistance to this steady advance, but could not stop it, and by nightfall Thomas had not only regained his lost ground, but had driven the force opposed to him for over a mile. His loss was heavy, but his men were in the highest spirits.

The right and centre had not been so fortunate, however. They were broken and driven back with terrible loss by the

Confederates. These disasters put a stop to Thomas's advance, and compelled him to fall back to save what was left of the army from destruction.

That night Rosecrans changed the position of his army. The right was drawn back, and was posted on Mission Ridge, which formation shortened his line by fully a mile, and to a corresponding degree added to its strength. Rosecrans was convinced that, as on the previous day, the enemy's main effort on the 20th would be directed against his left, and he ordered Thomas to hold his ground at any cost, promising to support him with the whole army. Thomas answered briefly that he would do his best, and during the night threw up a breastwork of rails and logs before his line.

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the Confederates renewed the attack with great vigor, directing their heaviest blows against the Union left. Thomas's face grew very grave as he saw the dense columns of attack approach his line; but riding calmly down the front, he exhorted his men to hold their ground. The Confederate attack was simply fearful. Regardless of the heavy fire with which they were received, the Southern troops swept forward with a heroism which extorted the admiration of their opponents. The left, shaken by this severe trial, began to waver. In an instant Thomas, unmindful of the storm of balls that swept around him, threw himself into the midst of his men, and endeavored to hold them firm. Human valor could avail nothing against such an attack. The right and centre of the Union army had been broken, and were flying in confusion, with the Confederates pressing them heavily. The left could bear it no longer. Slowly and stubbornly, division by division, Thomas's line gave way, and fell back in disorder. The General had no idea of being beaten in this way, however, and by almost superhuman exertions succeeded in rallying his men and restoring order in his ranks. Falling back to a point almost entirely beyond the valley, he took up a new position on the side of Mission Ridge, his left still resting upon the Lafayette road, and his right near the gap in the ridge through which ran the road to Chattanooga. Here he collected the remains of his corps, and prepared to make a last desperate stand.

The Confederates, having routed the right and centre, now concentrated all their force upon Thomas, and it was certain that unless he could receive assistance he must share the fate of the rest of the army. He had sent urgent appeals to Rosecrans for reinforcements; but at that moment the Union commander was being borne along, helpless, in the torrent of fugitives that was pouring along the roads to Chattanooga. Thomas must meet the whole Southern army alone, and if he should falter all would be lost. He posted his cannon on the ridge to command every approach, and awaited in a grim silence the attack of the Confederates.

It came almost immediately after he had formed his line, and sure of victory, General Bragg attempted to dislodge this gallant remnant of the Union army by a direct attack. He was met with such firmness, however, that he determined to turn Thomas's right flank by the gap in Mission Ridge, of which we have spoken. His great superiority in numbers encouraged him to hope for the success of this movement. While a column was put in motion for the gap, he pressed the attack in front with vigor.

The first intimation that Thomas had of this design was the sight of the Confederates moving swiftly through the gap. He had no troops to spare to meet this movement, and should the Confederates succeed in reaching the point in his rear for which they were aiming, nothing could avert his utter ruin. His retreat would be entirely cut off, and only an unconditional surrender could save his men from destruction. He was powerless to do anything. The enemy pressed him so heavily in front that it was with difficulty he could hold his position. He had heard nothing from Rosecrans since morning, and was in utter ignorance of the state of affairs elsewhere, save that he was constantly receiving from officers cut off from their commands reports of fresh disasters. He could only sit idly on his horse, and with a sinking heart, watch the long grey line that was swiftly and remorselessly moving towards his rear.

Suddenly a dense cloud of dust shot up above the trees away to the left, and a few minutes later heavy columns of men emerged from the woods, and advanced rapidly over the fields towards the Union position. They moved with the imposing

steadiness of disciplined troops, their flags floating out proudly over their heads, and their burnished arms flashing through the thick clouds of dust.

Who could they be? Were these splendid battalions the long-prayed-for reinforcements, or were they the enemy advancing from a new quarter to complete his ruin? The calm face of General Thomas grew ghastly pale, and, raising his glass to his eyes, he watched in stern silence the advance of the swiftly-moving columns. Turning at length to the officers of his staff, he said nervously, and in a tone the keen agony of which touched all who heard him, "Take my glass, some of you whose horse is steady, and tell me what you can see." Some one standing near, said he thought he could make out the "Stars and Stripes." Captain Johnson, of Negley's staff, having become separated from his command, now reported for duty to General Thomas, and was ordered to "find out what troops those were coming in on the left." Thomas caught up his glass again, and watched the advancing column with deepening anxiety. Suddenly the glass was lowered, and a load was lifted from his heart. A light wind caught the standards, and flapped out every fold to its fullest extent, and the sunlight breaking through the clouds of dust shone on the red and blue bars and the white crescent of Gordon Granger's battle-flag.

The arrival of Granger's corps was not a moment too soon. It was at once directed against the Confederate force that had gotten into Thomas's rear. During the remainder of the afternoon the battle ebbed and flowed, but when the darkness closed the fight Thomas still held his ground. Having learned the fate of the rest of the army, he fell back sullenly during night to Rossville, and the next day withdrew to Chattanooga unmolested by the Confederates.

The splendid fighting of Thomas, and his rock-like firmness, were all that saved the Union army from destruction at Chickamauga. The rest of the army was terribly beaten, and had his corps given way the whole army must have been driven out of Tennessee, a demoralized mob, or a surrender would have been inevitable. He received as he deserved the hearty praise of the loyal States. General Rosecrans was relieved of his command on the 19th of October, and, in accordance with

the unanimous wish of the Army of the Cumberland, General Thomas was appointed his successor. On the 27th of October, 1863, he was appointed a Brigadier-General in the Regular Army of the United States.

After the battle of Chickamauga, Bragg advanced to Mission Ridge, and invested Chattanooga, which was held by the Army of the Cumberland. All the roads but one wretched path over the mountains were seized by the Confederates, and the army was reduced to such privations that the danger of starvation was very great. Grant, who was *en route* to Chattanooga to direct operations there, ordered Thomas to hold out to the last. "I will hold the town till we starve," was the answer.

After the arrival of Grant and Sherman at Chattanooga, the grand plan of operations against Bragg was arranged. The Army of the Cumberland, under General Thomas, was assigned the duty of beating back the Confederate centre. On the 23d of November, Thomas was ordered to reconnoitre Orchard Knob. He seized a favorable moment, and changing his reconnoissance into an attack, carried Orchard Knob with slight loss. In the grand attack on the 25th of November, he carried the crest of Mission Ridge, and broke the Confederate centre. He took part in the pursuit until it was checked by Grant's orders, and then returned with his army to Chattanooga, where he passed the winter.

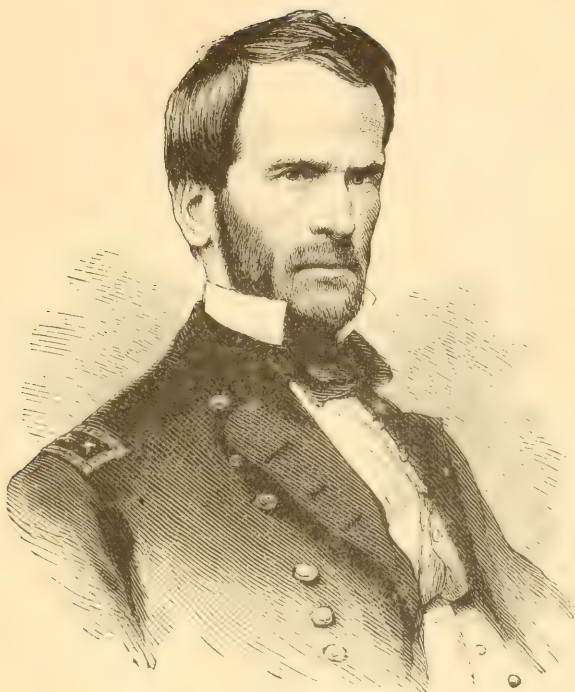
In the Spring of 1864 General Sherman, who had been placed in command of the Western army, advanced from Chattanooga towards Dalton, which was held by the Confederates under General Johnston. General Thomas retained the command of the Army of the Cumberland; and of the one hundred thousand men and two hundred and fifty-four cannon, comprising the whole force under Sherman, sixty thousand seven hundred and thirty-three men and one hundred and thirty cannon were under the immediate orders of General Thomas, showing that Sherman, like all under whom Thomas had ever served, placed his chief reliance upon him. Thomas bore a leading and distinguished part in the campaign against Atlanta, and was especially conspicuous in the operations against Dalton, in the fierce battle of Resaca, on the 14th and 15th of May, 1864, and in the bat-

tles of the 20th of July and 31st of August, before Atlanta. The last engagement was fought by his army alone, and decided the fate of Atlanta, which was evacuated by Hood on the night of August 31st, and was occupied by Sherman's army the next morning.

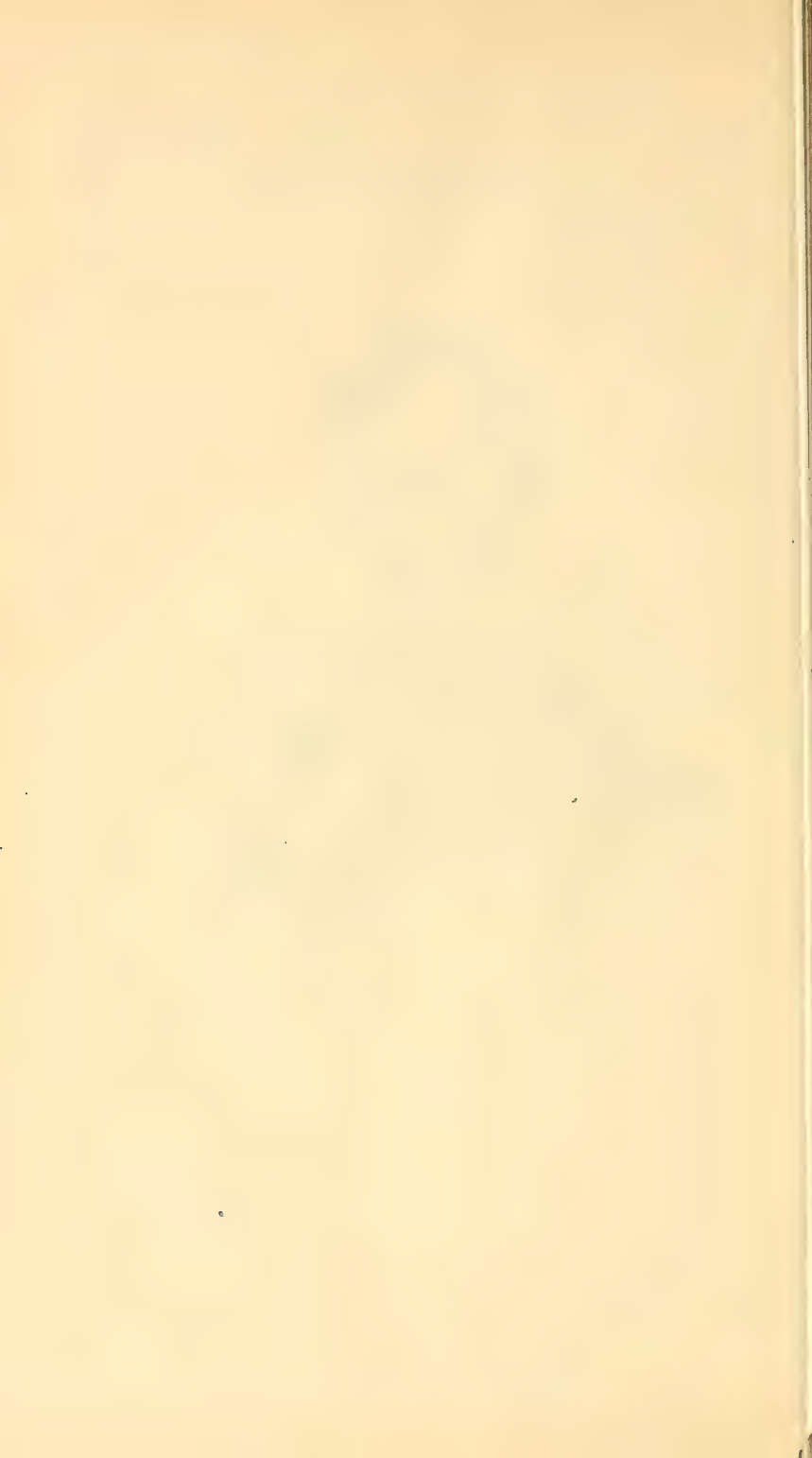
In September, Hood, having been reinforced, began his ill-starred march towards the Tennessee. Sherman at once sent Thomas to Nashville with full power to collect troops from all parts of his (Sherman's) Military Division, for the defence of Tennessee, and later, when, after following Hood into Alabama, he prepared to return to Atlanta to begin his march to the coast, he reinforced Thomas by sending him General Schofield, with the Fourth and Twenty-Second Army Corps. Sherman felt perfect confidence that Thomas would cover his rear during his march to the sea. Had this confidence been lacking he would never have undertaken that march. He afterwards said, in referring to this: "If Thomas had not whipped Hood at Nashville, 600 miles away, my plans would have failed, and I would have been denounced the world over. *But I knew General Thomas, and the troops under his command, and never for a moment doubted a favorable result.*"

Schofield took with him nearly 30,000 men from Sherman's army, and at General Thomas's orders took position at Pulaski. Thomas established his headquarters at Nashville, determined to act upon the defensive until General A. J. Smith with two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps, and some regiments of cavalry, could join him. Hood's army lay at Florence, and consisted of about 30,000 infantry, less than 10,000 cavalry, and a strong force of artillery. Thomas believed that the expected additions to his force would enable him to meet his adversary upon an equal footing, and made great exertions to fortify Nashville, so as to be able to hold it until they could reach him.

On the 17th of November Hood's army crossed the Tennessee, and on the 19th began its advance towards Nashville. General Schofield, in obedience to orders, fell back steadily before him, skirmishing frequently with the advanced forces of the Confederates. On the 24th Schofield occupied Columbia, and held it until the 29th. Hood by a bold movement now attempted to seize Franklin, and intercept Schofield's retreat;



WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.



but the latter by a forced night march of twenty-five miles occupied Franklin in advance of him on the morning of the 30th. Hood followed him closely, and upon arriving before Franklin, made a fierce attack upon Schofield with his whole force. The battle lasted through the greater part of the day, and at night Schofield, who had with difficulty held his ground through the day, fell back rapidly to Nashville, which was reached the next day. The Union loss in this battle was 2,326; that of the Confederates 6,252.

Thomas was now joined by the long-looked-for reinforcements under General A. J. Smith, and taking command of the whole army, formed his line on the heights around Nashville. His infantry force was now equal to Hood's; but he was sadly deficient in cavalry, while his adversary had the magnificent horsemen of Forrest under his orders. Under the circumstances Thomas decided to remain on the defensive until he could make good his lack of horse, for he meant not only to defeat Hood's army, but to destroy it; and he could not do this without cavalry with which to pursue its broken columns beyond the Tennessee, without giving them time to rally. The War Department grew impatient with his delay, and Grant wrote to him that he was anxious for him to attack Hood at once. Thomas answered that he was acting as in his judgment seemed best; but that if his course was not satisfactory he hoped the Lieutenant-General would assign the command to some other officer; that he would cheerfully act as his subordinate. Grant at once replied that he had more confidence in Thomas than in any other man, and that he might take his time; but added that he would like to know his reasons for the delay. As these reasons were precisely what Thomas did not wish to be known, he did not state them; and Grant let him alone. Thomas's constant appeals for cavalry had their effect at last, and General Wilson, his chief of cavalry, was ordered by the War Department to seize all the horses he could lay his hands on. By the end of a week after the receipt of this order, Thomas was able to mount a respectable force of cavalry, and by the 12th of December declared himself ready to move.

Hood in the meantime had advanced from Franklin to Nashville, before which city he appeared on the 1st of December.

Had he made an immediate assault upon the Union works, he might have had some chance of success; but he threw away his opportunity, and prepared to lay siege to Nashville, drawing his lines entirely around the South side of the city, commanding the river with his batteries, and seizing every line of communication with it except the railway to Louisville on the North. A fleet of eight gunboats in the Cumberland kept his river batteries occupied, and Thomas carefully strengthened his works. Hood seems to have been under the impression that by closely investing the city, he could play upon Thomas the game that Sherman had played upon him at Atlanta; but Thomas had collected a sufficient amount of supplies at Nashville, and was careless about the investment. He only wanted time to mount his cavalry, and smiled to see how completely Hood's delay was placing the game in his hands.

On the 14th of December, Thomas summoned his corps commanders to his headquarters, and informed them that he intended to attack the Confederate army the next day, should the weather prove favorable. He explained his plan to them, and urged upon each one the most scrupulous observance of his orders.

Early on the morning of the 15th of December, it was found that the ice, which had covered the ground for several days, had melted away, so that the troops and horses could move without slipping. A thick fog hung over the country, affording an excellent mask for the movements of the Union army. At an early hour General Steedman made a vigorous demonstration against the Confederate right, and under cover of this movement, the divisions of Smith and Wood made a fierce attack on Hood's left and centre. The Confederates, who had believed that Thomas would await their assault, were taken completely by surprise, and their left was beaten back by a single blow. This let the cavalry loose, and Wilson's horsemen swept like a thunderbolt upon the left flank and rear of the Southern army. The Confederate left fell back sullenly upon its centre, which occupied a strong position. Hood, seeing that his left was gone, brought over all the troops he could spare from his right to reinforce his centre, to which he clung with tenacity. The remainder of the day was passed by the

Union army in reconnoitering Hood's centre, and in taking up positions from which to attack it on the morrow.

When night came, matters stood thus: Thomas had struck a terrible blow at Hood; had greatly discouraged his army; had inflicted a heavy loss upon him in killed and wounded; and had taken 1200 prisoners, and sixteen cannon. His own loss was slight. That night Thomas thus briefly stated to one of his officers his plan of operations for the next day: "So far, I think we have succeeded pretty well. Unless Hood decamps to-night, to-morrow Steedman will double up his right, Wood will hold his centre, Smith and Schofield will again strike his left, while the cavalry will work away at his rear."

During the night of the 15th, Hood fell back from his original position to a new and powerful line, and reduced his front from six to three miles. He had fortified this line with great care at an earlier period of the siege, and it seemed that he could hold it against any force. He had committed the same terrible blunder that had helped to ruin him at Atlanta, however, and had sent off his magnificent cavalry to capture a few steamers in the Cumberland, and had thus left open the road to his rear.

At daylight on the 16th of December, the Union army moved forward, and passing over the abandoned works of the Confederates, soon arrived before their new position. Adhering to his original plan, Thomas threw Steedman's division against the Southern right, and moved up Wood's division in the centre. He ordered these commanders to do nothing but skirmish, and develop the hostile position, until the cavalry should gain the Confederate rear. As soon as the cavalry were in position, Schofield and Smith were to assail Hood's left, and Wood and Steedman were to convert their movements into real attacks, and press them with vigor.

The cavalry had far to go, and it was not until the afternoon that Wilson announced himself in position by opening a heavy fire upon the Confederate rear. The other forces were then moved forward rapidly, and the Southern lines were broken and carried after a brief but desperate conflict. The Confederate troops fell back rapidly, and Thomas, urging his men forward with renewed energy, broke them into a disorganized mass, and drove them southward in confusion.

Hood's army was now utterly defeated. Its losses were frightful. During the 15th and 16th, the Union army captured 4,462 prisoners, including 287 officers of all grades, from that of Major-general down, fifty-three cannon and thousands of small arms. The Confederates abandoned their dead and wounded, and retreated rapidly southward. The Federal cavalry followed in close pursuit, harassing them at every step, until the 29th of December, when Hood succeeded in putting the Tennessee river between the remnants of his army and his pursuers. "With the exception of his rear guard (Forrest's cavalry)," says General Thomas, "his army had become a disheartened and disorganized rabble of half-armed and barefooted men, who sought every opportunity to fall out by the wayside and desert their cause, to put an end to their sufferings."

The campaign was now ended, and the invasion of Tennessee, from which the Confederates had hoped so much, was an utter failure. Hood's army had been so completely broken up as to be unfit for further aggressive operations. The captures of the Union army summed up as follows: Thirteen thousand, one hundred and eighty-nine prisoners of war, including seven general officers, eighty cannon, and thousands of small arms. The victory was complete, and the country rang with praises of General Thomas. The President of the United States conferred upon him the brevet rank of Major-general in the Regular army, to date from the 15th of December, 1864, the day of the battle of Nashville.

After the battle of Nashville, General Thomas sent off the bulk of his army, under General Schofield, to the Atlantic coast, to coöperate with General Sherman in his advance through the Carolinas. He took part in no other engagement during the war, and after the return of peace was assigned the command of the Military Division of the Tennessee, with headquarters at Nashville.

On the 27th of June, 1865, General Thomas was promoted to the full rank of Major-general in the army of the United States. After holding several important commands in the East, he was transferred to the Department of the Pacific, with his headquarters at San Francisco. He died in that city on the 28th of March, 1870, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.



FARRAGUT.

DAVID GLASGOE FARRAGUT.

THE father of Admiral Farragut was a native of the Island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean. When quite a young man he emigrated to North America, arriving in this country in the year 1776, after the Revolution had fairly begun. He at once joined the American army, and by his gallantry and good conduct won the rank of major. At the close of the war he married Miss Elizabeth Shine, of North Carolina, and settled near Knoxville, in what was afterwards the State of Tennessee.

DAVID GLASGOE FARRAGUT, the son of this worthy couple, was born at Campbell's Station, in Tennessee, on the 5th of July, 1801. He passed his childhood there, and in the pure, bracing atmosphere of the Tennessee mountains, grew up a stout, healthy lad. Doubtless his father's tales of the sea aroused in him the desire to be a sailor, which he evinced when a mere child. His wish was soon gratified, and in 1810, when he was but nine years old, his father obtained from his friend Captain Porter a warrant for David as a midshipman. The boy at once joined his ship, and though scarcely large enough to climb the rigging, made several cruises under Captain Porter.

Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812, Captain Porter was placed in command the *Essex*, 32, and took young Farragut, now a lad of eleven, with him. The *Essex* got to sea from New York about the last of June, 1812, and sailed to the southward. She made several prizes in the early part of her cruise, and destroyed them, taking their crews on board as prisoners of war. About the middle of July the *Essex* encountered a small fleet of English transports, convoyed by a frigate and a bomb vessel. Porter stood in boldly among the Englishmen, and secured one of the vessels. The delay occasioned by this capture enabled the rest of the fleet to escape. Porter now disguised his frigate as a merchantman, in order to allay the suspicions of any English vessel he might fall in with, and a

few days later a strange sail was made, which proved to be an English man-of-war. Deceived by the appearance of the *Essex*, the stranger bore down upon her, and having overhauled her, set the English ensign, and opened fire upon her. The *Essex* at once knocked out her ports, and replied with a couple of broadsides, which so astonished the Englishman that his people deserted their guns and ran below. In eight minutes after the action began the stranger struck his colors. The prize proved to be the British sloop of war *Alert*, 20. This was the first prize taken from the English during the war, and was Farragut's first battle.

The *Essex* continued her cruise for some weeks longer, meeting with several adventures, and at length returned to the Delaware.

On the 28th of October, 1812, the *Essex*, having refitted, sailed from the Delaware with a larger crew than usual, to join the squadron of Commodore Bainbridge in the West Indies. As she was deeply laden with supplies, she did not reach either rendezvous appointed by Bainbridge until the other vessels of the squadron had left. Failing to find the Commodore, Captain Porter determined to continue his cruise on his own responsibility, and to pass around Cape Horn into the Pacific, and drive the English whalers from that sea. After a tempestuous passage the Pacific was reached on the 5th of March, 1813. He made a large number of prizes, and occasioned such loss to the English whalers during his cruise in the Pacific, which lasted a little more than a year, that the British Government despatched the *Phœbe*, 36, and *Cherub*, 20, the latter armed with long guns, to the Pacific, with orders to capture the *Essex* at any cost. Early in 1814 these vessels arrived off Valparaiso, in which port the *Essex*, and *Essex*, Jr., one of the prizes taken by Porter, were lying. Porter made repeated offers to Captain Hillyar, of the *Phœbe*, to engage that ship alone, but that officer had positive orders from his Government not to attack the *Essex* except with the aid of the *Cherub*. At length Porter determined to go to sea and lead the enemy off the coast, thus allowing the *Essex*, Jr., to join him at sea, when he meant to give battle. He sailed from Valparaiso on the 28th of March, but upon getting off the harbor the *Essex*

was struck by a sudden squall which carried away her main-topmast. In this crippled condition the Essex was attacked by the Phœbe and Cherub. Unable to beat up into the harbor, Porter was obliged to give battle. An action of over two hours ensued. The Essex, almost helpless in consequence of her accident, offered one of the most memorable defenses known to naval history. The coolness and resolution with which Porter fought his ship won the admiration of even the enemy, and it was not until the Essex was nearly half destroyed, and her decks were covered with her dead and wounded, that Porter ordered her colors to be struck. Her loss was 152, out of a crew of 255. The officers and crew of the Essex were placed on board the Essex, Jr., which was converted into a cartel, and were permitted to return home for exchange.

Young Farragut had taken part in the eventful cruise of the Essex, and had discharged his duties in a manner that won for him the praise of his superior officers. In the fight with the Phoebe and the Cherub he bore himself with a courage and coolness unusual in a boy of twelve. He was slightly wounded in the side, but remained at his post, unmoved by the terrible scenes that were transpiring all around him. It was in this memorable engagement that he learned *how* to fight. Porter was delighted with the conduct of his *protégé*. In his report to the Secretary of the Navy, he made special mention of Farragut's conduct, and it was with evident regret that he was compelled to add, that in spite of his distinguished conduct, the boy was "too young for promotion." The boy of twelve had fairly won a lieutenant's commission, and was only prevented from receiving it by his youth.

Farragut was sent home with the paroled officers in the Essex, Jr., and Captain Porter had him placed at school at Chester, Pennsylvania, and caused him to be instructed in military tactics.

After the close of the war Farragut was sent to sea again, and in 1816 went on a cruise to the Mediterranean. The chaplain of his ship, the Rev. Charles Folsom, conceived a warm friendship for him, and enabled him to atone greatly for his deficiency in education, by pursuing a course of study under his direction. Farragut was almost constantly in active ser-

vice, but promotion comes slowly in time of peace, and it was not until 1825 that he reached the grade of lieutenant. Soon after his promotion he married a lady of Norfolk, Va., who survived this union but a few years. In 1841, he was made commander, and in 1851 was promoted to the rank of captain. It had taken him forty-one years to reach this grade. The most of this time had been spent afloat, and during his long service he had sailed in every sea and had visited nearly every country on the globe. He had been an industrious reader, had stored his mind with valuable information, especially with reference to professional matters, and had acquired several foreign languages. In the meantime he had married again, this time Miss Virginia Loyall, of Norfolk.

At the outbreak of the civil war Captain Farragut was living at Norfolk, Virginia. It was generally supposed that as he was a Southerner by birth, and had married a Southern lady, he would quit the service of the United States and cast his lot with the Confederacy, as so many of his brother officers were doing. He had no intention of abandoning the service in which he had grown gray, however, and made no secret of his determination to adhere to the Union. The fall of Fort Sumter brought matters to a crisis, and his friends, finding him resolute in his intentions, warned him that it would be dangerous to remain in the South with such views. "Very well," he answered, "I will then go where I can live with such sentiments." That night he took the steamer for Baltimore, and hastened northward. The next day, the Navy Yard at Portsmouth was destroyed and abandoned by the officer in command of it.

Upon reaching New York, Captain Farragut asked to be assigned to duty; but as the Government had but few ships at that time, his request could not be complied with. In the meantime he took up his residence in the village of Hastings, on the Hudson.

Late in the autumn of 1861, the General Government resolved to attempt the capture of New Orleans by a joint land and naval expedition. The command of the land forces was conferred upon Gen. B. F. Butler; but no commander was selected for the fleet until the preparations were nearly completed. The command was then conferred upon Captain Farragut, who was

raised to the grade of flag-officer. He was but little known to the country, and not much was expected of him. He received his orders on the 20th of January, 1862, and on the 3d of February sailed from Hampton Roads, in his flag-ship, the *Hartford*, for the rendezvous of the expedition at Ship Island, near the mouth of the Mississippi. After spending a short time at the rendezvous and completing his arrangements for the expedition, Farragut joined his other vessels, which had been engaged during the winter blockading the mouths of the Mississippi. He at once prepared to enter the river and attack the forts which barred the way to New Orleans. The task of getting the larger vessels over the bar was one of considerable difficulty, and he gave it his personal supervision. The powerful frigate *Colorado* could not be gotten over, but the rest, consisting of 6 war steamers, 16 gunboats, 5 other ships and 21 mortar boats, the last under the immediate command of Commodore Porter, the son of Farragut's old captain, crossed the bar and anchored below the forts.

The banks of the Lower Mississippi are low and flat. A short distance above the head of the Passes by which the river empties into the Gulf of Mexico, two strong forts had been erected soon after the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. The work on the west bank was named Fort Jackson; that on the east bank, Fort St. Philip. They were powerful works, built in the most substantial manner; were provided with an armament of 128 heavy guns, and were held by a garrison of 1,500 Confederate troops, commanded by an officer of ability and experience. The Confederates had obstructed the channel between the forts by stretching a heavy chain across the river, supported on a number of hulks sunken in the stream. Above the forts lay a fleet of 17 vessels, 8 of which were gunboats, two of these being iron-clads. One of these, the *Louisiana*, was supposed to be the most powerful vessel afloat. The hold of the Confederates upon the river was so firm that it seemed impossible to shake it off. A French man-of-war went up the river to communicate with the French Consul at New Orleans, and on its return its officers declared to Farragut that he could never hope to get by the Southern batteries. "I am ordered to go to New Orleans," he replied, "and I intend to do so."

On the 18th of April, 1862, the mortar-boats opened fire upon the forts, and for a week maintained a heavy bombardment of them. Farragut soon saw that the forts could not be reduced in this way, and that he must run by them, if he meant to get to New Orleans. He therefore summoned a council of his officers, at the close of which he issued the following general order to the fleet:

"The Flag-officer, having heard all the opinions expressed by the different commanders, is of the opinion that whatever is to be done, will have to be done quickly. When, in the opinion of the Flag-officer, the propitious time has arrived, the signal will be made to weigh and advance to the conflict. * * He will make the signal for close action, and will abide the result—conquer or be conquered."

Every exertion was now made to prepare the fleet for the hazardous attempt to pass the forts. While he gave to his commanders a large discretion in their arrangements, Farragut required them to conform to a general plan of his own, and gave his personal supervision to the work on every vessel of the fleet. At midnight on the 21st of April, a daring reconnaissance, led by Lieutenant Commanders Crosby and Caldwell, succeeded in cutting the chain across the channel of the river, which had already been weakened by a severe storm. The force of the current at once drove the hulks apart, and left a wide gap for the passage of the fleet.

At last everything was in readiness. On the evening of the 23d, Farragut visited each ship for the last time to satisfy himself that nothing was lacking, and to hold a final conference with his commanders. He then returned to the flag-ship, and as the night came on a deep silence fell upon the fleet, which swung idly at anchor in the stream. At two o'clock on the morning of April 24th, two red lanterns slowly ascended to the mizzen-peak of the Hartford, and flashed out through the darkness the signal for "close action." In an instant the fleet was astir, and the sharp words of command, the rattle of chains as the anchors were raised, and the creaking of the machinery as the steamers got under way, put an end to the silence of the night.

The fleet consisted of seventeen vessels, carrying 294 heavy

guns. It was formed in two columns. The right, led by Captain Bailey, in the Cayuga, consisted of that vessel, the Pensacola, Mississippi, Oneida, Varuna, Katahdin, Kineo, and Wisahickon. It was to attack Fort St. Philip. The left, under Farragut's own orders, consisted of the Hartford, Brooklyn, Richmond, Scioto, Iroquois, Kennebec, Spinola, Itasca and Winona, and was to attack Fort Jackson. Porter was ordered to open fire on the forts with the mortar-boats, and to take position with the Harriet Lane, Westfield, Owasco, Miami, Clifton, and Jackson, to enfilade the Southern works during the passage of the fleet.

The Confederates, in anticipation of some such movement, had kept a vigilant watch over the river, and the fleet had hardly gotten under weigh when the forts opened a heavy fire upon it. The fire was returned by the vessels, which advanced steadily, the Hartford leading the van, with the signal for "close action" blazing from her mizzen peak. The scene was sublime. The river was shrouded in dense volumes of smoke, through which darted the fierce flashes of the guns; and the roar of the cannonade was deafening. The forts fired rapidly, while the discharges from the vessels were incessant. Suddenly a lurid glare lit up the gloom, and a fire-raft came driving down the stream, making straight for the Hartford. The vessel's head was swung around to avoid this danger, and the next moment the Hartford was aground, with the blazing raft alongside of her. The flames instantly caught the rigging of the ship, and it seemed that the noble vessel was doomed to destruction. Such would have been her fate but for the splendid discipline which prevailed on board of her. The gunners were kept at their posts, and the terrible discharges of grape were poured in upon the forts without a moment's intermission, while the firemen were called away to fight the flames. The engines were reversed, and by a powerful effort the ship was backed into deep water again, but still on fire. The firemen renewed their exertions, the flames were extinguished, and the Hartford went ahead again.

The fleet moved forward steadily, and at length the forts were passed. Above them lay the Confederate fleet, commanded by officers of the old navy. The Louisiana and the Manassas were

iron-clads, and six of their steamers were gunboats. The remainder were unarmed. They gallantly sought to drive back the advance of the Union fleet, and a fierce and obstinate conflict ensued. When the sun arose, struggling through the mists, on the morning of the 24th of April, the spectacle which he revealed was greeted with a thrilling cheer by the Union fleet. The forts had been passed, the Confederate fleet had been defeated and thirteen out of its seventeen vessels had been sunk or destroyed, including the two iron-clads. The way to New Orleans was now open, and on the 25th the fleet anchored in front of the city, which was surrendered after some hesitation. On the 28th Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered to Captain Porter. On the 1st of May, Gen. Butler arrived from Ship Island with his troops, and Farragut turned the city over to him.

Having secured the Lower Mississippi, Farragut ascended the river to take part in the operations against Vicksburg. Baton Rouge, the Capital of Louisiana, surrendered to him on his approach, and he continued to ascend the river until he arrived before the batteries at Vicksburg. Anchoring below the town, he demanded its surrender, but was answered that "Mississippians never surrendered." A steady fire was opened upon the town, and was maintained at regular intervals until the 28th of June, when Farragut with a part of the fleet left his anchorage, and began the ascent of the river. The batteries at once opened fire upon the vessels, which replied with spirit. The fleet, arriving opposite the town, lay in front of it for nearly two hours, maintaining a heavy cannonade which drove the gunners from their pieces and almost silenced their fire. Then putting on steam once more, the vessels passed the batteries and continued on their way up the river. Farragut then addressed a note to Captain Davis, commanding the gunboat fleet in the upper Mississippi, asking his co-operation in an attack on Vicksburg. At the same time he wrote to the Government that, while he could easily run by the Vicksburg batteries and silence their fire, he could accomplish nothing of permanent value without the co-operation of a large land force. About the middle of July he again passed the batteries and rejoined his vessels below the town. Shortly afterwards he went back to New Orleans.

In order to maintain their hold upon the Mississippi, which was essential to their communication with the country beyond it, the Confederates greatly strengthened their works at Vicksburg, and fortified Port Hudson about 100 miles below that place. General Grant was sent with a large army to operate against Vicksburg, and established his base of operations at Milliken's Bend, above the city. After many useless efforts from this direction, Grant determined to cross his army to the left bank of the Mississippi, below Vicksburg, and attack that place from the rear. Commodore Porter, who had succeeded to the command of the gunboat fleet above Vicksburg, was ordered to run a number his gunboats by the batteries to act as transports in the passage of the river by the army, and Farragut was directed to pass the Port Hudson batteries with his fleet and co-operate with Porter.

The Port Hudson batteries were much stronger and more formidable than those at Vicksburg, and lined the river bank in several tiers for a distance of four miles. The effort to pass them was the severest test to which a wooden fleet had ever been subjected; but Farragut resolved to make it. He reached Prophet's Island, with his fleet and the mortar-boats, on the morning of the 17th of March. Having determined to make the attempt that night, he caused the mortar boats to open fire on the Southern batteries early in the afternoon, and sent a small land force towards the rear of Port Hudson to engage the attention of the Confederates.

Lashing his ships together in pairs, Farragut started from Prophet's Island on the night of the 17th, to pass the batteries. Almost as soon as the fleet had started, the Confederates lighted large bonfires on the shore, which illumined the river with a glare as bright as the light of day, and made the Union vessels conspicuous marks for the Southern guns. A heavy fire was at once opened on the fleet, which responded rapidly and with effect, and soon the smoke was so thick over the river that the opposing parties could aim only at the flashes of the hostile guns. This added to the danger of the fleet, by rendering the vessels liable to fire into each other. An officer stood in the bow of each vessel straining his eyes to direct her course through the gloom, and a line of men was formed from him to

The ram Tennessee now made a dash at the Hartford, but immediately took refuge under the guns of the forts. Thinking that the battle was over, Farragut sent the light draft vessels in pursuit of the gunboats. The Selma was captured by the Metacomet, and the Gaines was so badly damaged that it was necessary to destroy her. The Morgan escaped. Having sent these vessels off, the Admiral made the signal for the rest of the fleet to anchor.

As this order was being executed, the Tennessee was seen to leave her place of refuge under the guns of the forts, and to stand boldly towards the flag-ship, evidently intending to sink her. Every available wooden vessel, and all the monitors, were at once ordered to open fire upon her, and to run her down. In a little while they were moving upon her from every direction, as she advanced rapidly into their midst. The Monongahela struck her first, and lost her prow in the collision. The Lackawanna followed next, and struck her a heavy blow, but withdrew seriously crippled, while the ram was uninjured. The Tennessee now made straight for the Hartford. The flag-ship put on all steam, and swept down upon her formidable adversary. Just before the crash came, the ram sheered, and received a glancing blow. Recoiling ten or twelve feet, the Hartford poured a rapid broadside upon the ram, which made no impression, however, on her plated sides, while the shot from the Tennessee went crashing through the wooden walls of the Hartford. The flag-ship now made a wide circuit to strike the ram again, and as she was bearing down upon her, was herself struck by the Lackawanna, which was making for the ram a second time. The Hartford was cut down to within two feet of the water, and was supposed to be sinking. Immediately the cry was raised, "Save the Admiral! Get the Admiral out of the ship!" From his lofty position the Admiral saw that his ship was still afloat, and immediately gave the order to put her about and ram the Tennessee again. The Tennessee had suffered terribly in this engagement, as she lay under the converging fire of the whole Federal fleet, and had been badly injured by it, and by the collisions she had received. Her smoke-stack was gone, and her steering chains were shot away. As the Hartford swept down upon her again, her flag was lowered, and the battle was over.

Farragut's loss in this hard-fought battle was 222 killed and wounded, and one iron-clad. The victory was soon followed by the surrender of the forts, at the mouth of the bay, to General Granger.

Farragut remained with his fleet in Mobile Bay until November, 1864, when, having received leave of absence, he sailed in the *Hartford* for New York, which he reached on the 12th of December. He was given a public reception, and in the same month was promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral. On the 1st of January, 1865, he was presented with a gift of \$50,000 by the citizens of New York. Honors were now showered upon him, and his fame was not confined to his own country. The Prince de Joinville, himself a gallant sailor, said of the battle of Mobile Bay: "The Americans there accomplished a feat of arms of which they have reason to be proud, for there is not a more transcendent one in the naval history of our time; and the skillfulness and energy shown on this occasion, as on so many others, by Admiral Farragut, incontestably place him in the first rank among the naval officers of all nations."

The Admiral passed the winter with his family at Hastings, on the Hudson, and in the Spring of 1865 returned to blockade duty. The close of the war soon followed.

In July, 1866, Congress having created the full rank of Admiral, for the especial purpose of rewarding his services, Farragut was advanced to that grade by the President. Soon after this he was placed in command of the magnificent new steam frigate *Franklin*, in which he visited the principal ports of the leading nations of Europe. He was everywhere received with the honors due to his great fame. After his return home his health failed rapidly, and for the last year of his life he was a constant sufferer. He died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the 14th of August, 1870, aged sixty-nine years. His body was conveyed to New York, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, near that city.

ROBERT E. LEE.

THE Lee family, which has given so many great men to America, is of ancient and honorable descent. The founder of the American branch, Richard Lee, emigrated from Shropshire, in England, to Virginia, in the reign of Charles I., and settled in that part of Virginia lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, known as the Northern Neck. He was a zealous royalist, and occupied a prominent and honorable position in the Colony. His descendants fully maintained the traditional reputation of the family, and have furnished to American history some of its brightest names. The father of the subject of this memoir was the great-grandson of the founder of the family.

ROBERT EDWARD LEE was born at Stratford House, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 19th of January, 1807, in the same room in which Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee were born. His father was General Henry Lee, the famous "Light Horse Harry" of the Revolution, and his mother was Matilda, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, of Stratford House.

The boyhood of Robert Lee was passed in the Northern Neck, and a great part of it amid the stirring events of the Second War with England. When he was in his eighth year a British fleet under Admiral Cockburn ravaged the shores of the Chesapeake and Potomac, and the cities of Washington and Alexandria were occupied by the British forces. These events, occurring so near the home of young Lee, must have had something to do with the shaping of his future career.

When he was twelve years old his father died. In 1825, being then eighteen years old, Robert Lee entered the Military Academy at West Point, where he remained four years, graduating in 1829. He stood at the head of his class throughout his entire academic course, and never received a demerit or a reprimand. He was held in high esteem by his comrades, and

was noted for his studious habits and exemplary conduct; he never used intoxicating liquors or tobacco, nor indulged in any of the vices popular with young men. On the 4th of July, 1829, he was graduated first in his class, and received the appointment of brevet second lieutenant in the corps of Topographical Engineers. After a brief furlough he entered upon the duties of his profession, and was employed for several years upon the coast defences of the United States. In 1835 he was appointed assistant astronomer for the demarcation of the boundary line between the States of Ohio and Michigan.

In 1832, Lieutenant Lee married Mary, daughter of George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington and the grandson of Mrs. Washington. By this marriage the young officer became at a subsequent period the proprietor of Arlington House, in Alexandria County, Virginia, opposite Washington City, and of the White House, on the Pamunkey river, the scene of Washington's marriage with the "Widow Custis." Three sons and four daughters were the fruits of this marriage. Two of the sons became Major-Generals in the Confederate Army.

In 1834 Lieutenant Lee was made assistant to the Chief Engineer of the army, and held that position until 1837. In September, 1836, he was promoted to the grade of first lieutenant, and in July, 1838, was appointed Captain of Engineers. Near about the same time he was placed in charge of the improvements of the harbor of St. Louis and the upper Mississippi. In 1840 he was given charge of the improvements in the Ohio below Louisville, and those in the lower Mississippi. Towards the end of 1841 he superintended the construction and repair of the defences of the harbor of New York, and in 1844 was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors to the West Point Academy. He also held several other important positions.

When the Mexican War broke out, Captain Lee, who was now regarded as one of the most accomplished officers in the service, was assigned to duty as Chief of Engineers in the army under General Scott, and served with great distinction throughout the war, winning high praise from all his superior officers, and especially from General Scott. He was twice

promoted for his services in Mexico. In 1847 he was brevetted Major for "gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Cerro Gordo," and later was made Lieutenant Colonel by brevet for his conduct at Contreras and Churubusco. General Scott conceived a warm personal friendship for his Chief Engineer, and a high admiration for his military skill. Lee became an especial favorite with him, and the Commander-in-Chief sent scarcely a despatch to Washington in which Lee's name was not honorably mentioned. So greatly did the veteran soldier esteem him, that he declared years afterwards, "Lee is the greatest military genius in America."

After the close of the war Colonel Lee spent several years in the Engineer service, and in 1852, as a reward for his services at Chapultepec, in Mexico, was made Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. He held this position for three years, and during his administration the course of study was, by order of the Secretary of War, extended so as to cover a period of five years.

In 1855 two new regiments of cavalry were formed. Albert Sidney Johnston was made Colonel of the Second Cavalry regiment, Lee Lieutenant-Colonel (the full rank); Hardee and Geo. H. Thomas were the Majors; among the Captains were Van Dorn and Kirby Smith; and among the lieutenants Hood, Fields, Fitzhugh Lee, Palmer, Stoneman and Torbert, all of whom rose to eminence during the Civil War. Lee served with his regiment in Texas, taking part in several severe battles with the Indians, until 1859, when he received leave of absence, and returned to his home in Virginia. In October, 1859, John Brown made his attack upon Harper's Ferry, and captured the United States Arsenal at that place. Colonel Lee happening to be in Washington at the time, was sent to Harper's Ferry with a force of marines to recover the Arsenal. He attacked and captured Brown's party, and turned his prisoners over to the United States civil authorities, by whom they were surrendered to the State of Virginia. Somewhat later Colonel Lee returned to Texas, and from February to December, 1860, was in command of that department. In December, 1860, he received leave of absence, and went back to Virginia.

In the meantime the agitation which preceded the withdrawal of the Southern States from the Union had begun, and Colonel Lee's native State had been drawn into it. The new government of the Confederate States had been organized, and in April occurred the conflict at Fort Sumter. On the 17th of April, 1861, the Virginia Convention passed an ordinance of Secession, and called upon the people to take up arms in defence of the State. Colonel Lee had watched the course of events with painful anxiety, hoping that some peaceful settlement of the troubles could be had, and that his native State would find it consistent with her honor to remain in the Union. He held that his first duty was to his State, which had, if she chose to exercise it, an undoubted right to withdraw from the Union which she had helped to form, and that should she do so, and call upon her children to take up arms in her defence, he would have no choice but to quit the service of the United States and cast his lot with Virginia. He was influenced by no feeling of ambition, or sectional hatred; it cost him a long and bitter struggle to leave the service in which he had spent so many honorable years; and he regarded secession as ruin and anarchy. He felt that it was his duty to go with his State; and though he reluctantly formed that decision, he felt that it was none the less binding upon him. Every effort was made to retain him in the old service, and he was even offered the chief command of the United States army. He refused every offer, saying, "How can I draw my sword upon Virginia, my native State?" On the 20th of April, 1861, he resigned his commission in the Federal army, and repaired to Richmond. He was at once appointed Commander of the Virginia forces, and accepted the position. To the Convention which conferred this rank upon him he said: "Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf alone will I ever again draw my sword."

Early in May, 1861, Virginia joined the Confederate States, and her forces became a part of the Confederate army. The city of Richmond became the capital of the Confederacy. The Confederate Congress having created the rank of General, five persons were appointed to that rank, in the order named, viz:

S. Cooper, A. S. Johnston, R. E. Lee, J. E. Johnston, and P. T. Beauregard. For awhile General Lee was not given any active command, but was retained at Richmond as military adviser to President Davis. He caused Richmond and the approaches to it to be properly fortified, and rendered the capital secure against a sudden attack. Late in the summer of 1861, he took command of the forces in West Virginia; but the campaign which ensued was unsuccessful, and subjected him to much criticism. After the fall of Port Royal, in South Carolina, General Lee was placed in command of the Coast Department, and during the winter and spring succeeded in placing it in an admirable state of defence. In March, 1862, he was recalled to Richmond, and assigned to duty under the orders of the President. His duties consisted in directing the operations of all the armies of the Confederacy.

General Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded at the battle of Seven Pines, before Richmond, May 31st, 1862, and was succeeded by Major General G. W. Smith, who was physically incapable of holding the position. President Davis thereupon appointed General Lee, on the 3d of June, Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. This army was posted on the line of the Chickahominy around Richmond, and was confronted by the Army of the Potomac under General McClellan, which had succeeded in ascending the Peninsula between the James and York rivers, and was threatening Richmond from the Chickahominy.

General Lee's first efforts were directed to improving the discipline and equipment of his army, which was now strongly reinforced. He determined to attack McClellan at the earliest opportunity, and compel him to retreat from the line of the Chickahominy. On the 26th of June, having gotten his army in proper condition and nearly equal to the Federals in strength, and having drawn General Jackson's command from the Valley of Virginia, where it had won a number of brilliant victories, General Lee began the series of movements known as "the Seven Days' Battles." He defeated McClellan's right wing at Mechanicsville, and the next day, being joined by Jackson, struck it a crushing blow at Cold Harbor, and drove it from its position north of the Chickahominy. General Mc-

Clellan was forced by these disasters to his army to abandon his communications with the York river, and seek a new position on the James. His retreat began on the 29th, on which day occurred the battle of Savage Station, between portions of the two armies. McClellan retreated rapidly to the James river, fighting at Frazier's Farm, on the 30th of June, and at Malvern Hill on the 1st of July. He succeeded in repulsing the attack upon him at Malvern Hill, but continued his retreat to Harrison's Landing on the James river, where he took up a new position on the banks of the river, under the protection of the Federal fleet.

Having driven McClellan from before Richmond, General Lee now turned his attention to the region north of the Rappahannock, where the Federal Government was collecting a new army under General Pope, for an overland march to Richmond. He sent Jackson's corps in advance, and this force inflicted a defeat upon Pope's advanced guard under General Banks, at Cedar Run, on the 9th of August, and checked the Federal movement into Virginia. As soon as he was satisfied that the Federal Government was withdrawing McClellan's army from the James to reinforce Pope, Lee moved his whole force to the Rappahannock, and joined Jackson. He formed the daring plan of attacking and destroying Pope's army before McClellan's forces could join him, and by a series of brilliant flank movements gained the rear of Pope's army, forced him back to the old battle field of Bull Run, and, besides several less important victories, gained a decisive success over him in the second battle of Bull Run, on the 30th of August. Pope's army, utterly demoralized by its reverses, retreated within the lines of Washington, having lost over 30,000 men and thirty pieces of artillery, during the brief campaign.

General Lee now resolved to take advantage of Pope's defeat to invade Maryland, in the hope of carrying the war out of Virginia. He crossed the Potomac on the 5th of September, and advanced to Frederick, Maryland. Here he detached Jackson's corps to capture the important post of Harper's Ferry, which was held by a Federal garrison of about 11,000 men, and with the remainder of his army moved to South Mountain, to await the result of Jackson's operations. Jack-

son promptly invested Harper's Ferry, which surrendered on the 15th of September.

In the meantime General McClellan had been placed in command of the remnants of Pope's army, and had united them with his own forces. Moving cautiously from Washington, he advanced towards Frederick, reorganizing his army on the march. On the 12th of September he reached Frederick, and there found a copy of General Lee's confidential order to his corps commanders, giving his plan of campaign. This order had been lost by the officer to whom it was addressed, and its discovery gave McClellan a great advantage over his adversary. He moved forward boldly, and attacked the Confederates at South Mountain, on the 14th of September. It had been General Lee's intention to allow the Federal army to pass South Mountain unmolested, as he had not expected that McClellan would arrive so promptly. As Harper's Ferry had not yet fallen, however, it was necessary to change this plan and to contest the passage of the mountain. Lee held his position until night-fall, and then retreated to the line of the Antietam creek, where he took position the next morning. Harper's Ferry fell the same day, and Jackson by a forced march rejoined General Lee on the banks of the Antietam, on the morning of the 16th. Lee had with him now less than 40,000 men, while the Federal army was about 80,000 strong. On the 17th McClellan made a determined attack upon the Confederates, and the bloody battle of Antietam ensued. Lee held his position until nightfall put an end to the battle, and during the next day. On the night of the 18th, he retreated across the Potomac into Virginia. Though his Maryland campaign was a failure, he had good cause to be proud of the achievements of his army during the summer. It had defeated three powerful armies in twelve battles and numerous skirmishes, inflicting upon the enemy a loss of nearly 76,000 men, of whom nearly 30,000 were prisoners, capturing 155 pieces of cannon, and nearly 70,000 small arms, and destroying many millions of dollars' worth of stores of various kinds.

Lee moved slowly up the Valley of Virginia, and crossing the Blue Ridge, took up a strong position at Culpeper Court House. McClellan after a long delay followed him, and early

in November the two armies again confronted each other. McClellan was about to offer battle, when he was suddenly removed from his command, and replaced by General Burnside. Burnside moved rapidly to Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, where he hoped to cross the Rappahannock, and place his army between Lee and Richmond. Upon reaching Falmouth, he found Lee's army strongly posted on the heights in the rear of Fredericksburg, barring his way to Richmond. On the 11th and 12th of December, Burnside threw his army over the Rappahannock and occupied Fredericksburg. On the 13th he attempted to carry the Southern line by storm, but met with a bloody defeat, and retreated across the Rappahannock.

During the winter no further effort was made by either army. General Burnside resigned his command, and was succeeded by Gen. Hooker. The Federal army was brought to a high state of efficiency. It was 120,000 strong, exclusive of the cavalry, which numbered 12,000, and was equipped with 400 pieces of artillery. Its commander proudly termed it "the finest army on the planet." General Lee's army was weakened by the withdrawal of Longstreet's corps of 24,000 men, by order of the Confederate Government, for service elsewhere, and was barely 50,000 strong.

General Hooker decided to attack Lee as soon as the roads would allow him to move his army. He began his march on the 27th of April, 1863, crossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers, and moving to Chancellorsville, turned Lee's flank, and planted his army in the rear of the Southern position. Quickly perceiving his danger, Lee left a portion of his army to hold the heights of Fredericksburg, and with the remainder moved to Chancellorsville, where he attacked Hooker, and on the 2d and 3d of May inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, and drove him back to the junction of the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers. He was preparing to storm this new position, when he learned that a strong Federal force under General Sedgwick had crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, had carried the heights and was marching against him. His danger was great, but leaving a part of his army to hold Hooker in check, he marched rapidly to meet Sedgwick, and

defeated him at Salem Heights and forced him to retreat across the Rappahannock. He then moved back to attack Hooker, but that commander, disheartened by his reverses, retreated across the Rappahannock on the night of the 5th, having lost 12,000 men. The victory of Chancellorsville cost the Confederates 10,000 men, and the life of General "Stonewall" Jackson, Lee's ablest subordinate.

Lee's army was now rapidly reinforced until it reached a strength of 80,000 men, mostly veterans. Hooker's army, on the other hand, was reduced by desertions and expiration of enlistments to about the same strength. The Southern Government, anxious to counterbalance its reverses in the West and Southwest by a great success, resolved to follow up the victory at Chancellorsville by an invasion of the North by Lee's army. Lee began his forward movement on the 3d of June, 1863, and marching through the Valley of Virginia, crossed the Potomac at Williamsport on the 23d. The Federal army, the command of which had passed to General Meade, followed him cautiously. The objective point of both armies was Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The advanced forces came in conflict quite by accident at that place on the afternoon of the 1st of July; the Confederates had decidedly the advantage in this engagement, but the Federal forces succeeded in occupying a strong position. Both armies were now hurried forward, and General Meade resolved to hold the line of heights which his advanced guard had secured, and await Lee's attack. On the 2d of July there was sharp, but indecisive fighting; and on the 3d, General Lee made a resolute effort to carry the Federal position by storm. He met with a bloody repulse. On the night of the 4th he withdrew from Gettysburg, and retreated in good order to the Potomac. Reaching Williamsport he found the river too much swollen to permit him to cross it. He entrenched his position, assumed a bold front, and remained on the bank of the river from the 6th to the night of the 13th of July; when the water having fallen sufficiently, he retreated into Virginia, the Federal army making no effort to interfere with him. Lee withdrew up the Valley of Virginia, crossed the Blue Ridge and marched to the Rapidan. Meade followed closely, but made no effort to attack him, and took

position on the north side of the Rapidan. The remainder of the year was passed without any movement of an important nature, and large detachments were drawn from both armies for service in the West.

Early in March, 1864, General Grant, whose brilliant successes in the West and Southwest had won him the leading position in the Federal army, was raised to the grade of Lieutenant-General, and was placed in command of all the armies of the Union. He assumed the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac, which was brought to the strength of 140,000 men. The army under General Lee numbered about 50,000 men. The general principle upon which the Federal commander conducted the campaign which ensued was that the great object to be attained was the destruction of the Confederate army rather than the capture of any particular place. He therefore determined not to make a direct attack upon Lee, but to turn his right flank, draw him from his strong position, and force him to fight in the open country, where the superior numbers of the Federals would tell against him. On the morning of the 4th of May, 1864, the Federal army crossed the Rapidan, and turning the right of Lee's position, entered the densely wooded region known as "The Wilderness." Grant appears to have supposed that Lee, finding his flank turned by a superior force, would fall back towards Richmond. Lee, however, resolved to attack his adversary while moving through the wooded country, in which the Federal superiority in strength would be neutralized to a considerable extent by the character of the country. He struck a bold and skillful blow at the Federal army in the Wilderness, near the old battle-field of Chancellorsville, on the 5th and 6th of May. The battle was one of the bloodiest of the war, but was indecisive; and on the 7th Grant moved around Lee's right, and marched towards Spottsylvania Court House. Lee at once detected his design, and by a forced march reached Spottsylvania Court House in advance of his antagonist, and secured a strong position, which he proceeded to entrench. Grant made repeated but unsuccessful efforts to carry the Southern position; and on the 12th of May occurred the bloody battle of Spottsylvania Court House, in which the Federal army was

repulsed. Grant had now suffered a loss of over 40,000 men since the opening of the campaign, and finding it impossible to force the Southern lines, moved once more to the right in the direction of Richmond. Lee met every manœuvre by a counter movement, acting on the defensive throughout. By the last of May the two armies confronted each other on the Chickahominy, in sight of Richmond. After some indecisive fighting, Grant made a general attack upon Lee's strongly intrenched position at Cold Harbor, on the 3d of June, and was repulsed with a loss of 13,000 men. For ten days the two armies lay opposite each other, but on the 13th of June Grant abandoned his position, marched down the Chickahominy to the James, crossed the latter river, and endeavored to seize Petersburg, south of the James, by a sudden blow. Lee fell back behind the Chickahominy, and, dividing his force, undertook the defence of both Petersburg and Richmond.

Petersburg being the key to the railroad system connecting Richmond with the Southern States, the fall of that place would compel the abandonment of Richmond. The efforts of General Grant's army, therefore, were from this time directed to the capture of Petersburg. The siege was conducted with vigor, and was marked by numerous battles of more or less importance. All the while the Confederate army was wasting away by the slow processes of sickness and death. There were no more men to be had; the South was exhausted, and it was only a question of time as to when the end would come. Thus the autumn and winter wore away.

When the spring opened General Grant resolved to bring the war to an end, for it was plain to him that Lee's weak force could not resist the advance of his powerful army, which had just been reinforced by Sheridan's magnificent division of cavalry. The force under his command numbered 170,000 men; while Lee had with him less than 40,000 troops. On the 29th of March, 1865, the advance of the Federals was begun. Leaving the bulk of his forces before Petersburg, Grant moved with the remainder around Lee's right, and in a series of engagements succeeded in planting himself upon Lee's line of communication with the South. As soon as this success was won, the Federal forces left in front of Peters-

burg opened a heavy fire upon the Confederate lines before that place, commencing in the afternoon of the 1st of April, and continued the bombardment through the night. On the morning of the 2d of April, these forces made a determined attack upon Lee's line, and broke it at several points. General Lee was now forced to assume a new and shorter line immediately around Petersburg. The Federal army made a vigorous effort to force its way into the town, but was repulsed.

The fate of Petersburg was now decided. It was impossible to hold it longer. On the night of the 2d of April, General Lee withdrew his army from Richmond and Petersburg, and retreated in the direction of Amelia Court House. His intention was to move towards Danville, and endeavor to join Johnston, who was retreating through North Carolina before Sherman. Lee's entreat was discovered on the morning of the 3d of April, and the Federal army, leaving small detachments to occupy Petersburg and Richmond, set off in pursuit, following the line of the South Side railroad.

Upon reaching Amelia Court house, General Lee found that the supplies he had ordered to be sent there from Danville, were not to be had. The trains sent from Danville by his instructions had been ordered to Richmond to remove the property of the Confederate Government, and had not been allowed to unload their stores at Amelia Court House. This was a terrible blow to Lee, who was now unable to furnish food to his troops, who had eaten nothing since the commencement of the retreat. Parties were sent into the surrounding country to obtain supplies, and this consumed the whole of the 4th and 5th of April, which Lee had hoped to spend in pushing on beyond his pursuers. The delay enabled Sheridan, with 18,000 mounted men, to seize the Confederate line of retreat at Jetersville. This movement put an end to Lee's hope of reaching Danville and joining Johnston. A battle would have been madness, for Sheridan had a force nearly equal to his own, and Grant with the rest of his army was within supporting distance. General Lee therefore turned off, and retreated towards Farmville, hoping to be able to reach Lynchburg; but Sheridan, after passing Farmville, pushed forward again, and by a forced march reached Appomattox Station, on the South Side railroad,

on the night of the 8th, and planted his force squarely across the Confederate line of retreat. The next morning, Lee, when near Appomattox Court House, discovered this obstacle in his way, and about the same time Sheridan was joined by the Army of the James, under General Ord, while the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, was fast closing upon the Confederate rear. General Lee had now but eight thousand men with arms in their hands; the bulk of his forces, being too much broken down by fatigue and hunger to keep their places in the ranks, accompanied their comrades in a disorganized mass. General Grant now invited General Lee to surrender his army, but the latter declined to do so. As soon as he discovered Sheridan in his front, Lee attempted to cut his way through the Federal line, but failing in his effort, and being convinced that further resistance would be merely a useless sacrifice of his men, he asked for a suspension of hostilities, and went to meet General Grant. The two commanders met at a house in the village of Appomattox Court House, on the 9th of April, and arranged the terms of the surrender. These were, in substance, that the Confederate officers and the men under their command should not thereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in any military capacity against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as should be mutually approved by the respective authorities; and that they would not be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observed their paroles and the laws in force where they should reside. The officers were allowed to retain their side-arms, and both officers and men were permitted to keep the horses which belonged to them individually, in order that they might betake themselves as soon as possible to the cultivation of the soil. About seventy-five hundred men laid down their arms, and about twenty thousand unarmed stragglers took part in the surrender. The Federal troops treated their vanquished opponents with soldierly kindness, and carefully refrained from all demonstrations that might seem to insult their misfortunes.

General Lee returned to Richmond immediately after the surrender, and reached the city on the afternoon of the 12th.

Those who did not know him were surprised at the calmness and cheerfulness exhibited by him at this time; but to his friends his demeanor was neither strange nor unexpected. They knew that his tranquility and cheerfulness proceeded from an intelligent conviction that throughout the war he had done his entire duty, and that events had been shaped by a stronger Arm than his. Thus convinced he never repined. He met adversity with the same self command he had displayed in the midst of success, and with true Christian fortitude bowed in submission to the will of God. For the misfortunes of the Southern people he grieved silently and strongly, and strove by every means in his power to help them to make the best of their troubles. He counselled submission to the General Government, and wishing to set the example of entire submission, made application to the President for pardon in accordance with an act of Congress. The application was cordially endorsed by General Grant, through whom it was made, and a warrant of pardon was at once issued by President Johnson in accordance with the terms of the law.

General Lee's fortune had been almost entirely swept away by the war, and it was necessary for him to obtain some means of support. In October, 1865, he accepted the Presidency of Washington College, at Lexington, Va., a position thoroughly congenial to his tastes. Under his able management the college prospered very greatly, and students were drawn from all parts of the Union.

General Lee took no part in public life after the close of the war. He found great happiness in the modest but useful labors to which he devoted himself, and in the peaceful seclusion of his own home. In March, 1866, he appeared as a witness before the Reconstruction Committee of Congress. He testified that as far as he knew, the people of the South did not contemplate any resistance to the Government of the United States, and were in favor of the reconstruction policy of President Johnson; that they expected to pay their proportion of the national debt, and would be willing also to pay the Confederate debt; and that the people of Virginia regarded the action of the State in seceding from the Union as carrying the individuals of the State along with it; that the State, not

individuals, was responsible, and was merely using a lawful reserved right.

It was General Lee's fortune to be exempted from the bitterness with which the Northern people regarded the leaders of the "Lost Cause." His high character, his spotless record during the terrible struggle, and the simple dignity with which he rose above his misfortunes, won him the unqualified admiration of his former foes; and surely no higher tribute than this can be accorded to any man. When a few reckless partisans sought to charge him with acts of cruelty and injustice during the war there was an emphatic protest from the Northern people which silenced them.

The terrible strain, both mental and physical, to which he was subjected during the last year of the war, did much to undermine the vigorous health of General Lee. He felt his failing powers, and is said to have remarked to his friend and pastor, Dr. Pendleton, some time in 1868, that he did not expect to live more than two years longer, a premonition which was unhappily realized.

Early in September, 1870, he was stricken with what was believed to be an attack of nervous prostration, but recovered from it. On the afternoon of September 28th, he attended a meeting of the Vestry of the Episcopal Church at Lexington, of which body he was a member. Important business detained him until after seven in the evening, when he returned home. His family were at supper, and as he seated himself at the table Mrs. Lee said to him, "Robert, you are late; we have been waiting for you. What detained you?" Receiving no answer, Mrs. Lee repeated her question, and then looking up saw the General with his hand at his watch pocket, but motionless. His son, General Custis Lee, sprang to his father's side, and found him speechless. Medical aid was summoned, and the General regained the power of speech. He seemed to rally, and though he kept his bed his symptoms were favorable until Monday, October 10th, when he suddenly grew worse, and continued to fail rapidly. He suffered comparatively little pain during his whole sickness. Once or twice his mind wandered and his thoughts reverted to the army. At one time he ordered that his tent should be struck, and at another desired

that General A. P. Hill should be sent for. He continued to sink, and on the morning of Wednesday, October 12th, 1870, at half-past nine o'clock breathed his last. The proximate cause of his death was mental and physical fatigue, inducing nervous congestion of the brain, which gradually caused cerebral exhaustion and death.

The news of his death was at once telegraphed throughout the country. The South gave way to the deepest grief, for General Lee was personally dear to every Southern heart. In the North there was a very general feeling of regret at his death, and the press of that section united in a sincere tribute to the virtues and genius of the dead chieftain.



THOMAS J. JACKSON.

THE subject of this memoir was of English descent. His great grandfather, John Jackson, emigrated to this country at a very early day, and settled upon the South bank of the Potomac, in Virginia. He did not remain there long, however, but removed to what is now Lewis County, in West Virginia. One of his sons, Edward Jackson, was surveyor of Lewis County, and subsequently represented the county in the State Legislature. His son, Jonathan Jackson, who was born in Lewis County, removed to the town of Clarksburg, in Harrison County, for the purpose of studying law with his cousin, Judge John G. Jackson, of that place. In due time he received his license, and entered upon the practice of his profession, with his cousin, Judge Jackson. By his practice he acquired some reputation and property. He married Miss Neal, a daughter of Thomas Neal, of Wood County. By this lady he had four children—two sons and two daughters.

THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON, the youngest of these children, was born at Clarksburg, in Harrison County, Virginia, on the 21st day of January, 1824. When he was scarcely three years old his father died, and his mother soon followed. Before his death Mr. Jackson became involved as security for some of his friends, and as a logical consequence his property was swept away. His children were thus left without any means of support.

Shortly after the death of his parents, Thomas was taken by an uncle to Lewis County. This uncle was living on the farm on which the father of Thomas had been born, and there the orphan boy remained until he reached the age of seventeen years. During this period he spent a portion of his time in working on the farm, and the remainder in attending an old field school in the neighborhood, where he received the rudiments of a plain English education.

From his earliest childhood he exhibited a remarkable de-

gree of self-reliance and energy. He was quiet and reserved, but kind and gentle in his disposition and manner. He studied hard while at school, and was prompt and faithful in the discharge of his duties. These qualities, exhibited in a degree remarkable in one so young, could not fail to attract the attention, and win the admiration of his neighbors, nor were they allowed to pass unrewarded. The people of Lewis County, wishing to assist the young man so bravely struggling to raise himself in the world, conferred upon him the office of constable of the county when he was but sixteen years old. He accepted the appointment, and in spite of his extreme youth, discharged the duties of the office with marked fidelity and success.

When he was seventeen years old, he learned that there was a vacancy from his Congressional district in the United States Military Academy at West Point, and determined to apply for it. He set off on foot from Lewis County, and walked a long distance to a point from which he could take the stage to Washington City. Arriving there, he sought out Mr. Hays, the member of Congress from his district, and travel stained, and with his face flushed with excitement, presented himself before him, and told him that he wanted the place at West Point, then vacant. Astonished and amused by such a request coming from one who seemed so humble and so unsuited to the position, Mr. Hays endeavored to dissuade him from trying to enter West Point. But the energetic youth was not to be discouraged, and in the conversation evinced such a marked degree of intelligence that his application was successful, and he received the desired appointment.

He entered the Military Academy in 1842, and remained there four years. He was noted for his unwavering attention to his duties. His sense of duty was always very high, and his performance of it most faithful. It was necessary for him to study very hard, as his early education had been deficient, and he had many difficulties to overcome. He was never content with a partial knowledge of anything; his mind never relaxed its grasp upon a subject until he had thoroughly mastered it. On the 1st of July, 1846, Cadet Jackson was graduated with high distinction, and was breveted second lieutenant, and as-

signed to the First Regiment of Artillery in the United States army.

The war with Mexico had begun, and the regiment to which Lieutenant Jackson was assigned was already with Gen. Taylor's army in Mexico. As soon as he received his orders he set out for Mexico, and joined Gen. Taylor's army late in the year 1846. He did not see any active service with this army.

Early in 1847 troops were drawn from Taylor, and sent to the island of Lobos, where General Scott was organizing an expedition against the city of Vera Cruz. Lieutenant Jackson was ordered to this point with his battery. He bore a distinguished part in the siege of Vera Cruz, for which he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. He took part in the battles of Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, El Molino Del Rey, and Chapultepec, and the capture of the city of Mexico, serving as a lieutenant in Magruder's famous light battery. In each of these battles he greatly distinguished himself, and was successively breveted Captain and Major, rising during the campaign from the grade of brevet second lieutenant to that of Major—a series of promotions unequaled by those of any other person connected with the army of General Scott.

The severe service in which he was engaged in Mexico, and the effects of the climate of that country, so impaired the health of Major Jackson, that shortly after the close of the war he was forced to resign his commission, and retire to private life.

In 1851, he applied for and received the appointment of Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Astronomy, and the post of Instructor in Artillery Tactics, in the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington. The appointment was made in March, 1851, and he immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties, and retained this position until the spring of 1861.

While living in Lexington he made a profession of religion, and connected himself with the Presbyterian Church, of which he became an active and zealous member. He gave great attention to the religious instruction of the negroes, and was very proud of the success of his efforts in this direction. Soon after his removal to Lexington he married Miss Junkin, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Junkin, the President of Washington Col-

lege. The lady did not long survive her marriage. She left one child, who died in infancy. Some years afterwards, Major Jackson married Miss Morrison, of North Carolina, who is still living. By this second marriage he had one child, a daughter, born a few months before his death.

Major Jackson was not as popular among the Cadets of the Military Institute as were some of the other professors; but none of the professors possessed in such an exalted degree their respect and deference. He was quiet, and sometimes stern, in his deportment. He had many little peculiarities of manner, which afforded much amusement to his pupils. He was looked upon as eccentric and "queer," but no one ventured to be familiar with him. In the class-room he would sit perfectly erect and motionless, holding his pencil in one hand and his class book in the other, listening with grave attention, and exhibiting the great powers of his wonderful memory, which was the most remarkable that has ever come under the observation of the writer, who was for several years a pupil of Major Jackson. The course he taught was the most difficult and complicated known to mathematicians, running through at least half a dozen text books. In listening to a recitation he very rarely used a book. He was ready at any moment to refer to any page or line of any of the books in his course, and then to repeat with accuracy any passage referred to, giving the page and volume. Punctuality and promptness were amongst his most striking characteristics, and he earnestly strove to impress these qualities upon his pupils.

In the spring of 1861, this peaceful life of Major Jackson was broken up by the opening of the civil war. He had foreseen these troubles, and had done what lay in his power to avert them. When the State of Virginia withdrew from the Union, he decided to share her fortunes. He had made his course the subject of long and prayerful meditation, and he had come to the deliberate conclusion that his native State had the right to command him. Immediately upon the secession of the State he offered his services to the Governor of Virginia, and was commissioned a Colonel in the State forces and placed in command of the "Camp of Instruction" established near Richmond. He left Lexington on the 20th of April, 1861, and

upon reaching Richmond assumed command of the camp. He devoted himself energetically to the duty of organizing and disciplining the large bodies of raw troops that came in daily from all parts of the State; but as he was needed elsewhere, did not remain long in this position. He was placed in command of Harper's Ferry, which had been occupied by the State troops, and was ordered to put the post in a state of defence. He reached Harper's Ferry on the 2d of May, 1861, and on the 23d of the month was relieved by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who had been given the command of all the Confederate forces in the valley of Virginia. Colonel Jackson therefore assumed the command of the first brigade of Johnston's army.

When the Federal army under Gen. Patterson entered the valley of Virginia, General Johnston evacuated Harper's Ferry, and marched to meet him. On the 20th of June he sent Colonel Jackson with his brigade to the neighborhood of Martinsburg, to watch Patterson and check his advance. Colonel Jackson destroyed the railroad at Martinsburg, brought off a large number of locomotives and destroyed many more, and on the 2d of July, attacked the advanced guard of Patterson's army at Falling Waters, and checked its forward movement.

About the middle of July the Federal army under General McDowell advanced from Alexandria to attack the Confederates under General Beauregard, at Manassas Junction. Beauregard at once moved forward to Bull Run, and took position on the banks of that stream. General Johnston was promptly informed of McDowell's movement. Skillfully eluding Patterson, who was ordered to detain him in the valley, Johnston crossed the mountains, reached Bull Run and joined Beauregard. Jackson, who had now been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, led the advance of Johnston's army. He bore a prominent part in the battle of Bull Run, on the 21st of July, and was slightly wounded towards the close of the day. At the crisis of the battle, General Bee, whose brigade had suffered horribly, and was being steadily beaten back, rode up to General Jackson, and exclaimed in a voice of anguish, "General, they are beating us back." "Then sir," replied Jackson, in his short, curt way, "we'll give them the bayonet." Placing himself at the head of his brigade, he shouted, "Forward;" and led

his men in a brilliant charge which drove back the Federal line. Bee hastened back to his own line, and pointing to Jackson's command, cried enthusiastically, "Look yonder! there is Jackson standing like a stone wall. Let us determine to die here, and we will conquer. Follow me!" His shattered column followed him with a will, and succeeded in regaining the position from which they had been driven.

The appeal of General Bee to his troops was repeated throughout the army, and the men, as a mark of their admiration for the gallant Virginian, bestowed upon him the flattering title of "Stonewall Jackson." This name, so characteristic of him, was readily adopted by the troops and people of the South, and was so universally applied to him that many persons believed it to be his proper name. This gave rise to some amusing incidents. It is said that upon one occasion he received a letter addressed to "*General Stone W. Jackson.*"

For his services at Bull Run, General Jackson was promoted to the rank of Major General in the Confederate army, and in the fall of 1861 was placed in command of the valley of Virginia, with his headquarters at Winchester. His new command was most important, and he realized this more fully than did the authorities at Richmond. By the close of the year 1861, his army numbered 10,000 men. The Federal Government had collected strong forces at Bath, in Morgan County, and at Romney, Hampshire County, and these forces committed such havoc in the valley, that General Jackson resolved to drive them from their positions. Accordingly he set out from Winchester, on the 1st of January, 1862, and attacked the Federal forces successively at Bath and Hancock, in Maryland, and drove them back. He then marched towards Romney, which was held by General Kelley, who retreated at his approach.

Having forced the Federals back at all points, Jackson returned to Winchester. His expedition was undertaken in the depth of the winter, and during a terribly trying season. The roads were covered with ice and snow, and the troops suffered very greatly. It was Jackson's intention to hold the ground he had won, and for this purpose he left a strong advanced guard in the direction of the Potomac. He fully appreciated the necessity of keeping the Federal forces out of the Valley

of Virginia, which he declared was the key to the whole State. "If the Valley is lost," he said, "Virginia is lost." He earnestly appealed for re-inforcements; but the guileless Israelite who presided at that time over the War Department at Richmond, could never rise to a proper appreciation of the situation of affairs. The desired re-inforcements were withheld, General Jackson's forward movement was severely censured, and he was ordered to withdraw his advanced forces from the Potomac, and directed to go into camp at Winchester and watch the enemy. Jackson promptly obeyed his orders, and, indignant at the censure and interference of the War Department, tendered his resignation. He was with great difficulty persuaded to withdraw it.

As General Jackson had foreseen, the Federal Government was quick to appreciate the advantages of a possession of the Valley. In the early part of 1862, a force of 35,000 men, under General Banks, crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, and moved into the Valley. On the evening of the 26th of February, this force occupied Charlestown, in Jefferson county. This column was destined for the invasion of the Valley, and the annihilation of the little army under General Jackson, which now numbered scarcely four thousand men. McClellan had begun his advance in Northern Virginia, Johnston's army was falling back from Centreville, and Jackson had no assurance of assistance from any quarter. The column under General Banks was already many times his own strength, the Federal forces under General Kelley, on the upper Potomac, were within three days march of Banks, and the Federal army in West Virginia could, if necessary, move into the Valley in support of the army there. The position of General Jackson was therefore perilous in the extreme, and for awhile it seemed that his little army would be overwhelmed by the immense force marching against it. The Confederate Government seriously entertained the thought of withdrawing him east of the mountains and abandoning the Valley. He alone was hopeful, and continued to demand reinforcements. "Though the troops under my command are inadequate to the defence of this district," he wrote, "yet we must look on the bright side, trusting that a kind Providence will continue to give its protection to this fair portion of our Valley."

From Charlestown, Banks moved to Martinsburg, from which place he advanced upon Winchester, reaching a point within six miles of the town on the 11th of March. Jackson prepared to give him battle, but late in the day received an order from Richmond to evacuate Winchester and retire up the Valley. He withdrew leisurely, carrying off all the public property, and retreated as far as Mount Jackson. Here his force was still further reduced to barely 3,000 men.

On the 21st of March he learned that the main body of the Federal forces, which had followed him up the Valley, were retiring towards Winchester, while a small force under General Shields was advancing leisurely up the Valley. He at once moved forward, and on the 23d of March attacked Shields at Kernstown, near Winchester, inflicting upon him a severe loss, and checking his advance. He then retreated rapidly to Mount Jackson, and General Shields fell back to Winchester. The effect of Jackson's movement was to retain in the Valley the entire command of Banks, the greater part of which had been destined to reinforce McClellan east of the Blue Ridge. It was now deemed necessary to retain this force in the Valley, in order to cover Washington from that direction. It was also decided to order Fremont to move from West Virginia into the Valley to reinforce Banks. Their united commands were then to crush Jackson, and drive him out of the Valley. In the meantime, McClellan, who had moved his army to the peninsula below Richmond, was ordered to advance upon Richmond from that direction, and McDowell was to march towards Richmond from Fredericksburg, and extend his left wing until he formed a junction with McClellan in the neighborhood of Hanover Court House, on the north of Richmond. It was believed that these movements would result in the destruction of Jackson's army and the capture of Richmond.

The danger which threatened the Confederate armies in Virginia was very great. A simple but hazardous plan of defense was adopted by the southern leaders. General Johnston's army, properly reinforced, was deemed sufficient for the protection of Richmond, but not a man could be spared from it to dispute the advance of Fremont, Banks and McDowell. This task was assigned to General Jackson, whose army was reinforced.

The situation of Jackson was now both difficult and dangerous. In his front lay the army of General Banks, who had advanced up the Valley for the purpose of uniting his forces with those of General Fremont, who was moving from West Virginia towards Staunton, and whose advanced guard, under General Milroy, had already driven the small Confederate force under General Edward Johnson back to a point near Staunton. Banks and Fremont might effect a junction at any moment, move upon Staunton, and not only capture that important place, but throw themselves between the column of General Jackson and that of General Edward Johnson, who was near Buffalo Gap, and defeat them in detail. Jackson appreciated the full danger of his position, and met it with a bold and brilliant plan of operations. He resolved to leave General Ewell, with his division, to watch Banks and hold him in check, and to march with the rest of his forces to Edward Johnson's position, unite his troops with that command, attack Milroy and drive him back into West Virginia. Then, having checked Fremont's advance, he would return to the Valley, rejoin General Ewell, and drive Banks out of it. He at once put his plan in operation, and, having crossed the mountains, united his column with Edward Johnson's forces on the 7th of May. The next day he attacked Milroy near the village of McDowell, in Highland county, inflicted a disastrous defeat upon him, and pursued him beyond Franklin, in Pendleton county. Then, retracing his steps to McDowell, he re-crossed the mountains, and returning to the Valley rejoined General Ewell near New Market. He now moved rapidly down the Valley, and on the 22d of May, attacked a portion of Banks' command at Port Royal and defeated it. Banks now retreated rapidly down the Valley, and Jackson followed in hot pursuit. On the 25th of May he came up with Banks at Winchester and inflicted a stinging defeat upon him, which completed the demoralization of the Federal forces. Banks resumed his flight, and did not pause until he had put the Potomac between his pursuers and himself. The Confederates captured a vast amount of stores and arms in this expedition, and forced General Banks to destroy a still larger quantity.

The presence of Jackson upon the Potomac alarmed the Fed-

eral Government for the safety of Washington City. Fremont was ordered to hasten his march into the Valley, and the column of General McDowell was diverted from its advance upon Richmond, and was directed to move into the Valley and gain Jackson's rear. This change in McDowell movement was a principal part of the Confederate plan, and was a crushing blow to McClellan's operations against Richmond. Still it was hoped that McDowell and Fremont would be able to crush Jackson between them.

News of these movements reached General Jackson on the Potomac. He at once wheeled about, and retreating, with marvelous rapidity, up the Valley, placed his army between McDowell and Fremont, and by the 6th of June had reached the vicinity of Port Republic. His situation was even more dangerous than ever. Fremont was pressing him closely, and for several days skirmishing had been going on between his rear guard and Fremont's advance, and Shields, with McDowell's advanced division, was approaching rapidly in his rear. Jackson now divided his forces, and stationing General Ewell's division at Cross Keys, about five miles from Port Republic, to check Fremont, moved with the rest of his army to Port Republic, to meet Shields. On the 8th of June Fremont attacked General Ewell at Cross Keys, but was repulsed with small loss. Ewell held his position during the day, and at night withdrew and rejoined Jackson. On the morning of the 9th of June, Jackson crossed the Shenandoah, destroyed the bridges behind him, and in the bloody battle of Port Republic inflicted a severe defeat upon Shields, and forced him to retreat. As the battle closed, Fremont appeared upon the opposite side of the river, but finding the bridges destroyed and Shields in full retreat, made no effort to cross. Jackson then withdrew leisurely with his whole command up the south fork of the Shenandoah, without being further pursued, while Shields retreated to Luray, and Fremont withdrew down the Valley to Mount Jackson, where he fortified his position.

The battles of Cross Keys and Port Republic closed Jackson's brilliant campaign on the Potomac and Shenandoah. In thirty-two days, with a force never exceeding 15,000 men, he had marched nearly four hundred miles, skirmishing

almost daily; had fought five battles, defeated three armies, numbering in the aggregate nearly 70,000 men, captured about twenty pieces of artillery, some four thousand prisoners, and immense quantities of all kinds of stores, and had suffered a loss of less than one thousand men killed, wounded, and missing. It is not surprising, then, that this brilliant campaign ranked General Jackson among the most distinguished and popular leaders of the South.

An important result of Jackson's success was the utter destruction of McClellan's plans for the reduction of Richmond. General Lee, who had succeeded to the command of the Army of Northern Virginia, resolved to attack McClellan and drive him from before Richmond. Jackson was ordered to move from the Chickahominy and join Lee. He accomplished this movement rapidly and skillfully, and before his absence from the Valley was suspected by his antagonist, had joined General Lee. He took part in the fierce battle of Cold Harbor, on the 26th of June, deciding the day by his timely arrival, and in the battles of White Oak Swamp on the 29th, and Malvern Hill on the 1st of July.

Soon after this a large army was collected in Northern Virginia by the Federal Government, and placed under the command of General Pope. General Jackson was despatched by General Lee to watch this force, and check its advance. On the 9th of August Jackson attacked the advanced corps of Pope's army, at Cedar Run, and defeated it. This defeat checked General Pope's forward movement, and he fell back behind the Rappahannock. Soon after, it being evident that McClellan's forces were being withdrawn from the James River to reinforce Pope, General Lee hastened to Northern Virginia with the remainder of his army, and joined Jackson on the Rapidan, about the middle of August. Lee now resolved to attack Pope before he could be joined by McClellan's troops, who were on their way to unite with him. He divided his army into two columns, and sent Jackson's corps by a circuitous route, by way of Thoroughfare Gap, to gain the rear of the Federal army. Jackson executed his daring flank march with success, and on the 26th of August captured Manassas Junction, Pope's main depot of supplies, with an enormous

quantity of stores. Pope at once fell back, intending to crush the audacious flanker, and General Lee set off with the rest of his army, by way of Thoroughfare Gap, to join Jackson. Pope's army had been reinforced by the corps of Porter and Heintzelman, and Reynolds's division, of McClellan's army, and was at least 120,000 strong. Pope encountered Ewell's division near Manassas Junction on the 27th. Ewell held his ground, and at night rejoined Jackson, who moved from Manassas and took position on the old battle-field of Bull Run. This brought Jackson nearer to Lee, and secured his retreat in case of defeat. Ewell's resistance deceived General Pope, who had posted McDowell's and Porter's corps to hold the road from Thoroughfare Gap, by which Lee must advance to Jackson's assistance. Supposing, from Ewell's resistance, that Jackson meant to make a stand at Manassas Junction, Pope ordered these troops to move from the positions they had occupied, and march upon Manassas. That place was reached at noon, and was found empty. Pope now saw for the first time how he had been deceived by Jackson, and how he had blundered in leaving the road from Thoroughfare Gap open to Lee. He endeavored to repair his error by attacking Jackson at once. He did so on the afternoon of the 28th, but was repulsed with severe loss. On the same afternoon General Lee, with the rest of his army, forced the passage of Thoroughfare Gap, and bivouacked in the open country beyond the pass. On the morning of the 29th Lee resumed his march, and by noon his advanced division reached Jackson's position. By four o'clock in the afternoon the entire Confederate army was reunited under command of General Lee. About three o'clock Pope made a heavy attack upon Lee's position, being in ignorance of the junction, and was repulsed. On the 30th, having united all the corps of his army, Pope staked the fate of the campaign upon a decisive effort. On this day was fought the second battle of Bull Run, in which the Federal army sustained a terrible defeat. The next day Jackson attacked and drove back the Federal rear guard at Chantilly. Pope now retreated within the defences of Washington, having lost over 30,000 men and 30 pieces of artillery since the opening of the campaign.

Lee now resolved to attempt the invasion of Maryland. Jackson's corps led the advance in this movement, crossed the Potomac at White's Ford, on the 5th of September, and the next day reached the vicinity of Frederick City. It was now necessary for Lee to pause. Harper's Ferry was held by a force of 11,000 Federal troops, and it was necessary to reduce this post in order to preserve the communications of the Confederate army with its own country. General Jackson was therefore ordered to recross the Potomac with his corps, and capture Harper's Ferry. He set off from Frederick on the 10th of September, and on the 13th carried the heights around Harper's Ferry, and invested the town. He pressed his attack with vigor, and on the 15th the Federal forces surrendered. Jackson at once secured his prisoners, and set off by a forced march to join General Lee, who was seriously threatened by McClellan's army. Lee had halted at South Mountain, and had fought McClellan there on the 14th, to cover Jackson's operations at Harper's Ferry, and on the 15th, being sure of the surrender of that place, had fallen back behind the Antietam. Marching rapidly from Harper's Ferry, Jackson joined Lee on the Antietam on the 16th. He took part in the great battle of Antietam, on the 17th of September, his corps constituting the Confederate left wing. He held his ground stubbornly during the day, in the face of persistent attacks from vastly superior forces.

When the army of General Lee occupied the heights around Fredericksburg, Jackson's corps constituted the right wing. He received the attack of Franklin's corps in the battle of the 13th of December, 1862, and repulsed it with heavy loss. He was in favor of attacking the beaten Federal army in the town of Fredericksburg that night, and urged such a course upon General Lee. There can be little doubt that had his advice been adopted, Lee would have destroyed Burnside's army.

During the battle General Jackson was conspicuous for his gallantry. Just before the action began he rode along his lines dressed in a handsome new uniform, the gift of a friend. It was his habit to dress very plainly, and his men had grown accustomed to watch for their general just before a battle begun, never failing to recognize the old slouched hat and the faded

gray uniform, when unable to distinguish his features. Never before had they failed to shout till the heavens rang when they saw him approach. Now they glanced carelessly at the officer in the handsome uniform, and gazed impatiently up and down the lines, wondering why "old Stonewall" did not appear. After he had passed them, it became known to them that the officer in the handsome uniform was their general, and they gave vent to many exclamations of regret at having suffered him to pass without a cheer.

During this battle his men witnessed a scene, which, though familiar, never lost its touching interest to them. Riding forward a short distance in front of his line, and uncovering his head and raising his eyes and right hand to heaven, General Jackson prayed the God of battles to be with the army that day. The troops looked on with softened hearts, and it would have fared badly with any one who dared make light of such a scene in the presence of one of Jackson's men.

When Hooker crossed the Rappahannock towards the last of April, 1863, General Lee ordered Jackson to march at once towards Chancellorsville, and check the Federal advance. Jackson set off from Fredericksburg at midnight, on the 30th of April, and arrived in front of the Federal army on the morning of the 1st of May. He resisted Hooker's advance so stubbornly that the latter decided to discontinue it, and entrenched himself at Chancellorsville, where he awaited Lee's attack. Jackson spent the remainder of the day in developing the Federal position and strength. That night General Lee arrived. Jackson now proposed the following plan of operations for the next day, which was accepted: Lee, with the divisions of McLaws and Anderson, was to keep Hooker employed during the day, by threatening demonstrations against his front, while Jackson was to move with his corps around the Federal right wing, and by a sudden blow double it up upon Hooker's centre, take his line in reverse, and cut him off from United States Ford, his line of retreat.

The night was quite cool. Seeing General Jackson without any covering or protection of any kind, one of his aides offered him his cape, and after much persuasion induced him to accept it. During the night he was fearful that the young man would

take cold from being deprived of his cape, and rose softly and threw it over him as he lay asleep. Then lying down again, he passed the night without anything around him. This produced a cold which afterwards resulted in a fatal attack of pneumonia.

Early on the morning of the 2d of May, General Jackson began his movement around the Federal right. The march was completely successful, and late in the afternoon the corps reached a point in the rear of the Federal forces, who were utterly unsuspecting of their danger. Jackson now formed his line and at a little after five o'clock made a heavy attack upon the Federal right flank, which he swept before him, driving it rapidly upon its centre. By eight o'clock the Confederate advance had been pressed to within half a mile of Hooker's headquarters. The line now become broken in the darkness and the undergrowth, and it was necessary to halt to reform it. But for this, Jackson would have slept that night at Chancellorsville. Hooker quickly took advantage of the pause, and bringing up his artillery, opened a heavy fire upon the woods held by Jackson's men. Jackson prepared to resume his advance, and rode forward to reconnoitre. His troops had orders to fire upon any body of horse approaching from the Federal lines, and as he rode back, accompanied by his staff and escort, he neglected to warn his men of his approach. His party was mistaken for Federal cavalry and was greeted with a heavy fire, which struck down all but two and wounded General Jackson severely in the left arm and right hand. He was carried to the rear as soon as possible under a fearful fire from the Federal batteries, which showered grape and canister upon the path. One of the litter-bearers was shot through both arms, and the litter fell to the ground, severely injuring the wounded General. With great difficulty he was gotten to the rear.

General Jackson's wounds were severe and painful, and he was much exhausted by loss of blood. Upon examination the surgeons found it necessary to amputate his left arm. He submitted cheerfully to the operation. On the next day he was carried to a house near Guinea's Station, and during the next two or three days he seemed to improve so much that it was

decided to send him to Richmond, where he could be made more comfortable. On the night of the 5th, however, he was attacked with pneumonia, the result of his exposure on the night before the battle. His system was too much exhausted to cast the disease off, and it increased alarmingly. From this time he sank rapidly, and on Sunday, May 10th, the surgeons informed his wife, who had joined him, that he could not live more than two hours. Mrs. Jackson communicated the intelligence to the General. He replied that he was willing to die, and added: "It will be infinite gain to be translated to heaven, and be with Jesus."

After parting with his wife and his friends, and sending messages to the various generals with whom he had been associated, and to his men, and expressing a wish he had frequently mentioned before, that General Ewell should succeed him in the command of his corps, and his desire to be buried at Lexington, Virginia, he became slightly delirious. Occasionally in his wanderings he would speak of some religious subject, and then give an order. Among his last words were the exclamations: "Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action." "Pass the infantry to the front." "Tell Major Hawks to send forward provisions to the men." "Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees."

Then he sank gradually, and at fifteen minutes after three o'clock in the afternoon expired peacefully.

When his death was told to his command, the rugged veterans that had followed him without flinching in the face of the most appalling dangers, wept like children.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE ancestor of Abraham Lincoln emigrated to this country from England at an early period, and settled in Berks county, Pennsylvania. One of his descendants subsequently removed to the Valley of Virginia, and located himself in what is now Rockingham county, where Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather, and Thomas Lincoln, the father of the subject of this memoir, were born. In the year 1780, Abraham Lincoln emigrated with his family to Kentucky, then a wilderness inhabited by the Indians and a few hardy pioneers, and settled in that part of Hardin county, which has since been called Larue. He built his cabin on the extreme frontier, and in a region peculiarly exposed to the attacks of the Indians, who four years later surprised him at his plough, and killed and scalped him. His death was a severe blow to his family, which soon after separated, some of the members removing still farther west to Indiana, and others to distant parts of Kentucky.

Thomas Lincoln remained in Hardin county, where he grew up to manhood. In the year 1806 he married Miss Nancy Hanks, a native of Virginia, and settled down as a farmer upon a small tract which he had won from the wilderness. Both he and his wife were members of the Baptist church, and were earnest, religious people. Both were uneducated; Mrs. Lincoln could read, but not write, while Thomas Lincoln could do neither. He was noted as a man of kind heart, and generous impulses, and his wife was a woman of excellent judgment, strong good sense, and amiable disposition. They had three children; a daughter who lived to womanhood, a son who died in infancy, and the subject of this memoir.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, their youngest child, was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. He grew up a stout, healthy boy, and as soon as he was old enough was put to work on the little farm. When he was seven years old, he was sent to an old field school, where he learned to read.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

He did not remain long at this school, however, for his father, towards the close of the year 1816, determined to remove from Kentucky to Indiana, and "Abe," as the boy was called, was taken from school to help to prepare for the removal. Mr. Lincoln sold his farm for ten barrels of whisky, at that time the usual circulating medium of Kentucky, and twenty dollars in money, receiving in all the equivalent of about two hundred and eighty dollars.

With Abe's assistance Mr. Lincoln constructed a flat boat, on which he embarked his whisky and household goods, and floated down Rolling Fork River into the Ohio, en route to Indiana, to buy a farm. Soon after entering the Ohio, his boat was capsized and its entire cargo lost, save three barrels of whisky and some other articles. Disposing of these he succeeded in reaching Spencer county, Indiana, where he located a new farm, and then returned to Kentucky on foot to bring out his family. The preparations being completed, the little family set out on horseback for Indiana, and after seven days' journey through an uninhabited country reached their new home.

All hands now went to work to build the house. Little Abe was given an axe, and did good service in preparing the logs for the cabin. A neighbor came over to assist the Lincolns, and in two or three days a comfortable log cabin was constructed. It had but a single room, but there was a rough loft overhead, reached by means of a ladder in one corner, and this constituted little Abe's bed chamber. A blanket and a pile of straw supplied him with a couch, but he slept as soundly upon this rude resting place as he would have done upon a bed of down. He helped his father to make the tables, chairs, and bedsteads used in the cabin, and during the winter was kept busy with his axe, getting wood for burning and preparing rails for fencing. He also learned the use of the rifle, and distinguished himself by killing a wild turkey which had ventured too near the cabin. He found time to give to his reading and spelling, and went at them with a will.

When he was a little more than eight years old, Abe lost his mother. He had been an affectionate son, and she a most devoted mother, and the blow was a sad one to the boy. He never

lost the recollection of this bereavement, and in after years, when crowned with the highest honors of his country, would speak of this good mother with tenderness and with moistened eyes. Shortly after her death, a neighbor taught Abe how to write, and after about a year's practice he was able to write a letter.

About two years after his wife's death, Mr. Lincoln married Mrs. Sally Johnston, of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children. She was a most excellent woman and proved a second mother to her husband's children. Abe was much attached to her, and she to him.

About this time a school was opened in the neighborhood by a young man named Crawford, and Abe was, to his great delight, enrolled among the pupils of the new "academy." He showed himself an apt scholar, and greatly improved in reading and writing. His memory was quick and retentive, and though the advantages offered him at the school did not extend beyond the two branches already named, he made the best use of them. His school dress was a suit of dressed buckskin and a cap made of the skin of a raccoon. Six months were spent by him at the school, and then the future President went out into the world to earn his living.

Abe was now about thirteen years of age, and for the next five years worked steadily in the woods, cutting down trees and splitting rails. His nights were given to the study of such books as he could borrow from his neighbors. He read them with avidity, and stored their contents up in his strong and retentive memory. When he was nineteen years old, he was hired for ten dollars a month by a man living near by, to assist in navigating a flat-boat loaded with stores to New Orleans. There was but one other man on the boat beside himself, and the two made the long and lonely voyage down the Mississippi, floating down the stream in the day, and tying the boat up to the bank at night. On the way the boat was attacked one night by a party of negroes, who were put to flight by Abe and his companion after a severe conflict. New Orleans was reached at length; the goods were sold at a handsome profit, and the two flat-boatmen returned to Indiana.

Indiana at length became too thickly settled to suit Thomas Lincoln, who was a true pioneer, and preferred frontier life to the existence of a more settled community. In March, 1830, the Lincoln family left Indiana, and removed to Illinois. The household goods and all the personal property of the family were transported in large wagons drawn by oxen, and it fell to the lot of Abe to drive one of the teams. The bottom lands of the Kaskaskia river were flooded, and in crossing them the male members of the family were obliged to wade up to their waists in water. Decatur, the principal town of Macon county, Illinois was reached in about two weeks, and pushing on, the family in another day arrived at the tract of land in Sangamon county, on the north side of the Sangamon river, about ten miles west of Decatur, on which they had determined to settle. It was but ten acres in extent, and was barely enough to afford the plainest support to the family. A cabin was at once erected and Abe set to work to split the rails for fencing the farm. He performed his task with the earnestness and thoroughness with which he did everything, and during the fall and winter his rifle furnished the principal supply of food for the family.

Abe was now entering upon manhood, and was not satisfied with the narrow prospect before him at home. In the spring of 1830 he removed farther west to Menard county, and during the summer and winter of that year worked on a farm in the neighborhood of Petersburg. He devoted his nights to faithful study, endeavoring to perfect himself in reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic.

Early in the next spring Abe was hired by a Mr. Offut, of New Salem, to assist in navigating a flat-boat to New Orleans. As no boat could be purchased on the Sangamon, Abe helped his employer to build one, and when it was finished aided in floating it into the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans. The voyage was successful, and Mr. Offut was so much pleased with the industry and ability displayed by Abe Lincoln that he engaged him to take charge of his mill and store in the village of New Salem. The industry and integrity with which he conducted his new business won for Lincoln the cordial esteem of the people of New Salem, who gave to him the title of "Honest Abe," which clung to him through life.

In the early part of 1832 the Black Hawk War broke out, and the Governor of Illinois issued a call for volunteers. A recruiting office was opened at New Salem, and Honest Abe was the first man to volunteer. He then set to work to induce his friends and neighbors to follow his example, and with such success that a company was raised, of which he was unanimously elected captain. The thirty days for which these men enlisted expired without their being called into active service, and they were discharged. Lincoln immediately re-enlisted as a private, and remained with his regiment until the close of hostilities. He "did not see any live fighting Indians," he afterwards humorously declared, "but had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes."

Lincoln's patriotic conduct in volunteering so promptly greatly increased his popularity in New Salem, and he was nominated by the people of that place to represent the county in the Legislature. He had been a resident of the county for only nine months, but he was an ardent "Henry Clay Whig," and was regarded by his fellow townsmen as the best man for the place. It was also believed that his personal popularity was sufficient to overcome the strong Democratic majority which the county had given at the last Presidential election. There were eight candidates for the Legislature in this county, and Lincoln was defeated, the successful candidate receiving a few more votes than he. Of the two hundred and eighty-four votes cast in New Salem, Lincoln received two hundred and seventy-seven.

After his defeat Mr. Lincoln opened a store at New Salem, but in the course of a few months sold out his business, and studied surveying. He pursued the calling of a surveyor for a little more than a year, and managed to support himself by it. During a part of this period he held the office of postmaster of New Salem.

In August, 1834, Mr. Lincoln was again nominated for member of the Legislature, and this time was elected by a large majority. He was re-elected three times, in 1836, 1838, and 1840. While attending the first session of the Legislature after his election, he determined to study law and rise above his

humble position. He was too poor to purchase the necessary books, but having won the friendship of the Hon. John T. Stuart, of Springfield, was able to borrow them from that gentleman. He studied with ardor, and made such progress that, in 1836, he was admitted to the bar. The next year he removed from New Salem to Springfield, and formed a partnership with Mr. Stuart.

His success as a lawyer was marked and rapid. He was a very effective speaker before a jury, and there were few men in the State that knew better than he how to reach the hearts and move the feelings of "the Twelve Peers." Soon after he entered upon the practice of the law he was engaged in a criminal case, in which it was thought his defeat was certain. Putting forth all his ability, however, he won the case, and received for his services the handsome fee of five hundred dollars. The next morning a legal friend, chancing to call upon him, found him seated before a table with his money spread out upon it, counting it over. "Look here, Judge," said he, "see what a heap of money I've got from the — case. Did you ever see anything like it? Why, I never had so much money in my life before, put it all together." Then he added in his peculiarly earnest manner, "I have got just five hundred dollars: if it was only seven hundred and fifty, I would go directly and purchase a quarter-section of land, and settle it upon my old step-mother." His friend at once offered to lend him two hundred and fifty dollars, upon his note for that amount, and the offer was promptly accepted. "But, Lincoln," he added, "I would not do what you have just indicated. Your step-mother is getting old, and will not probably live many years. I would settle the property upon her for her use during her life time, to revert to you upon her death." "I shall do no such thing," replied Mr. Lincoln, warmly. "It is a poor return at the best for all the good woman's devotion and fidelity to me, and there is not going to be any half-way business about it." He was as good as his word; the land was bought and settled without reserve upon his step-mother.

Mr. Lincoln was one of the leading members of the Whig party in Illinois, and in every Presidential campaign from 1836 to 1852 was a Presidential Elector on the Whig ticket. In

this capacity he traversed the State repeatedly, and in 1844, put forth all his powers in behalf of Henry Clay, but without winning the vote of the State for him. He spoke to immense throngs, and as he had risen from the same class that constituted the bulk of his audiences, knew how to talk to them in words that would reach their hearts. He was therefore one of the most popular speakers in Illinois.

In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress from the Central District of Illinois, by a majority of 1500, the largest vote ever polled by a Whig candidate in that district, which was strongly Democratic. He took his seat in the House of Representatives at the opening of the session, on the first Monday in December, 1847, and was placed by the Speaker on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. He maintained a steadfast opposition to the policy of President Polk, and like the majority of the Whig members, was strongly opposed to the war with Mexico. Nevertheless, when the war was begun he was in favor of carrying it out with vigor and with credit to the country. President Polk, having, in his annual message in December, 1846, declared that "Mexico herself became the aggressor by invading our soil in hostile array, and shedding the blood of our citizens," Mr. Lincoln, on the 22d of December, 1847, introduced into the House a series of resolutions which became famous as the "Spot Resolutions," calling on the President to designate the *exact spot* on which the acts complained of occurred.

During his term in Congress he voted for the reception of petitions and memorials praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and gave his support to the Wilmot Proviso, voting for it upwards of forty times. At the close of his term he declined a re-election to Congress, as he found that his service in that body interfered with his law practice, upon which he was dependent for support.

Mr. Lincoln was a member of the National Whig Convention of 1848, which nominated General Taylor for the Presidency, and in the canvass which followed stumped the States of Illinois and Indiana in behalf of his party. In 1849 he was a candidate for United States Senator, but was defeated by General Shields.

For the next five years Mr. Lincoln devoted himself almost exclusively to his profession, acquiring a moderate competency by his industry. In 1842 he had married Mary, the daughter of the Hon. Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky, and a little family was now beginning to gather around him and to draw out those exquisite traits of domestic and parental affection in which he was so rich. His devotion to his family was one of the strongest feelings of his deep and tender nature. "His intercourse with his family," said one of his friends after his death, "was as beautiful as that with his friends. I think that never father loved his children more fondly than he. The President never seemed grander in my sight than when, stealing upon him in the evening, I would find him with a book open before him, as he is represented in the popular photograph, with little Tad beside him. There were a great many curious books sent to him, and it seemed to be one of the special delights of his life to open those books at such an hour that his boy could stand beside him, and they could talk as he turned over the pages; the father thus giving to the son a portion of that care and attention of which he was ordinarily deprived by the duties of office pressing upon him."

In 1854 Mr. Lincoln returned to the stump, and took part in the famous campaign of that year which resulted in the destruction of the Democratic supremacy in Illinois, and the election of a Republican Legislature, which sent Judge Trumbull to the United States Senate in the place of General Shields. Mr. Lincoln was the choice of a large part of the Legislature, which wished him to be a candidate for the United States Senate, but he declined the honor, and urged his friends to give their votes to Judge Trumbull. Somewhat later he was urged to become the Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, but declined in favor of Mr. Bissell. At the National Republican Convention of 1856 his name was presented as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, but he failed to receive the nomination. He was placed at the head of the Electoral ticket in Illinois, and labored diligently in support of Fremont and Dayton.

In June, 1858, the Republican State Convention nominated Mr. Lincoln as the candidate of that party for United States

Senator. His opponent was Stephen A. Douglas, who had been for some years in the Senate, and was one of the most popular public men in Illinois, and the ablest political debater in the West. Mr. Lincoln was chosen by the Republican party as its nominee for the avowed reason that he was the only man in the State who had the slightest chance of defeating Judge Douglas. The two candidates traversed the State of Illinois, speaking in every town of importance, and often traveling in the same carriage or railway car. The debate between them is noted as one of the most important and powerful known to our history. It embraced all the topics of the day, but turned principally upon the question of Slavery. It attracted the attention of the whole country, and gave to Mr. Lincoln a national reputation. It was universally conceded that Judge Douglas had found a formidable opponent in "Honest Abe," and the deepest interest was manifested by the whole country in the struggle. Copious extracts from the speeches of the opposing candidates were published in the leading newspapers of the Union, and personal descriptions of the speakers formed a prominent feature in the newspapers of the day. In this way Mr. Lincoln became known to the people of the whole Union. The contest resulted in the election of a Legislature pledged to vote for Judge Douglas, and he was chosen by a majority of eight votes over Mr. Lincoln, on joint ballot.

The Illinois Republicans were not disheartened by the defeat of their favorite, and presented his name as their candidate for the Presidency of the United States. At the next meeting of the State Convention, Mr. Oglesby, afterwards Governor of Illinois, brought into the hall, and presented to the Convention two old fence rails decorated with ribbons and flags, and bearing a card with the following inscription: "ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *the Rail Candidate* for PRESIDENT IN 1860. *Two rails from a lot of 3000 made in 1830 by Thos. Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer of Macon county.*" The rails were greeted with deafening applause by the Convention, and a call was made for Mr. Lincoln, who was sitting in the gallery as a spectator. He rose after some hesitation, and modestly acknowledged that he had split rails some thirty years before in Ma-

con county, and added that he was informed that those which had just been presented to the Convention were a part of his handiwork.

During the year 1859 Mr. Lincoln delivered a number of speeches in other States in behalf of the Republican cause, and on the 27th of February, 1860, delivered a powerful address before an immense audience at Cooper Institute, New York, upon the powers of the general government over slavery.

The National Convention of the Republican party assembled in Chicago on the 16th of May, 1860, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency. The first two days were spent in the work of organization, and on the 18th the balloting for a candidate began. Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Illinois delegation, but it was generally believed that the choice of the Convention would fall upon Mr. Seward. Lincoln, however, had absolutely no personal enemies, while Seward was opposed by a powerful section of the party headed by Horace Greeley. Mr. Lincoln's friends, in the hope of securing the Greeley party to his side, telegraphed him at Springfield that he could receive its support if he would pledge himself, if elected, to give seats in his Cabinet to certain parties named. An immediate reply was requested. It was sent promptly, and was to this effect: "*I authorize no bargains, and will be bound by none.*" A. LINCOLN."

On the first ballot the vote stood: Seward, 173½; Lincoln, 102; on the second, Seward, 184½; Lincoln, 181. Greeley and his followers now came over to the support of Lincoln, and on the third ballot Lincoln received 230½ votes, or within one and a half of a nomination. One of the State delegations at once changed its vote, and cast it for him, thus giving him the nomination, which amid a storm of enthusiasm was declared unanimous. The nomination took the Eastern States by surprise, but in the West it was hailed with delight.

The committee appointed by the Convention to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination at once set out for Springfield, and arrived a few hours after he had received the news by telegraph. "He received them at the door," says an eye-witness of the scene, "and conducted them to seats in his parlor. On

the reception of this committee, Mr. Lincoln appeared somewhat embarrassed, but soon resumed his wonted tranquility and cheerfulness. At the proper time Governor Morgan, of New York, the chairman of the committee, arose, and, with becoming dignity, informed Mr. Lincoln that he and his fellows appeared in behalf of the Convention in session at Chicago, to inform him that he had that day been unanimously nominated to the office of President of the United States, and asked his permission to report to that body his acceptance of the nomination. Mr. Lincoln, with becoming modesty, but very handsomely, replied that he felt his insufficiency for the vast responsibilities which must devolve upon that office under the impending circumstances of the times; but if God and his country called for his services in that direction, he should shrink from no duty that might be imposed upon him, and therefore he should not decline the nomination.

"After this ceremony had passed, Mr. Lincoln remarked to the company, that as an appropriate conclusion to an interview so important and interesting as that which had just transpired, he supposed good manners would require that he should treat the committee with something to drink; and opening a door that led into a room in the rear, he called out, 'Mary! Mary!' A girl responded to the call, to whom Mr. Lincoln spoke a few words in an undertone, and, closing the door, returned again to converse with his guests. In a few minutes the maiden entered, bearing a large waiter, containing several glass tumblers, and a large pitcher in the midst, and placed it upon the centre-table. Mr. Lincoln arose, and gravely addressing the company, said: 'Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy beverage which God has given to man—it is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family, and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on the present occasion—it is pure Adam's ale from the spring;' and, taking a tumbler, he touched it to his lips, and pledged them his highest respects in a cup of cold water. Of course, all his guests were constrained to admire his consistency, and to join in his example."

The campaign which followed was intensely exciting. The



election took place on the 6th of November, 1860, with the following result: Mr. Lincoln received 1,866,452 votes; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckenridge, 847,953; and Bell 500,631. In the Electoral College the vote stood as follows: For Lincoln, 180; for Breckenridge, 72; for Douglas, 39; for Bell, 12.

The election of Mr. Lincoln was made by the Southern States the pretext for the dissolution of the Union. One by one the Gulf States withdrew from the Union, and in February, 1861, organized themselves into a new Confederacy. Mr. Lincoln was sincerely grieved by this action, as he was conscious of the error of the South in supposing that he had any intention of interfering with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed. He earnestly desired to do his duty to the whole country, and had not the slightest wish to conduct his administration upon a sectional basis. Two days after the secession of South Carolina, he wrote to the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia: "I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, *directly*, or *indirectly*, interfere with the slaves, or with them, about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not my enemy, that there is no cause for such fear. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while we think it is *wrong*, and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."

Threats were freely indulged in that Mr. Lincoln should not be inaugurated. "Soon after I was nominated at Chicago," he once said, "I began to receive letters threatening my life. The first one or two made me a little uncomfortable, but I came at length to look for a regular installment of this kind of correspondence, and up to inauguration day I was in constant receipt of such letters." On the 11th of February, 1861, he left Springfield, on his way to Washington to enter upon the duties of the Presidency. He proceeded by a circuitous route through

Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Buffalo, to New York and Philadelphia. From the latter city he went to Harrisburg, the capital of the State of Pennsylvania. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm by the people. It was his intention to proceed direct from Harrisburg to Baltimore, but rumors of a plot to assassinate him as he passed through the latter city, caused him to return to Philadelphia. He left that city on the midnight train on the 22d of February, and arrived in Washington early on the morning of the 23d, before his departure from Harrisburg was known.

General Scott, the veteran commander of the United States Army, having cause to fear that an effort would be made to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, collected a force of regulars in Washington city, and under their protection the inauguration passed off quietly on the 4th of March, 1861.

Mr. Lincoln selected his Cabinet from the leading men of the Republican party, and after the retirement of Mr. Cameron and the appointment of Mr. Stanton to the War Department, had unquestionably the ablest Cabinet that had been in office for several generations.

It does not form a part of our purpose to present here a full history of the events of Mr. Lincoln's administration. To do that would be to write the history of the Civil War. We shall speak only of a few of the leading incidents of his Presidency. In his inaugural address he announced his intention to hold and occupy the public property in all parts of the Union, and to enforce the laws. He declared that the Government would not attack the Southern States, but would use force if necessary to maintain its authority.

The attack upon Fort Sumter, and the commencement of the Civil War, soon followed. President Lincoln at once summoned Congress to convene in extra session, and issued a proclamation calling upon the various States of the Union to furnish a force of 75,000 men to assist in restoring the supremacy of the Constitution and laws in the South. The war was soon fairly begun. Its events are well known to the reader, and need not be repeated here.

From the first Mr. Lincoln was the leading spirit of his

Administration. He relied much upon the wisdom and experience of his Cabinet Ministers; but he was in all things the Chief Magistrate of the nation from the moment of his inauguration. He was anxious to conciliate the South as far as possible, and while he was ready to extend kindness and protection to that section as soon as he could do so consistently with his sense of duty, he was, at the same time, determined to exert every power of the Government to put down the resistance of the South. His views upon the questions at issue were frank and outspoken, and no one who reads his messages and letters can be in doubt as to them. In his second message to Congress, on the 3d of December, 1861, he stated that while he had used every means in his power to conduct the war with vigor, he was anxious that the conflict should not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. "I have, therefore," he added, "in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature." And yet in his own acts he was never precipitate. He weighed each deliberately, and never acted until he was satisfied that he was right, but when he had fully resolved upon his programme he carried it out with a decision and rapidity which astounded the whole country. He had the happy faculty—the rarest gift of the statesman—of being able to choose with unerring certainty the right moment at which to strike his most decisive blows. He held the military conduct of the war in his own hands, and while he left his generals in the field all the liberty they could desire, never lost sight of the fact that he was the Constitutional Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and exercised over all the operations of the war the control that rightfully belonged to him. He did not interfere with the commanders unless he thought it necessary to do so; but then his interference was prompt and effective.

Mr. Lincoln began the war by hoping much from the Union men of the South, but it was not long before he saw that they were a helpless minority of the people of that section. He began also by faithfully executing the Fugitive Slave Law.

He was soon convinced, however, that such a course could not be continued. Slavery, which had been the cause of the war, must perish in the triumph of the Union. He therefore submitted a message to Congress, in March, 1862, recommending to the States the gradual abolition of slavery, and proposing that the General Government should extend pecuniary aid to the various States to enable them to accomplish this object. The message was received with unbounded satisfaction by the people of the North and West. On the 16th of April, 1862, Mr. Lincoln approved the bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Lincoln had been a life-long advocate of the abolition of slavery, and its extinction by constitutional means was an object very near to his heart; but it was, in the great struggle in which he was engaged, a secondary consideration. "My paramount object," he wrote to Horace Greeley, "is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that. * * I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

Mr. Lincoln was strongly urged by the anti-slavery men of the North to use the war power lodged in his hands, and offer freedom to the slaves. "They seemed to think," he said, "that; the moment I was President, I had the power to abolish slavery; forgetting that, before I could have any power whatever, I had to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and execute the laws as I found them. When the Rebellion broke out, my duty did not admit of a question. That was, first, by all strictly lawful means to endeavor to maintain the integrity of the Government. I did not consider that I had the right to touch the 'State' institution of slavery until all other measures for restoring the Union had failed.

The paramount idea of the Constitution is the preservation of the Union. It may not be specified in so many words, but that this was the idea of its founders is evident; for, without the Union, the Constitution would be worthless."

At length the time arrived when both his duty and his inclination lay in the same direction. It was necessary to destroy slavery in order to preserve the Union. "It seems clear," he afterwards said, "that in the last extremity, if any local institution threatened the existence of the Union, the Executive could not hesitate as to his duty. In our case, the moment came when I felt that slavery must die that the nation might live."

Mr. Lincoln came to this conclusion in the midst of one of the severest trials of the war. The army of General Pope had been defeated and driven out of Virginia, and the victorious legions of General Lee had invaded Maryland, and were threatening Pennsylvania. The moment for striking a decisive blow at the South had now arrived, and the President did not hesitate. "I made a solemn vow before God," he afterwards said to Secretary Chase, "that if General Lee was driven back from Pennsylvania, I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." In accordance with this resolution, Mr. Lincoln, immediately after Lee's retreat from Maryland, issued, on the 22d of September, 1862, his proclamation announcing that on and after the first day of January, 1863, the negroes held as slaves in all the States of the South, in resistance to the authority of the General Government, would be unconditionally and forever released from bondage.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the final Emancipation Proclamation, giving freedom to all the negro slaves of the South, was issued, and the work was complete.

The final draft of the Emancipation Proclamation was presented to Mr. Lincoln for his signature at noon on New Year's day, by Secretary Seward. Mr. Lincoln placed it upon his desk, and taking up his pen, dipped it in ink, and was about to affix his signature, when he suddenly paused and laid down the pen. He repeated this performance, and then turning to Secretary Seward, who was looking on in surprise, he said:

"I have been shaking hands since nine o'clock this morning, and my right arm is almost paralyzed. If my name ever goes into history it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign the Proclamation, all who examine the document hereafter will say, 'He hesitated!'" Pausing for a moment longer, he took up the pen and slowly and firmly wrote at the bottom of the paper, "Abraham Lincoln." "That will do," he said with a smile, and handed the paper to Mr. Seward.

He had no hesitation in performing this act, and he meant to enforce it with all the power of the Government. "There have been men," he once said, "base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of Abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion."

Mr. Lincoln followed up his emancipation policy by recommending, and securing the passage of acts of Congress authorizing the enlistment of negro troops in the Federal army.

The year 1863 witnessed the defeat of Hooker's splendid army at Chancellorsville, the invasion of Pennsylvania by General Lee, the battle of Gettysburg, the defeat of Lee and the failure of the invasion, and the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. After the retreat of the Confederates into Virginia, a portion of the battle ground at Gettysburg was set apart as a national cemetery, and was dedicated by the President with appropriate ceremonies on the 19th of November, 1863. Mr. Lincoln's brief address on this occasion is a model of beauty. He said:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this Continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that

nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus so far nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

On the 26th of March, 1864, the President issued his Proclamation, offering to all persons engaged in armed resistance to the authority of the United States a full pardon and a restoration to all their rights and property, except as to slaves, upon submitting to the authority of the Union, and taking an oath to support the Constitution and laws thereof. It was a great gratification to him to issue this proclamation, and he ever afterward made a liberal, though judicious, use of the pardoning power.

In June, 1864, Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Republican Convention for reelection to the Presidency, and was triumphantly elected over his Democratic opponent, General George B. McClellan, in the following November, receiving 2,223,035 votes to McClellan's 1,811,754, or a popular majority of 411,281. The result was justly regarded as an emphatic endorsement of the President's course by the people. In a speech delivered in response to a serenade upon the night of the election, Mr. Lincoln said: "I am thankful to God for this

approval of the people; but while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

The inauguration took place on the 4th of March, 1865, and was conducted with the most imposing ceremonies ever witnessed in Washington. On the night of the 3d of March the President and several members of the Cabinet were at the Capitol awaiting the passage of the final bills of Congress, as is usual at the close of a session of Congress. A telegram was brought in from General Grant, stating that General Lee had asked an interview with reference to terms of peace. Mr. Lincoln was delighted; he beheld the close of the war; and his natural kindness of heart began to show itself in his suggestions of favorable terms to be granted to the Confederates.

"Stanton listened in silence," says a witness of the scene, "restraining his emotion; but at length the tide burst forth. 'Mr. President,' said he, 'to-morrow is inauguration day. If you are not to be the President of an obedient and united people, you had better not be inaugurated. Your work is already done, if any other authority than yours is for one moment to be recognized, or any terms made that do not signify you are the supreme head of the nation. If generals in the field are to negotiate peace, or any other chief magistrate is to be acknowledged on this continent, then you are not needed, and you had better not take the oath of office.'

"'Stanton, you are right!' said the President, his whole tone changing. 'Let me have a pen.'

"Mr. Lincoln sat down at the table, and wrote as follows:

"'The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit

them to no military conferences or conventions. In the meantime you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.'

"The President read over what he had written, and then said: 'Now, Stanton, date and sign this paper, and send it to Grant. We'll see about this peace business.'"

On the 24th of March, 1865, Mr. Lincoln paid a visit to the army of General Grant. He witnessed the fruitless assault of Lee upon Fort Steadman, and a portion of the final attack which compelled the evacuation of the lines of Petersburg and Richmond by the Confederates. He paid a flying visit to Richmond, after its capture, and held a levee in the deserted mansion of the fallen President of the Southern Confederacy, and returned to Washington in time to receive the news of the surrender of Lee's army, which put an end to all hope of further resistance on the part of the South.

Mr. Lincoln was satisfied that the war was over, and had determined upon a generous policy towards the South in the reconstruction of the Union. He was sincerely anxious to heal the wounds of the war as soon as possible, and to direct the energies of the Southern people to the task of repairing their shattered fortunes. He was strong enough in the loyal States to pursue such a course, and firm and judicious enough to do so without endangering the results of the war. The war had been a painful trial to him, and his rejoicings at the return of peace were deep and heartfelt. He had carried the country through its terrible struggle, and his first and greatest care had been for the preservation of the Union. Now that the Union was safe, and slavery dead, he felt himself called upon to watch with especial tenderness over the conquered people of the South, and to help them to recover the prosperity they had lost, and to resume their places in the reconstructed Union. The great heart of this simply great man was very pitiful, and he looked upon the gallant people who had withstood him for four years as his countrymen, misguided, but still children of the same mother. He had no harshness for them, and he meant to be their true and helpful friend. He had saved the Union; he now looked forward to the task of placing it on a more enduring basis than ever.

The load that had lain so heavily upon the President's heart

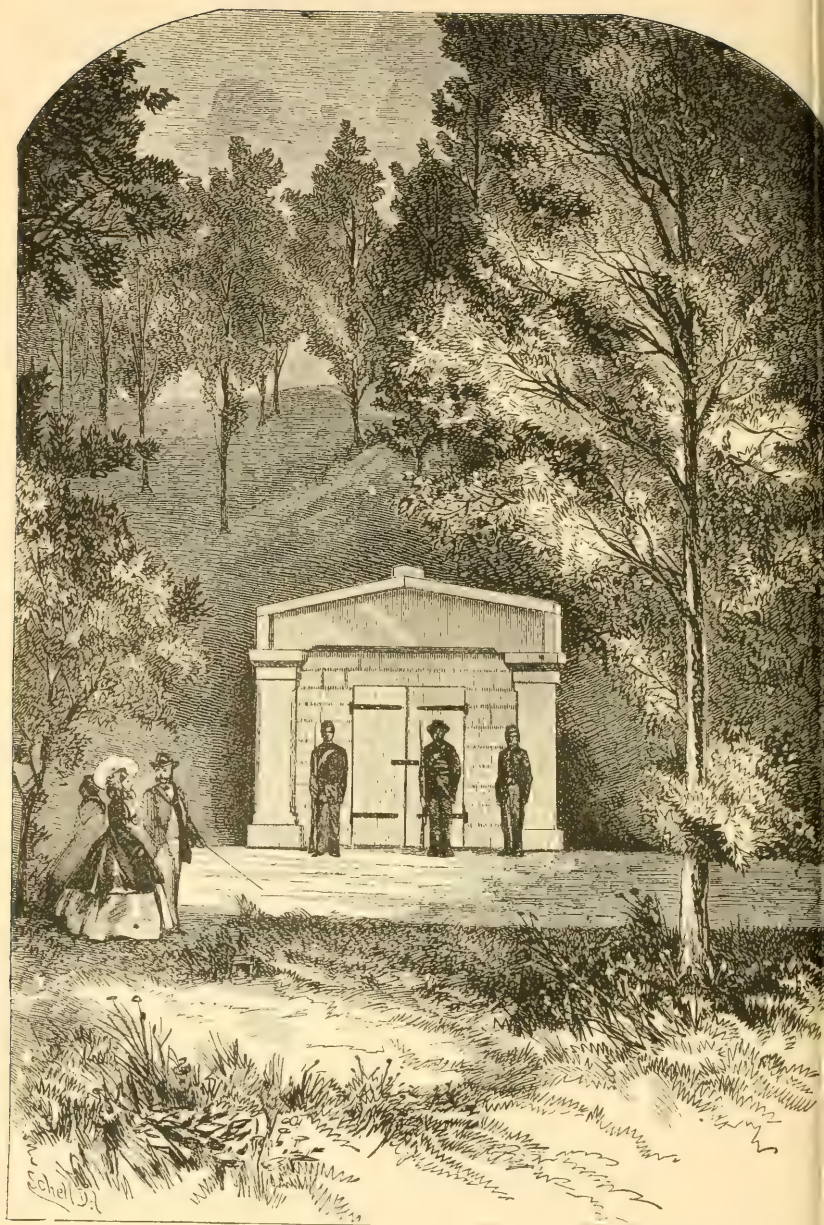
for four years, was now lifted from it, and he seemed to his friends more cheerful than he had been since his first inauguration. This was so marked that it was noticed and commented upon by the members of the Cabinet at the meeting on the 14th of April. During the day Mr. Lincoln received and accepted an invitation to visit Ford's Theatre in the evening.

Shortly before nine o'clock, Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, the daughter of Senator Harris, of New York, and Major Rathbone, of the army, entered the box that had been prepared for him by the management of the theatre. He was received by the audience with a storm of applause, and acknowledged the compliment by bowing repeatedly from his box.

About ten o'clock, while the play of the evening was in progress, John Wilkes Booth, an actor of considerable prominence, entered the proscenium box occupied by the President, and, presenting a pistol close behind the head of Mr. Lincoln, fired. The ball cut its way through the skull, and imbedded itself deep in the brain of the President. Major Rathbone sprang towards the assassin, and grappled with him. Booth drew a large knife, wounded Rathbone, freed himself from him, and sprang upon the balustrade of the box. Waving the knife about his head, and shouting "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*" ("Thus always with tyrants"), he sprang to the stage. His spur caught in the folds of the American flag, with which the box was draped, and he fell heavily to the stage, breaking one of his legs. By a powerful effort, however, he regained his feet, darted behind the scenes, and escaped to an alley in the rear of the theatre, where a fleet horse was in waiting for him. This he mounted, and fled across the back branch of the Potomac into Lower Maryland.¹

¹ Mr. Lincoln was often warned by his friends of the danger of assassination, and was urged to provide himself with an escort or guard when he appeared in public, but invariably refused to do so. "The simple habits of Mr. Lincoln were so well known," says Mr. Brooks, "that it is a subject for surprise that watchful and malignant treason did not sooner take that precious life which he seemed to hold so lightly. He had an almost morbid dislike for an escort or guard, and daily exposed himself to the deadly aim of an assassin. * * In reply to the remonstrances of friends, who were afraid of his constant exposure to danger, he had but one answer: 'If they kill me, the next man will be just as bad for them; and in





TOMB OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD.

The attack upon the President was so sudden and unexpected, that for a moment the audience was unable to move. The screams of Mrs. Lincoln revealed the extent of the disaster, and the next moment the assassin was seen to leap to the stage. The cry was raised to stop the wretch, but he escaped. A rush was then made for the President's box, where all was in confusion. The doors were fastened, however, and only two surgeons, who chanced to be in the audience, were admitted. Mr. Lincoln's head had fallen forward immediately upon receiving the fatal bullet. His eyes were closed, and it was evident that he had been unconscious from the moment of his wound. He was conveyed to a house opposite the theatre, and Surgeon-General Barnes and several prominent physicians were summoned. The wound was found to be mortal; but the President gave no indication of suffering. He lay, with his eyes closed, in an unconscious condition, and so lingered through the night. At twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th of April, Abraham Lincoln breathed his last, surrounded by the members of his family and his Cabinet Ministers,—falling asleep so gently and sweetly, that those about him knew that he was dead only by the absence of respiration.

The body was conveyed to the Executive Mansion, where appropriate funeral services were held on the 19th of April. The body was then laid in state in the Capitol until the morning of April 21st, when it was taken from Washington *en route* to Springfield for burial. The route lay through Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis and Chicago. All along the way the people poured out to pay the last honors to the martyred President. Cities were draped in mourning, and every evidence of the sorrow that filled the hearts of the American people was given. Never since the death of Washington had such an outburst of sorrow been witnessed in America. Even in the South, which had made the election of Abraham Lincoln the

a country like this, where our habits are simple, and must be, assassination is always possible, and will come, if they are determined upon it.' 'It would never do,' he said upon another occasion, 'for a President to have guards with drawn sabres at his door, as if he fancied he were, or were trying to be, or were assuming to be, an emperor.'"

occasion of the dissolution of the Union, the unaffected and manly virtues of this great and good man had conquered the people, who had come to regard him as their friend. His death was sincerely lamented there, and in the lamentation of his former enemies Abraham Lincoln had his proudest triumph. Springfield was reached on the 2d of May, and the body was laid in state in the Capitol, where it remained until the 4th, when it was buried. The day was generally observed throughout the Union.¹

The great work accomplished by Mr. Lincoln, in saving the Union from the danger of final disruption, and the masterly manner in which he performed it, have placed him second to Washington only in the affections of the American people. He was great in his simplicity of character; a true man in every relation of life; and the faithful and devoted servant of his country. His sound practical common sense and his incorruptible integrity guided him with unerring certainty amid the difficulties of the situation in which he was placed, and enabled him to perform his duty with singleness of heart and disinterested patriotism. He steadily improved with his op-

¹ Booth, who was most probably insane, had drawn quite a number of persons into a conspiracy, which had for its object the murder of the President and Vice-President, and of Secretaries Seward and Stanton and Chief Justice Chase. The plot failed through the unexpected movements of some of the intended victims, and the cowardice of some of the conspirators. The only victims were the President and Secretary Seward, the latter of whom was badly wounded by the assassin sent to despatch him. Booth, after escaping from the theatre, fled into Lower Maryland, accompanied by one of the conspirators, a young man named Harold. The two crossed the Potomac, and took refuge in Virginia. They were pursued by the Government detectives and a squadron of cavalry, and were tracked to a barn on a farm in Caroline county, Virginia, between Bowling Green and Port Royal. Here they were surrounded on the 26th of April. Harold surrendered himself, but Booth, refusing to yield, was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett, and died a few hours later, after suffering intensely. His accomplices were arrested, and were brought to trial before a military commission at Washington. Payne, or Powell, Atzerot, Harold and Mrs. Surratt were condemned to death, and were hanged on the 7th of July, 1865, for complicity in the plot. Dr. Mudd, O'Laughlin and Arnold were imprisoned in the Dry Tortugas for life, and Spangler for six years.

What Booth expected to accomplish by his horrible deed yet remains a mystery. It is now generally believed that he was insane—rendered so by his dissipated habits—and in this state of mind conceived the idea that Mr. Lincoln was a tyrant, and as such ought to be put to death. He had no accomplices in the South, and his infamous deed was regarded with horror by the Southern people.

portunities, and during his four years of power established a reputation for sound wisdom and practical statesmanship, which will endure as long as the country for which he labored and gave his life shall exist among the nations of the earth.



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